A COMMENTARY ON THE LETTERS OF M. CORNELIUS FRONTO

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MICHEL P.J. VAN DEN HOUT

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BY

MICHEL P.J. VAN DEN HOUT

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INTRODUCTION

Marcus Cornelius Fronto was born c. 90–95 AD in Cirta, present-day Constantine in Algeria. He died c. 167, a sick and disappointed man. His father, T. Cornelius, was a descendant of Roman colonists. Of his youth we only know that he had a Greek paedagogus, Aridelus, perhaps still in Cirta, and that as an adolescent he lived in Rome, where he received his higher education. It seems that his father, who probably brought or sent him there together with his younger brother Q. Cornelius Quadratus, was a man of some means and influence, for in the 120s both Fronto and his brother were members of the senate—Fronto as quaestor of Sicily, an insignificant post, and later as praetor. The praetorship, too, must have been one of the lower ranks instituted in the time of the emperors. After that, Fronto never again filled an official post, either in Rome or in the provinces. Yet in 143 he became consul suffectus for the months of July and August, rather to his own surprise and to the envy of many of his fellow senators. In that way, Antoninus Pius wanted to soften the blow which Fronto, who was Marcus Aurelius' teacher at the time, had suffered when he lost an important lawsuit against Herodes Atticus, a friend of the imperial family. In the late 150s it was Fronto's turn to become proconsul of Asia, an honour he had to decline because of his poor health.

Before and after his consulate Fronto played an important part in court and in the senate, but being a homo novus he got into trouble several times with his patrician and envious colleagues there. Yet he was a very conservative man, totally without political ambitions: he would have none of the modern religions which arose in the second century, and he hated Jews and Christians. But then again he did not embrace the ancient Roman traditions either, superstitious though he was. Like many intellectuals of his time he stuck to the old religious phrases without any profound feeling. He had his doubts about the existence of gods and their providence, and especially about life after death, as opposed to Cicero and Marcus Aurelius.

Fronto's main conservatism, however, concerned literature. Like the archaists of his time, he hated all literary modernism, such as Seneca's; he was only interested in the old republican writers. He

could hardly reject Cicero, but we can see that Cicero is not his man. He knew his Vergil by heart, yet the national poet did not figure in his literary landscape.

Fronto is not a writer in the modern sense. He was an eminent philologist, be it a biased one. He knew his ancient writers and occupied himself with literary criticism, even with text criticism, but he never aspired to higher literary levels. In his earlier days he made two attempts, his Laudes and his Arion, which were not published. That he was well aware of not being a belletrist we may see from a letter of 161: *vellem autem tantum mihi vigoris aut studii adesse, quantum adfuit cum illa olim nugalia conscripsi 'Laudem fumi et pulveris'* (231,12ff.).

Fronto's domain was the courtroom and the senate, as the testimonies show. And even there his knowledge was limited. When discussing politics, military science or art, he was not really concerned about the essentials; he just repeated what he had found in his literary sources. He made his name as an influential senator and a successful barrister, without being a true jurisprudent. Like many Roman barristers, he was a practical man aiming at rhetorical success, which was why neither Antoninus Pius nor Marcus Aurelius appointed him a member of their privy council.

Fronto was a kind, truthful, quick-witted man. Yet his excessive admiration for the virtues of Pius and Marcus ended in flattery. On the other hand we must realize that Pius' accession to the throne marked the beginning of a new period in Fronto's life after the dangers he had been exposed to during Hadrian's reign. Though not blind to the character weaknesses of Marcus' co-regent L. Verus, he brushed them aside, and his idolization of Verus as a military leader defied all reality.

The most important period in Fronto's life fell between 139 and 145, when he was Marcus' teacher; more than thirty years after his death, his descendants still testified to this (Testim. 15). When Hadrian died in 138 he had designated Antoninus Pius as his successor, stipulating that Pius in turn should appoint Marcus and Verus as his successors. With regard to Marcus, however, Pius had his doubts (at that time Verus was only seven years old): *(Marcus) philosophiae operam vehementer dedit et quidem adhuc puer. nam duodecimum annum ingressus* (in 132) *habitum philosophi sumpsit et deinceps tolerantiam, cum studeret in pallio et humi cubaret* (Vita Marci 2,6). Practical as he was, Pius justly realized that such behaviour hardly befitted a future emperor, and so it was agreed between him and Marcus in 138 that the latter should stop behaving like a philosopher and accept the guidance of a man

who could teach him the suitable conception of life. They decided upon Fronto: a kind and conservative Roman who had proved his pedagogical qualities in his *contubernium*, a sort of boarding-house for young men of the upper class who were expected to play a prominent part in Roman society in the future. Fronto acquitted himself well of his task as educator, witness the letters of 139–145: he is not out for book learning, nor for a consistent education in literature and rhetoric; what he aims at is arousing interest in the grandeur of the old Rome. Marcus readily reconciled himself to Fronto's guidance, and during this period Fronto was wise enough to refrain completely from any criticism of philosophy (which at heart he detested). The year 145, however, marks a turning-point in their relationship, which may be called Marcus' second conversion to philosophy. That year Marcus married Faustina, Pius' daughter, and became co-regent of Pius. In the preceding years Pius had noticed that Marcus had not slipped back into his old puerile monomania, and so he decided—at the insistence of Marcus himself, who was getting tired of Fronto's lessons—to tolerate philosophy as long as it did not interfere with the interests of the state. After 145 Fronto and Marcus kept in touch, but their correspondence grew less frequent. When in 161 Marcus became emperor and got more and more caught up in military matters, he sometimes recalled the happy years with Fronto as his teacher and longed to read the ancient writers again, not for study purposes but for relaxation. To Fronto, however, a philosopher on the throne was a disaster, and it appears that he had no idea of what was going on in Marcus' mind: he kept harping on the benefits of rhetoric and the vanity of philosophy, and did not hesitate to ridicule minor points in Stoic dialectics, which Marcus did not support at all. It must have been a great disappointment to Fronto that Marcus did not reply to such attacks, and when once he did, did not go into Fronto's arguments. Enlightening is the case of Matidia's will: Fronto fears *ne quid philosophia perversi suaderet* (180,5), but Marcus only answers *possum securus esse cum duas res animo meo rarissumas secutus sim: rationem veram et sententiam tuam* (95,23f.).

Fronto was married to Cratia (not Gratia), who was probably of Greek origin; she died c. 165–166 in her late forties. They had five children, all of them daughters; four died in infancy, only the youngest, also called Cratia, survived. She was born c. 142 and died at the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. She married the dynamic and authoritative C. Aufidius Victorinus, a pupil of Fronto; they had four sons. Two of them died young, but M. Aufidius

Fronto and C. Aufidius Victorinus later became distinguished members of Roman society. When Cratia and her husband were in Rome, they stayed with Fronto at his palazzo on the Esquiline. In the fifth century mention is made of one of their descendants, Leo of Narbonne, a jurist with poetical aspirations (see Testim. 57).

Fronto's letters have not been edited until the fourth century; they probably were part of the estate of Cratia and Victorinus, and Nazarius (Testim. 20) was the first to read them. Consequently no quotations from or references to these letters are found before that time. It is certain that Fronto had not wanted to edit his letters himself (see Proleg. LIXff.). This means that we cannot blame him for the triviality of many of the scribbled notes. Who wants to see published all the letters he has ever written? Since Niebuhr, modern literati have passed devastating judgement on Fronto's letters; not quite undeservedly, though Fronto was no simpleton, only a third-class writer. His letters are written in a pure, simple style, with a great deal of colloquialisms (but not as many as in Marcus' letters) and many a post-classical turn of phrase. Typical of an epistolary style is the use of quotations, proverbs and puns. Less appealing to us are his frequent alliterations, assonances and etymological figures. The many archaisms show how much Fronto as a philologist concerned himself with ancient Latin, even though, remarkably enough, such archaisms do not occur in his speeches. In his letters, Fronto prefers *insperata atque inopinata verba* (57,16), obsolete words still alive in common parlance.

Although scholastic, Fronto's Greek is correct Attic. He must have learned Greek at an early age, thanks to his Greek paedagogus. Moreover, his teachers and his wife were Greek. As to contemporary Greek rhetoric, he disliked it as much as he did Seneca's modern style.

Of Fronto's speeches in court and the senate we have only three specimens: pp. 10,14–13,9 and 189,20–197,4 and the Gratiarum actio pp. 256ff. In one of them he used two different styles, called by Marcus *elocutionis variam virtutem* (10,10f.), meaning on the one hand the *genus siccum* of Macrobius (Testim. 59) and on the other the *pompa* of Mamertus Claudianus (Testim. 52). Though these terms rather confused modern interpreters, it is clear that by *siccitas* the sober style of the *genus iudiciale* is meant and by *pompa* the display of the epideictic speech, like in Fronto's panegyrics with their rhetorical figures and similes. A subject of much discussion has been the so-called speech against the Christians in Minucius Felix (Testim. 2

and 3). Actually Fronto never held an *oratio contra Christianos*; it was only a malicious comment on the Christians in an unknown speech at the bar. The first direct quotation from a speech by Fronto dates from 297: Eumenius, Testim. 19.

Curiously, we have far more testimonies and citations in Fronto's case than, for instance, in the case of Tacitus. Almost all citations are from his speeches, for the simple reason that the letters were not edited until the fourth century. From then on most testimonies on Fronto are based on second-hand knowledge, and men such as Symmachus, Hieronymus, Augustinus, the writers of the Vita Marci and Veri in the Historia Augusta, Martianus Capella, Mamertus Claudianus, Apollinaris Sidonius (?), Macrobius, Cassiodorus and Isidorus have never set eyes on any of Fronto's writings.

This commentary has become a liber magnus—is that a magnum malum? It depends on what the reader is looking for. Its main purpose is to explain Fronto by Fronto and to demonstrate where he stands in Latin literature; hence the numerous quotations of parallel, similar and dissentient passages from Fronto and other writers. The elaborateness of this commentary is also due to the fact that I would not confine myself to a simple explanation of the text. Often a passage led to what may be considered a specific article on the subject; for instance, the relation between Fronto and Minucius Felix (259,8) and the various names of colours (260,21ff.). In addition, many small problems had to be solved, such as the identification of Marcus' children and Fronto's four grandsons and, generally, of all the persons mentioned in the letters. Close examination of Fronto's style and language was also required, e.g. of his archaisms and colloquialisms, and his comprehensive knowledge of pre-Cicero Latin literature compelled me to go into the matter of his real and alleged quotations. Finally the chronology of the letters: it has been discussed at length, and in places differs from what I wrote pp. 292ff. of my edition.

This is the first commentary on Fronto. Useful notes, however, may be found in the editions of his letters since Angelo Mai presented his first edition in 1815.

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COMMENTARY ON THE LETTERS 1–276

1,1–2 The two most important events in Fronto's life were his appointment as tutor to emperors and his election as consul, and it is as such that he was remembered by his descendants; see 266,5f. The ancient editor, too, wishes to draw our attention to these events: he begins his collection with those letters which especially reflect the mutual affection between tutor and pupil (I 1–3), followed by two letters which give us an idea of Fronto's teaching (4–5). Then, in book II, he brings together the letters written during Fronto's consulate.

1,3–5 Several letters are lost, cp. 3,11f. *litteras quas ad priorem epistulam tuam iam rescripseram, dimisi ad te.* Studemund believed that Fronto's letter mentioned there is *prima illa longiuscula epistula* of 88,14, but that letter is Caes. IV 3, one of the oldest of our collection; see at 88,11–14.

1,5 Chronology of I 1–3. It is generally assumed that book I contains letters older than those of book II, i.e. from before July 143. Naber dates these letters, which belong together, to 142; Mommsen and Haines before July 143; Brakman June 143; Hauler, in his unedited papers, 141–142; Hanslik, Anordnung, January-June 143; Pepe 139–143; Portalupi 143; Cortassa 139–146/7; and the prudent Champlin 139–161. But—as we shall see at other occasions as well, e.g. 20,6; 40,1; 42,4—there is no reason at all to suppose that there is any chronological order. The only clue we have is that Marcus' mother, Domitia Lucilla, is still alive (1,7; 3,4) and that she died c. 156. However, there are indications that in I 1–3 Fronto's actual teaching was coming to an end: there is no trace of rhetorical studies; Fronto and Marcus are acquainted for a long time (2,13f.; 3,4); Marcus is called *homo facundissimus* (2,19) and *decus morum, solacium mali* (5,17), and he receives the dutiful compliments of senators as one who participates in the government (3,23ff.). Therefore, Watson dates these letters 145, when Marcus became consul for the second time (his first consulate was in 140 when he was eighteen years old, and at that time Fronto had only been his tutor for twelve months; see at 93,12). To keep on the safe side, we should date these letters 144–145.

The form of address of I 1 has been chosen by Mai in conformity with 2,18; see also 24,15; 31,20; 215,5; 218,1. *Suo* indicates close friendship; see Babl, De epistularum Latinarum formulis 20ff. It is only used in the period 139–145: 10,2; 24,15; 27,1; 28,5; 29,10; 29,17; 30,14; 31,20; 35,10; 36,1; 60,1. The supreme expression of love is *Magistro suo Caesar suus* (51,1). More formal is *Domino suo Fronto* (8,8). Whereas Cicero, Seneca and Pliny put their own names first, in the second century it became customary to put one's own name at the end of the form of address; see at 65,7.

1,6 *quantum pote*: 'il più rapidamente possibile' (Portalupi)—not 'as far as I can' (Haines)—as 81,5; cp. 61,15 *quantum potes*; 227,14 *quantum poteras*. It is a colloquial expression, not an archaism as Priebe thought. See Cic. Att. 4,13,1 *quantum potest*; Bell. Afr. 54,4. A similar ellipsis, or rather brachylogy, 9,7 *si pote*, 'if possible', which we find also in Plaut. Aul. 390; Lucil. 890; Catull. 17,24; 76,16. See at 115,10.

Descriptum: 'copied out', as 13,10M; 15,6; 15,16; 104,11. 56,1 Fronto has a copy made of the Sota of Ennius; see also 104,11 and at 5,22.

1,7–8 *ride* ... *laetare* (not *laeta re*, as Naber and Scivoletto write, which breaks the rhythm) ... *fruere*: one of those *iocularia verba* (2,4) which must wave aside Marcus' anxiety about Fronto's podagra. Cp. Catull. 31,14 *gaudete* ... *ridete*. A similar valediction formula 5,20; 25,20f.; 50,5; see Roller, Das Formular 69 and note 332.

Parentibus: Pius and Domitia Lucilla, as 5,20 and 81,18. See at 3,21f.

1,8 *ingenio*: on Marcus' *ingenium* see at 87,26. *Ingenio frui* also Ovid. Trist. 3,7,47; Mart. 5,5,2.

1,9 This letter is the answer to the preceding one.

1,10 *ista mea fortuna* is a colloquial abl. modi or rather of circumstance; cp. e.g. Plaut. Merc. 964 *optuma opportunitate* ... *advenistis*; Cic. Att. 5,18,1 *hac infirmitate exercitus, inopia sociorum*; Cic. Marc. 25 *noli nostro periculo esse sapiens*. In Fronto 18,11; 21,11; 25,5; 63,24M; 107,9V; 184,10; 191,17; 212,16 *meliore fama*; 228, 18f.; 241,26. See Hofmann-Szantyr 115. In classical Latin, usually *in* or *cum* is added.

Iste meus is a combination we only find a few times in Cicero and Catullus, then in Fronto. Here and 2,2, *iste* indicates what is unpleasant; 51,6M 'this scrawl' (modesty). 182,5 *ista mea* is not derogatory and refers to what Claudius Iulianus had written, and *istos parvolos nostros* 92,4M refers to what Fronto had written in his preceding letter. On the other hand, *iste Victorinus noster* 178,11f. means—jokingly—'that good-for-nothing Victorinus of ours'.

1,10–11 *dixerim* ... *incusavero*: in post-classical Latin, the potentialis perfecti and the futurum exactum often have almost the same meaning, the more so because their forms are identical except for the first person. We have a 'normal' fut. II in a subordinate clause when the principal sentence has a future or a present, e.g. 10,20 *placuerit*; 11,24; 32,4; 36,17M; 38,2; 41,9; 51,7M; 72,9; 81,4; 81,5 *videro*; 109,8; 115,19; 168,27; 174,14; 174,20; 175,7; 175,12 *dixero*; 202,12 *adflaverit*; 234,12M. Here, *incusavero* has the same meaning as *incusabo*, and so fut. II instead of fut. I. 10,20 *dederis*; 12,16 *avulserint* alongside of *auferentur*; 26,1M; 32,8 *vixerit* alongside of *communicabit*; 32,13 *iuravero* alongside of *iuraturus sum*; 36,24f.M; 47,3; 81,5 *vixero*; 87,28 *confecerit*; 90,2; 92,19; 168,26; 196,8; 202,12 *adiuverit*; 250,1M. See Kühner I 147; Hofmann-Szantyr 323. The potentialis perfecti always indicates the present: 6,5; 8,5M; 54,4; 58,17 *dixerim* as well as *dicam* (*dixerim* also 59,7); 64,7M; 108,12V; 109,11V; 175,2; 175,12; 182,5; 192,2; 198,10; 203,3 (marg. b); 236,7; 236,12. Such a potentialis we often find in conditional sentences: 16,1; 38,18M?; 41,10; 199,10; see at 162,12. Some adverbs, too, point to a potentialis: *facilius* 27,8M; 66,23; 181,2; 228,15; 236,19. 13,19 *facile aestimas, si reputaveris singula*: here, the second hand has changed *aestimas* into *aestimaveris*. It seems to fall under the examples given in Proleg. XL. So the adverbs *fortasse* and *forsitan*, see at 51,13; *libenter* 88,4; *plane* 108,19V. There are, however, a number of passages where it is hardly possible to determine the nature of forms such as *laudaveris*, etc.: 26,12; 38,18M; 95,6 *acceperit* may also be fut. II; 130,1; 183,1; 183,7; 238,3; 249,3M.

1,11 *condigne* occurs several times in Plautus, then here and in Gellius,

Apuleius and a few later authors. A. Ebert 21, Priebe I 16, Hofer and Marache, Mots, regard it as an archaism, but it may be colloquial; *incusare*, too, is avoided by classical authors.

Istic: 'here'. This meaning occurs for the first time in our correspondence: 28,25M; 30,10M; 31,2M; 42,15M; 55,16M, and only once in Fronto (215,16), whose language is less colloquial than Marcus'. The same meaning in Tertullian and later writers. 28,25 and 55,16 *istic* has not been correctly interpreted by Haines and W. Ehlers, TLL s.v., as 'in ista re'. 32.3 it means 'at your place' and 15,10 'therein', 'in that letter of yours'. Metaphorically it is 'on that point', 'in this matter' (20,10 and 137,12). See at 51,5 on *iste*.

Marcus is staying at one of the imperial villas (Baiae? cp. 4,7; 5,16), not in Rome, as Champlin, Chronology 140f., suggests.

Ita belongs to *anxio*. Whereas *non ita* with adjective or adverb is quite usual, *ita* with adjective or adverb is colloquial: comici, Cicero in his letters, and in some occasional passages in other writers; also 21,2; 35,9M; 88,28; 91,13; 173,26.

1,12 *praepedito alligatum attinet* is abundant. *Attinere* in the sense of *tenere*, *retinere* is typical of Plautus and therefore Priebe regards it as an archaism. Classical writers avoid it, but cp. Sen. Clem. 1,8,3 *(deos) caelum adligatos attinet*, and the same meaning of *attinere* is found in Sallust and several times in Tacitus; in Fronto 42,18M; 150,20.

1,13 *animam*: the same metonymy 30,13M; 40,8M; 51,17M; 56,4M; 62,19M; Cic. Fam. 14,14,2.

1,14 *propius videre*: I have now chosen for the lectio facilior. Marache, Mots 31, thinks that *prope revidere*, 'revenir pour voir', is a direct adoption of Plaut. Truc. 320, the only passage where *revidere* in this sense occurs.

1,15 *pedem*: on Fronto's podagra see at 265,29.

Restrictive *quantum* normally has the indicative (227,14 *quantum poteras*), but under the influence of *quod sciam* it is used with the subjunctive since Quint. Inst. 3,1,19. Our correspondents readily use the subjunctive *possim*.

1,16 *fovere* is a medical term: 'foment' (Haines), 'applicargli i fomenti' (Portalupi). In a broader sense it means 'to treat': 62,13M; 89,22M; 90,4; 104,3M, and often in Celsus.

2,1 *et*: see at 11,13.

Abruptis: 'to throw aside' (Haines), not 'rotto ogni freno' (Portalupi). There is no reason to add *domi*, as Hauler and Hanslik do, cp. 114,22V *omnibus omissis lubens curram.*

Cursu concitato: according to the TLL, this alliteration does not occur anywhere else, but a few times we find *cursu (in)citato.*

2,2 Haines, Della Corte and Portalupi connect *magis* with *claudus*: 'more lame than you' (Haines), but here *magis* is the same as *potius*, see at 35,1. It is certainly not the same as *nimis* (so A. Ebert 27 and Sittl 1884).

Ista mea: see at 1,10.

Verecundia: this changed a few years later, see 78,12M.

2,3 *o me*: acc. exclamationis, as 3,6; 27,10f.M; 31,21; 44,21M; 50,12M; 240,17f. See also at 46,3–5; 107,20. For the aposiopesis see at 63,20.

Metuo with active infinitive also 77,24. It is used since Curtius and Martialis.

2,4 *istis tuis*: this combination is frequent since Plautus; also 2,19; 3,5; 4,18; 25,25M; 35,11M; 50,9M; 71,10; 76,15M; 249,7M.

2,5–6 *perpeti posse*: the alliteration also in Plaut. Asin. 845; Capt. 88 and 132; Men. 719 and 743; Enn. Trag. 360; Ter. Eun. 177 and 551.

2,6–7 H. Usener, Rhein. Mus. 20, 1865, 151, saw here a reminiscence of an epigram by Q. Lutatius Catulus 1ff. Morel: *aufugit mi animus; credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum / devenit. sic est: perfugium illud habet*, and he added: 'Die Quelle der Reminiscenz aber war für Marcus doch schwerlich die Gedichtsammlung im Original, sondern eine Anthologie.' Schanz I 167 accepts this view, but we find the same thought elsewhere: Callim. Epigr. 42 and Anthol. Palat. 12,73. Nothing, of course, should be altered in Marcus' text, well defended by Eussner 1871 and Ellis 1904, who translates: 'Where my mind has betaken itself, I do not know, except that I know this, it is on its way to that unknown somewhere, you.' See 8,9f. For *nisi* after *nescio* cp. e.g. Plaut. Rud. 751 *huic alterae quae patria sit, profecto nescio; nisi scio probiorem esse hanc.* See at 80,22.

2,7 *cura* with infinitive is not uncommon since Cato. See at 113,10.

Miserere: 'for pity's sake' (Haines); see at 70,4.

2,7–8 *omni . . . omnem*: polyptoton.

2,8 *abstinentia*, a medical term since Celsus. Marcus is thinking of meat and drink, see 109,7 and 110,5, not of 'res Venereae', as Ed. Wölfflin, *Archiv* 6, 1889, 534, supposes. The asyndeton and the alliteration *tibi pro tua virtute tolerandam* express Marcus' strong feelings.

2,9 *aquas*: probably those of Baiae, cp. 4,7; 5,16; 81,24, and Friedländer I 389; 407f. On the medical use of these baths see Vitruv. 8,3; Plin. Nat. 31,31.

2,10 *si et quando*: the ellipsis of *proficiscaris* is colloquial, see Cugusti, *Evoluzione* 104. On the ellipsis of verbs see at 61,12f.

Nunc ut: *nunc* in front emphasizes the word, see at 21,8. *Ut*, 'how', is not unusual in dependent questions (see 26,14M; 66,24) when it stands for *quemadmodum*, but it is unusual when used instead of *quam* (with adjective or adverb), as 133,11 *quis ignorat, ut gracilis sit Lucilius?*

Commode agas: see at 28,3f.

Oro: see at 3,1.

2,11 *mentem . . . repone* has a slightly poetical touch. Note the alliteration. *Mens* for the tranquillity of mind also Val. Flacc. 7,245 *quaere malis nostris requiem mentemque reponens redde diem noctemque mihi.*

Vel tales: 'in spite of its sad tenor' (Haines).

2,12 *gestabo* is high-flown, cp. 132,17.

2,13 *vale mihi*: this dat. ethicus has been changed into the vocative *mi* here and in other passages with *vale* or *have*, and our grammars do not mention the dat. ethicus *vale mihi.* Marcus writes *vale mihi, Fronto* and suchlike 38,22; 50,25; 61,1; 250,6; *valebis mihi, magister* 62,6 and 63,10; *have mihi, magister* 61,5; 62,8; 63,12. Several times Marcus also has *vale mi magister*: it seems to have become a colloquial formula in which the difference between the vocative and the dative has disappeared. Sometimes, however, we can see that *mi* must be regarded as a dat. ethicus: 30,13M *vale mi semper, anima dulcissima*; 35,3M *semper mi vale, animus meus*; 72,4M *vale mi, omnia mea,*

gister. Fronto himself uses the indeterminable *mi* only once: 102,20 *vale mi domine dulcissime.* The same holds good for *have mi magister* 38,11; 42,4, where the Ambrosianus has *mi,* the Vaticanus has *mihi;* 43,1; 50,8; 85,4; 249,1. Again, Fronto has only once such formula: 189,10 *have mi domine fili carissime.* In some of Marcus' passages, *mi* seems to be a vocative: 78,14; 82,21 and 84,30 *vale mi magister iucundissime mihi;* 80,16 *vale mi iucundissime mihi magister;* 84,22 *vale mi iucundissime magister* and in a letter by Pius 162,2 *vale mi Fronto carissime mihi.* Apart from passages with *vale* and *have,* we have *mi* for *mihi;* 77,10M *uberem mi materiam mitte;* 77,13M *fave mi;* 72,15 is a false conjecture by Heraeus. Suetonius, Verb. diff. p. 278,14 Reifferscheid, does not help us much: *'mi' pronomen est vocativi casus . . . 'mi' aliquando ponitur pro adverbio adfativo ut 'vale mi frater carissime mihi'.* On the use of *mi* see R. Klussmann, *Emendationes* 73f.

Iucundissime: see at 38,22. *Dispositius,* 'more correctly' (Haines), is the lectio difficilior, though uncertain. *Dis dicere* would be a platitude, but *dis potius* (so Heindorf and Schenkl) might be correct because of the following *nam tu.* According to the TLL, *disposite* with a verbum dicendi is a rhetorical term, e.g. Quint. Inst. 10,7,12 *disposite, ornate, copiose dicit,* but that cannot be the case here; see at 10,10–12. The comparative of the adverb is not found elsewhere.

2,14 *postulas talia* seems to be a conjecture rather than an actual reading in Hauler's inedita. Neither du Rieu nor Studemund or Brakman have been able to make a distinction. In the MS, the line begins with *semper* and the next line with *O qui.* Allen 1841 tried to defend Mai's reading *semper es:* sc. *valens,* and Heindorf defended Mai's conjecture *semper [h]aves* by referring to 2,5 *te omnia ista aequo animo perpeti posse;* Novák 1886, 203, suggested *semper aves,* sc. *valere.*

2,16 *integro, inlibato, incolumi:* such synonyms with alliteration and asyndeton are typical of a solemn prayer. Apul. Met. 2,24,2–3 speaks of an official testimony with *verba concepta de industria quodam tabulis praenotante: ecce, inquit, nasus integer, incolumes oculi, salvae aures, inlibatae labiae,* and in an official declaration Gell. 6,18,7 *dicebant statum . . . eorum integrum incolumemque esse.* The combination *integer et inlibatus* we find in Sen. Constant. 6,5; Benef. 2,4,3; and in Plin. Pan. 25,1. *Integer* and *incolumis* in Gell. 15,31,4. *Inlibatus et incolumis* in Fronto 72,20. So there is no reason to believe P. Frassinetti, Giorn. ital. di filol. 2, 1949, 250, who thinks that Min. Fel. 15,1 *integra et inlibata . . . singula . . . refutare* was taken from Marcus' letter; see at 159,3; 259,8 at the end; 272,7.

2,18 This letter is the answer to the preceding one, see at 1,5. On the form of address see at 1,5 and 65,7. Fronto probably wrote this letter from one of his villas, cp. 2,7 and 5,15. According to Ehrenthal and Brakman, the letter is referred to 50,19f., but this is very questionable, see at 50,19f. Nor do I believe with Brakman that Caes. II 5 is the answer to this letter; see at 25,22.

2,19 *sine fine* is mostly used of time and with a nomen, not with a verb. Other authors have *in infinitum,* but Fronto loves homoioteleuta.

Vix ut: see at 21,8.

2,20 *expromendum*: though *exprimere* and *expromere* are sometimes mixed up in MSS, there is no reason to read here *exprimendum*: cp. 46,1; 138,12; 217,1.

3,1 *quid . . . quid*: see at 97,4.

Oro te in parenthesis 3,20; 42,5M; 55,15M; 114,20V; 176,26; 194,9; 220,1; 228,17; 234,10; *Oro te* in front 32,10; 42,5M; 92,3M; 119,7. *Oro* without *te* 2,10M; 2,15M. *Quaeso* in parenthesis 5,12; 54,13; 92,23; 93,18. *Obsecro* in parenthesis 21,11; 36,29; 77,16; 144,2; 231,7. *Oro te et obsecro* 110,3. *Rogo* in front 43,19M. See Heerdegen, Ueber Umfang 92ff.

Me uno: cp. Catull. 10,17 *ut . . . unum me facerem beatiorem*; Plin. Epist. 6,17,5 *quis uno te reventior?*

3,2 *fraglantes*: in our MS we have *fragl-* 26,15M; 28,16M; 46,4; *flagr-* 39,14; 72,15M. So we can hardly say that 'von Fronto an . . . zeigen die massgebenden Handschriften eine solche Bevorzügung der Metathesis, dass wir notwendig auch an eine veränderte Taktik der Schriftsteller glauben müssen' (Ed. Wölfflin, Die Dissimulation der litera canina, Archiv 4, 1887, 8). Haines always prints *flagr-*.

3,4 *parens tua*: Domitia Lucilla, not Faustina, Pius' wife, as Ida Kapp, TLL s.v. domina, thinks. She makes the same mistake 42,2; 43,25; 74,18. On Domitia Lucilla see at 21,15. On *domina*, at 86,14.

Interdum loci, 'at times' (Haines), is archaic. This gen. partitivus often has a temporal meaning: Plautus has *adhuc locorum, postid locorum, postidea loci, interea loci*; Ennius and Lucretius have *inde loci*; Sallust, *post id locorum, ad id locorum, post ea loci*; and Fronto 190,1, *ad hoc locorum*. Cp. *quid horae* 96,3M and—not temporal—*quid loci* 166,15. So there is no reason why we should not accept here *interdum loci*, even though it does not occur elsewhere. Tertullian has *tunc locurum* and Claudianus Mamertus *nunc locorum*. See W. Studemund, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 97, 1868, 557; Fr. Ritschl, Opuscula II Lipsiae 1868, 269; Kuhlmann, TLL s.v. locus; Hofmann-Szantyr 54. Mai's *ioco* has been adopted by Cassan, Haines and R. Wauters, Latomus 34, 1975, 790.

3,5 *quid si*: see at 9,8.

Quibus: see at 159,1.

3,6 *votis advocas*: see at 4,37.

O me beatum: see at 2,3.

3,7 *putasne* in colloquial and later Latin has almost the value of an interrogative particle, cp. Hor. Sat. 2,5,76 *putasne perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica?* See Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata 343; Hofmann-Szantyr 464f.; and at 48,7.

Sciat = *possit*.

3,8 *babae* is a colloquial interjection occurring in Plautus and in Petron. 37,9: 'hurrah' (Haines).

3,9 *quicquam* is an adverbial accusative rather than an acc. limitationis, as O. Hey, TLL s.v. doleo, thinks. See at 74,23.

3,9f. *vigeo . . . curram*: because of the asyndeton, the alliteration and the homoioteleuton, Ehrenthal 39 saw here an old verse: *vigeó valeo exsultó, quo vis veniám <iam>, quo vis cúrram.* But such stylistic phenomena are characteristic of Fronto.

3,10 Preparative *istud* followed by an acc. cum inf. occurs here for the first time.

3,11f. *litteras . . . epistulam*: these two letters are lost, but they may have been in the first quaternio. Brakman erroneously thinks that they are the letters Caes. I 5 and 4; nor is it the letter mentioned 88,14.

3,13 *tabellarium: retinui* and *mussat* may indicate that he is a slave or libertus of the imperial house, not a professional letter-carrier, as probably was the *tabellarius* of 63,13. He had to stay the night at Fronto's home. See Roller 399–401; W.H. Gross, Tabellarius, Kleine Pauly (1974).

Quo = ut eo.

Resipiscerem: cp. Tert. Apol. 17,5 *resipiscit ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine.*

3,14 *prope exactus*: Fronto had broken off his letter and now continues it the next day. It is only four o'clock in the afternoon, see 5,15—from which passage Roller 288 erroneously concludes that it has taken Fronto ten hours to write this letter. See at 52,7 for the time at which the ancients usually wrote their letters.

3,15 *reperio*: see at 31,1. Note the alliteration.

3,17 *gaudeam*: 'I almost could rejoice'.

3,19 *argumentum*: 'theme', see at 66,11.

3,21f. *caput devovit: caput (de)vovere* is a religious term, cp. Cic. Fin. 5,64 *pro salute patriae sua capita voverunt*; Val. Max. 5,6,5 *Decius . . . caput suum pro salute reipublicae devovit*; 6,2 ext. 2 *caput meum pro tua salute devoveo*; Flor. Epit. 1,17,7. Fronto has 88,4f. *qui vitam suam . . . libenter dediderit atque devoverit.*

Parentibus tuis: Hadrian and Pius rather than Pius and Domitia Lucilla, see at 122,22. *Tuis*, not *vestris*, because Verus has not yet assumed the toga virilis; he plays no part in the early letters.

3,22 *succidaneum*, 'substitute', is an archaic term of sacral and legal language; apart from the Digesta, it is hardly used and its meaning was unclear: Gell. 4,6 and Festus 392. Studemund; Priebe; Marache, Mots; and Selvatico, Scambio 250,115, suppose that Fronto took the word from Plaut. Epid. 140 *ut meum tergum tuae stultitiae subdas. Succidaneus*, also 117,3, but Fronto purposely uses here official terms such as *provinciam administrare* and *exercitum ducere. Succidaneus* also in Iustin. Epit. 38,6,2; Apul. Met. 8,26,3.

3,22f. *provinciam administravit*: see at 166,19; 269,16. Fronto's quaestorship of Sicily (see 259,5) is not *administrare provinciam.*

Exercitum duxit: in a normal career, a senator, after his praetorship, became a legatus or a commander of an army. Being a scholar and an orator, Fronto did not want to enter in the imperial service, and in the second century it was very exceptional that a homo vus like Fronto could become a consul. This passage seems to indicate that Fronto has his consulship behind him. See at 259,3; 269,16; and Alföldy, Consuls 279; Konsulat und Senatorenstand 18,53ff.; Champlin, Fronto 80.

3,24 Corrective *immo* is almost always used without *et*, but the TLL s.v. et and immo presents two passages with *et*: Paneg. 7(6),21,5 *vidisti enim, credo, . . . Apollinem . . . et immo quid dico 'credo'? vidisti*, etc. (here R. Novák reads: *et quid dico 'credo'? immo vidisti*), and Vitae Patr. 3,17 *et immo detuli vobis*

pensionem. So the sense of our passage seems to be 'and the deuce, he is just a follower, and even that infrequently enough'. *Immo vel* is abundant, as in Plaut. Truc. 373 *immo vel decem*; Suet. Rhet. 5 *immo vel magis*; Flor. Epit. 1,8,3 *immo vel plurimum*. However, the whole passage is very uncertain: Hauler reads *sectator*, and *vel is* seems to be an improbable combination which should mean *ne is quidem satis frequens* or *et is satis infrequens*. If *sectator* is correct, it does not mean 'cortegiano' (Della Corte) or 'visitatore' (Portalupi), but just 'a loiterer who follows in the rear', as opposed to *praeter ceteros*. A more pregnant meaning *sectator* has 53,15, and 53,21 *amicos ac sectatores*; 56,21 Sallust is called a *sectator* of Cato and 228,6 Fronco calls himself jokingly a *sectator* of Seneca; 172,10 and 176,23 he speaks of a *bonarum artium sectator*. Cp. 238,20f. *potius duxi . . . infrequens amicus esse quam frequens adsentator*.

3,25f. *neque domum . . . exspectat*: a climax. *Vestram* is Pius and his house. As the salutatio began early in the morning (in summer shortly after 5 a.m.), the amici Caesaris and Romans of rank and clients in general had to rise early to be in time: Sen. Dial. 10,14,4 *miseris suum somnum rumpentibus*; Mart. 9,92,5 *a prima tremebundus luce salutat*; 10,70,5 *non resalutantis video nocturnus amicos*; 12,26,3 *non a prima discurram luce per urbem*; Iuv. 3,127 *nocte togatus currere*; 5,19 *rumpere somnum debeat*; Lucian. Nigr. 22 νυκτὸς μὲν ἐξανιστάμενοι μέσης. See also 61,9M. During the holidays the salutatio took place after 9 a.m.: 62,12M. See also the passages cited in the TLL s.v. mane. Those who came to pay their respects were supposed to come *cottidie*: Suet. Tib. 34 *cotidiana oscula edicto prohibuit*; 35,12M. Fronto did not come to the salutatio when he was ill: 75,7; 75,10f.M; 82,11; 83,9. But usually he was present: 265,4. On a private audience see at 112,2. Pius was not very strict about these matters: Marcus Medit. 1,16. He held his salutatio also when he was staying at one of his villas outside Rome: 61,9M; 62,12M. See Blümner, Die römischen Privataltertümer 380; Hug, Salutatio, RE I A 2 (1920).

3,26 *comitatur*: whether Fronto was an amicus of Pius in the technical sense of the word is uncertain; he was not a *comes* of the emperor, see at 46,19 and M. Bang, Die Freunde und Begleiter des Kaisers, in Friedländer IV 56ff., nor was he a member of the imperial council, see at 96,3 and 259,8 p. 578.

Exspectat: all editors keep *spectat* and since Cassan they translate 'il n'a pas les yeux sans cesse sur toi'. But *spectare*, contrary to *salutare* and *comitari*, can hardly be used in this sense. *Sectatur* (Eussner, Klussmann and Cornelissen) does not seem to be the solution. *Exspectare*, on the other hand, is often used absolutely: 'he bides his time' or 'he is always at the emperor's beck and call'.

4,1 *vide ut* is colloquial: Plautus, Terentius, Cic. Fam. 16,1,2 *videbis ut*, and so *videbis ne* 67,9; *vide ne* 92,23.

Si quis: see at 162,23.

4,2–5,14 Fronto's exposition of friendship reflects Stoic ideas, cp. Cic. Leg. 1,18,49 (= Stoic. Vet. Fragm. III 4 von Arnim) *ubi illa sancta amicitia,*

si non ipse amicus per se amatur?; Fin. 3,70 (= III 348) *minime vero probatur... amicitiam propter utilitates adscisci*; Off. 3,118. The Epicureans, on the contrary, regarded *ratio* as the basis of friendship: Cic. Fin. 1,66. Though the terms *ori, nasci, colere, gignere, liber, officiosus, amicitiae fons* are also found in Cicero's Laelius, Fronto's exposition is an independent piece of work which matches with Marcus' inclination towards philosophy. The same thoughts 181,14f.; 217,15 (marg. c). Another exposition of friendship is lost: 149,23f. See also 162,25f.; 172,8ff. (*De amicitia*); 238,11f. See also the Erotikos 250,10ff. and P.V. Cova, Lo stoico imperfetto, Napoli 1978, 124–131. Our passage starts with three similes analysed by Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 79ff., and it presents synonyms, symmetries, homoioteleuta, chiasmi, hendiadys, polysendeta, asyndeta, paronomasia and anaphora.

4,2 *facile respondeas*: see at 241,25.

Nihil malo quam with acc. cum inf. is colloquial: it is found in Terence and in Cicero's letters.

4,2–3 *amoris erga me tui*: such a traiectio (hyperbaton) occurs frequently with *erga*; in Fronto also 5,11f.

4,3 *extare* is always 'to be', 'to exist': 15,17; 113,14; 124,10; 124,17; 215,10. Here it is not 'elucere', 'apparere', 'conspicuum esse', as O. Hiltbrunner, TLL s.v., thinks.

4,4 *oritur* seems to be the correct reading, as the origin of friendship is the point here; *munire amorem* is not found elsewhere.

4,5 *causis*, viz. *utilitatibus*; cp. Cic. Lael. 51.

4,5f. *inpetu... ratione*: a Stoic opposition, cp. Sen. Epist. 76,9; Benef. 1,15,3; Quint. Inst. 6,1,28; see also Ovid. Rem. 10.

4,6 *lignis*: the plural means 'firewood' since Cato, Agr. 16.

4,7 *Baiarum*: the thermal baths at Baiae with their sulphur springs were famous. Marcus spends his holidays there 6,8. See TLL s.v. Baiae; Friedländer I 407ff.

4,9 *fornaculas*: the diminutive does not occur before Vitruv. 7,10,2. Here it is clearly derogatory (*istas*). The fornax is the hypocausis, cp. Blümner, Privataltertümer 420.

Ingenui: the meaning 'natural' (Haines) is of a later date, first in Stat. Silv. 2,1,44. 30,10M *hendecasyllabum ingenuum* has been well explained by the TLL as 'sponte ortum'.

4,9f. Note the alliteration and the annomination. *Gratus atque gratuitus* also Apul. Met. 1,7,8 and Augustin. Serm. 210,5,7.

4,10 *ad eundem modum*: see at 38,8–9.

4,12 *iugis et iucundus*: this alliteration is not found elsewhere. *Iugis* is archaic: Plaut. Pseud. 84 *thensaurus iugis*; Gell. 12,8,6 *iugi concordia... vixerunt*; Apul. Met. 9,3,1 *iugi furore*. Curiously enough, it reappears often in late authors.

4,13 *adolescit*: cp. Ovid. Amor. 2,19,23 *durat amor longosque adolescit in annos.*

4,14f. *aeque ut* (instead of *ac* or *quam*) is comparatively rare. *Non aeque ut* 41,6 and 219,9. Elsewhere the usual *aeque ac*.

4,15 *hortulis... arbusculae*: the diminutives have a deprecatory ring. Fronto

is very much against all mannerism. The gardeners of Roman villas used to grow all kinds of strange trees (*catachannae* 29,14; 153,11) or lopped them into artificial forms. See also at 219,5ff. and Blümner, Privataltertümer 85f.; Friedländer I 475ff. This has become a literary topos: Quint. Inst. 8,3,8 *sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptaverim?*; Tac. Dial. 6,6 *in ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam alia diu serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.*

Manu: the abl. sing. often means 'artificially', e.g. Varro, R.R. 3,5,12 *silva manu sata*; Plin. Epist. 5,6,17 describing a villa garden: *retentas manu arbusculas*. The note of the third hand is not correct: he confuses the dual and the so-called numerus communis. The same error Cledon. Gramm. V 10,20.

4,15–18 Fronto seems to have in mind Verg. Georg. 2,9–21, where the trees *nullis hominum cogentibus ipsae sua sponte veniunt*. Enn. Ann. 110,3 speaks of the *abies alta*, Verg. Ecl. 6,63 of the *procerae alni*, Ovid. Am. 1,14,12 of the *ardua cedrus*.

4,16 *piceae*: for the plural see at 152,8.

Sponte natae: Cic. Fin. 2,78 says of friendship: *a se oritur et sua sponte nascitur*; 2,83 *quae (caritas) faciat amicitiam ipsam sua sponte, vi sua.*

4,17 *sitae*: as *pono* was originally **posino*, *situs* here seems to be 'sown', 'planted', an agricultural term. See at 16,4–6.

4,18 *educantur* is sometimes said of trees and plants, e.g. Catull. 62,41 *quem (florem) . . . educat imber*. Though the variant reading *evocantur* seems to be less correct, we have the same variant in Arator, Acta apost. 2,190 *palmes fecundius educat* (*evocat* var. lectio) *uvas*.

Tuus iste: see at 2,4.

4,18f. The same simile Laberius 30,20f.M; Verg. Ecl. 10,73f. *amor tantum mihi crescit . . . quantum . . . viridis se subicit alnus*.

Adolescit: see at 54,18.

4,20 *myrtos laurusque*: the myrtle and the sweet bay are often mentioned together: Cato, Agr. 51; Verg. Ecl. 2,54; Ovid. Ars 3,690. See also Fronto 219,5. Both *myrtus* and *laurus* can be of the second and fourth declinations, see Neue-Wagener I 761f.; 767f. Fronto has *lauro* 125,1 and *myrtum* 219,5.

Procresceret is erroneously regarded as an archaism by Marache, Mots 30, and by Selvatico, Scambio 262,164, perhaps adopted from Lucr. 1,715.

4,21 *satis . . . roboris* is a variant of Sallustius' paronomasia *satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum* (Cat. 5,4). See at 153,6. On the odour of the myrtle and the bay see Hor. Carm. 2,15,6 *violaria et myrtus . . . spargent odorem*; Ovid. Ars 3,690 *ros maris et lauri nigraque myrtus olent*; Verg. Aen. 6,658; *odoratum lauri nemus*; Mart. 3,65,5; Plin. Nat. 21,69.

Fortunae rationi: Fronto is, of course, not quite serious and he has in mind the proverb *Fortuna ad hominem plus quam consilium valet* (Publil. Syr. 192 and others, see Otto and Ed. Wölfflin, Archiv 15, 1908, 566). The Stoic doctrine is exactly the reverse, cp. Marcus, Medit. 7,55.

4,22 *antistat*: 'is superior to', a rare word but not an archaism, as Priebe thinks.

Autem: see at 40,6f.

4,29 *idonea cultu*: *idoneus* with sup. II only in Sall. Hist. 3,35.

5,1 *templa fana delubra*: a similar accumulation of synonyms 60,8M; for archives 12,2f.; for house-gods 164,25. On temples of Fortuna see 155,1 and Wissowa, Religion 207f.; 468f.

Non fallor quin only occurs here and Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1,14,1, where *falli* has a different meaning: *non facile umquam bestia falleretur quin illi... occurreret.* Here in Fronto it seems a contamination of *facere non possum quin* and *non me fallit quin.* In general, Fronto's use of *quin* is freer than in classical Latin. After verba impediendi or restringendi 14,2 *nullum modum statuere*; 26,20M *temperare non possum* (also Caes. Gall. 1,33,4); 56,16 *nec verba dare diutius potest*; 77,17 *nec deprecor* (also 44,18 and Ps. Quint. Declam. 2,6); 90,11 *non omittere* (also Tac. Ann. 3,27,4); 157,11 *difficile dignitati servire* (where Niebuhr erroneously reads *quum*); 215,17 *ne quid inconcinnum... relinquatur.* After *non dubito* 37,13 and 227,8; see also 222,7 *nihil... acerbius expertus esse dicitur.* After *facere non possum, fieri non potest* and the like 44,6 *non potest*; cp. 262,24. After *nequeo* 249,12 (also Plautus, Terence and Apuleius). After impersonal *abest* and the like 66,11 *numquam est*; 174,26 *non longe aberit.* After *nihil est* 14,21 *nullum adeo vile... est holus*; 45,1M *nullum... tam veriloquum oraculum est*; 118,7 *nihil est ita durum*; 178,23 *nemo est.* (260,12 *non infitias imus quin* are words of Gellius.)

5,3f. *malim... potius* is abundant, as 5,10 and 141,14. *Malim amorem... genitum*: see at 182,8f.

5,4 *aequiperat*: 'to match', not 'compare with' (Haines), as 31,5M; 80,7.

5,6 The reading *ductuus* has been confirmed by Studemund and Hauler. Though the TLL has no parallel for *ductuus*, we have, especially in inscriptions, a nom. and acc. plur. ending in *-uus*, see Neue-Wagener I 546f.

5,8 *impetus*, ἐνθουσιασμός. Cp. Cic. Div. 1,111 *horum sunt auguria non divini impetus, sed rationis humanae.* Stoics attached great value to *divinatio.*

5,9 *potius*: if the second hand indeed has *otius* (= *ocius*), I should prefer this lectio difficilior, for sometimes *ocius* means the same as *potius*, e.g. Cic. Att. 16,3,1 *deseremur ocius a republica quam a re familiari.*

Accederet: in later Latin, *accedere* sometimes means 'to join', 'to fall in with': Quint. Inst. 1,5,37 *huic opinioni*; Declam. 271 p. 112,14R. *tuo consilio.* C. Weyman, Archiv. 7, 1892, 556, has justly defended the MS reading against Ehrenthal 6; A. Funck, Archiv 10, 1898, 529; and Haines. Apul. Met. 1,20,2 has *accedis huic fabulae* and there, too, Petschenning wanted to read *accredis.* See Charis. 386,7B.

5,10 *cursum tendunt*: Priebe supposes that this was taken from Plaut. Pseud. 217 *quorsum haec tendant*, but there the reading is uncertain and the expression is not found elsewhere.

Forte: the original meaning of the ablative is evident.

5,12 *quaeso* here in parenthesis, not with subjunctive. See at 3,1 and 43,17.

Sedulo demus operam is hardly taken from Plaut. Cas. prol. 16 *ut cognoscant dabimus operam sedulo*, as Priebe and Selvatico assume; cp. e.g. Ter. Eun. 363.

Ignoretur et lateat: see at 251,21–26.

5,13 *sine requirant*: *sine* with subjunctive and asyndeton has a solemn ring. It is a kind of imperative used especially by ancient and Augustan poets. 7,5M we find *sivit* with subjunctive. See at 37,11.

5,14 *Nili caput*: 'to look for the fountain-head of the Nile' (see Plin. Nat. 5,51) is said for looking for the impossible: Claudian 21,179 *fontem si quaerere Nili (iuberes)*. See the Nachträge zu Otto and E. Honigman, Nil, RE XVII 1 (1936).

5,15 *hora decimam tangit*: the hand of the dial 'almost touches the line of ten' = 'it is now close on four o'clock' (Haines), not 'suonano le quattro' (Portalupi). Though Fronto sits writing inside, he is looking at the solarium, not at a horologium ex aqua, see J. Gundel, TLL s.v. hora; W.H. Gross, Uhren, Kleine Pauly (1975); J. Mau, Wasseruhr, ibid. Pers. 3,4 *quintā dum linea tangitur umbrā*. The ellipsis of *linea* (not *pars*, as Gudeman, TLL s.v. decimus, thinks) is not found elsewhere and must be colloquial. *Hora* as a metonymy for *horologium* also in Cic. Brut. 200 *iudicem mittentem* (sc. *puerum*) *ad horas*: 'to look at the clock'. Cp. Mart. 8,67,1 *horas quinque puer nondum tibi nuntiat*.

Fronto seldom mentions the exact time; Marcus, conscientious as he was, often does. See at 52,7 and G. Billfinger, Die antiken Stundenangaben, Stuttgart 1888, 84ff.

Mussat: 'is muttering' (Haines). Cp. Cic. Fam. 15,18,2 *sed flagitat tabellarius*; Hieron. Epist. 32,1 *ut tam parvam epistulam scriberem, causae duplicis fuit: quod et tabellarius festinat et*, etc. The *tabellarius* wanted to be back at Marcus' residence before sunset, and this means that, if Marcus is in Baiae, Fronto cannot be in Rome or in Sorrento; see at 55,24.

Finis: longer letters often end this way: Sen. Epist. 4,10 *ut finem epistulae inponam*; 8,7 *sed iam finis faciendus est*; 13,16; 58,37; Plin. Epist. 2,5,13 *sed iam finem faciam*.

5,16 *valeo . . . commodius*: see at 76,8.

5,17 *dominum meum*: an apposition instead of a vocative. The second hand did not like such a term, see Proleg. XL.

Decus morum: see at 258,3. A Christian husband addresses his deceased wife, Anthol. Lat. II 1430,5, *casta, decus morum, sapiens*; Stat. Theb. 5,125 *decus ac solacia patris*.

5,18 *dices*: see at 36,15.

Amplius for *magis* or *plus*: see at 93,19.

5,20 *parentibus*: Pius and Domitia Lucilla, as 1,7 and 81,18.

Ingenium: see at 87,26.

5,21 Chronology: this letter and Fronto's answer I 5 have nothing to do with the preceding letters. Here Marcus gives proof of a literary composition and Fronto answers as a teacher. But 8,5 presents a problem: in my text I have given Hauler's unpublished reading. Former editors had *amore*, but the dative *amorei* shows that we should not alter *meae fiduciae*. So *satis* must be wrong, and I now read with Studemund *satius*: 'rather for the sake of my love for you than for my own faith in it'. Marcus begins to have his doubts about the sense of such a composition, a state of mind that will find its climax in 146–147, see 68,2f. Therefore, we must date these letters 145. All others have dated them before July 143 (see at 1,5); only Cortassa dates them 139–146/7. Marcus is staying at Baiae (6,9) and Fronto is in one of his villas outside Rome (8,9; see at 51,20).

5,22 Fronto's letter to which Marcus responds was apparently already lost in antiquity; that is why the second hand gives the explanation *ad tua pro somno ac somnio*. In this letter, Fronto had advised Marcus to sleep (8,11 *pauca quae ego pro somno dixeram*), for he usually was a bad sleeper (see at 9,12; 85,14). That letter of Fronto is not the *liber descriptus* 1,6, as Naber and Brakman suppose, nor should we think of an elaborate Laus Somni or a Pro Somno, as has been assumed by Daunou, Journal des Savans 1816, 30; Boissier, La jeunesse de Marc-Aurèle 684; Klussmann, Emendationes 18; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Schanz III 93; Haines, Index s.v. Fronto; Pepe; Birley, Mark Aurel 147; and Cortassa. See at 231,14.

5,23 *praevaricor* in its proper sense is a legal term: 'to have a collusion with the opponent in a lawsuit', see Dig. 47,15 *De praevaricatione* and G. Wesenberg, Praevaricatio, RE XXII (1954); D. Medicus, Praevaricatio, Kleine Pauly (1971).

Adsiduo: this adverb occurs several times in Plautus; after him, only in Lucil. 173; Plin. Nat. 26,16; and after Marcus in Gell. 8,3; Apul. Met. 9,15; Modest. Dig. 40,4,44; Ulp. Dig. 47,10,15,22. Fronto always has *adsidue*: 20,3; 128,8; 182,17.

Diebus ac noctibus: 107,17V *dies noctesque*. The accusative is used since Plautus, the ablative since Seneca philosophus.

somno adsum: a forced pun with double meaning: 'I side with sleep' (*praevaricor*) and 'I am sleep's companion'.

Neque: the relative clause trails off into a principal sentence.

5,24 *sino* and *cupio* with subjunctive: see at 5,13 and 37,11.

6,1 *sua*: on *suus* and *sui* see at 8,5 and 42,20.

Lucubratiunculae: the diminutive is here found for the first time, then in Gell. praef. 4 and in Hieronymus and Ausonius. Metonymically it is an unpretentious piece of work done by the light of the oil-lamp (cp. *studiolum* 61,22M). In summer, when in Rome the sun rises at about four o'clock, *lucubrationes* were hardly necessary, but in other seasons studious Romans rose as early as three o'clock in the morning to do their writing, cp. Plin. Epist. 3,5,8 and 61,6M *ab hora nona noctis*. Cels. 1,2,5 *per hiemem potissimum totis noctibus conquiescere, sin lucubrandum est, non post cibum id facere, sed post concoctionem*. See Index s.v. lucubratio in Roller, Das Formular.

6,2 *igitur*: an effective brachylogy. See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 46ff.

Ἐπιχειρήματα (*epichiremata* 181,3): a technical term for rhetorical arguments—arguments not so much based on logic as on examples. Rhet. Her. 2,2,2 *argumentationes quas Graeci epicheremata appellant*; Quint. Inst. 5,10,4 *epicherema Valgius adgressionem vocat*... 6 *Cicero melius ratiocinationem*; 5,14,14 *epichirema autem nullo differt a syllogismis nisi quod illi et plures habent species et vera colligunt veris, epichirematis frequentior circa credibilia est usus*. See Volkmann, Rhetorik [3]1901, 29; Lausberg, Handbuch 194. The following *epichiremate* proves that it cannot mean 'undertaking' (Della Corte: 'imprese belliche e bottino'). *Epichiremata* played an important part in Fronto's pleading and teaching, see at 41,20; 181,3.

Φίλα, 'liked', 'esteemed' (by Fronto), is Hauler's latest and unpublished reading. The reading of the first hand could lead to σκῦλα, 'spoils', '

mentazioni sostratte all'avversario' (Portalupi[1]). It is highly improbable that we should read Σκίλα or Σκυίλα and think of Squilla Gallicanus (so Hauler, Wien. Stud. 22, 1900, 140, and A. Stein, Gavius 114, PIR IV^2 [1952]); see at 185,13.

Eiusdem is probably Fronto himself, or maybe Homer's Ilias quoted by Fronto in his lost letter, see at 7,14. Marcus, being in Baiae, now takes his arguments from the Odyssey. Far-fetched though not impossible is Haines' idea that Theodorus of Gaza is meant (see at 41,20): in that case, Fronto must have mentioned him in his lost letter; but then we might as well think of Athenodotus or Dionysius Tenuis, see at 17,8.

6,3 *quodsi*: as there is no principal sentence, this is an anacoluthon called anantapodon. See Kühner II 587; Hofmann-Szantyr 731f.

6,5 *inquis*: see at 36,15.

Accusaverit: see at 1,10–11.

6,8 *quando* with causal meaning as 81,23. Marcus gets talking about Ulysses because according to a legend already circulating in the second century BC it was Ulysses who gave Baiae its name: Serv. Aen. 9,710 quotes Postumius Albinus, De adventu Aeneae, and Lutatius Catulus, Communes historiae, who say that Ulysses named Baiae after Boia, the nurse of his companion Euximus; Servius also quotes Varro, who derived Baiae from Baius, another companion of Ulysses. Sil. 12,113ff. *docet ille, tepentes unde ferant nomen Baiae, comitemque dedisse Dulichiae puppis stagno sua nomina monstrat.* See also Lycophr. 694; Mythogr. 1,145; Athen. 1,17 p. 43b; and Gloss. V 549,50. Marcus must have been aware of this etymology.

Both *apud Baias* and *ad Baias* are used, and in the imperial age also *Bais*. Ed. Wölfflin, Zur Konstruktion der Städtenamen, Archiv 8, 1893, 295, disputes the opinion of E. Klebs, who assumes that *apud Baias* was said because Baiae never was a real municipality, and he is probably right to state that the Romans spoke of *apud Baias* when they meant life at the seaside. On the other hand, *apud* gradually took over the function of the locative, as in *apud insulam Trinacriam* 6,19M; *apud Cirtam* 124,15; *apud Portum* 85,17M is normal. *Apud Alsium* 226,9 may mean 'at Alsium'; unfortunately, no parallels exist. C. Funaioli, Der Lokativ und seine Auflösung, Archiv 13, 1904, 357, gives the same interpretation that is offered by Wölfflin: *apud Alsium* is the villa at the beach, not the little town itself. The article 'apud' of A. Klotz in the TLL is very incomplete in this respect. See also Hofmann-Szantyr 224 and at 51,19; 220,14. Pius inherited Hadrian's villa at Baiae: Vita Hadr. 25,6; Vita Pii 5,1.

6,8–9 *in . . . labyrintho*: what does 'in this interminable labyrinth' (Haines) mean? It is in this labyrinth that Marcus and his family are staying (*agimus*), so it seems that we should take the word figuratively: the maze with its endlessly and aimlessly strolling visitors, for Marcus did not like the seaside resort, see 30,17ff. Other interpretations are less convincing: Haines and J.H. D'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 106, refer to the twelfth book of the Odyssey, where Ulysses is driven to and fro along the coast. Hauler, in his inedita, thinks of the caves and tunnels near Baculi, nowadays called Carceri di Nerone. Pepe, followed by

Cortassa, suggests that Ulysses passed with his ships through Agrippa's channel (an anachronism!) into Lake Lucrinus and Avernus. T.D. Barnes, in Champlin's Chronology, sees here an allusion to the sojourn with Circe or the visit to the underworld. Ameling, Baiae, sees in the labyrinth either the subterranean galleries through which Ulysses descended into the underworld or the imperial palace in Baiae itself. E. Staerk, Ulixi labyrinthus, rejects Ameling's interpretation and thinks that *Ulixi labyrinthus* is the Tyrrhenian Sea. *Ulixi*: on this genitive see at 138,13.

6,10 *sumam*: did Marcus consult a lexicon Homericum?

6,11 *in isto lacu*: 'about that pool' (Haines) and 'per questo bacino' (Portalupi) do not sufficiently render the pejorative meaning of *isto*: 'this miserable marshy pool', 'swampy land', 'the Slough of Despond'. That is how the ancient annotator understood it 8,21: *Baiae, Lucrinus et Avernus*. See G. Radke, Avernus lacus, and Lucrinus lacus, Kleine Pauly (1964 and 1968). These lakes are often called *stagna* by poets and in Mart. 4,30,1 and 13, and in Tac. Ann. 14,4,4 *Baianus lacus* is the *Lucrinus*. Buttmann, Hauler (inedita) and Pepe assume that the annotator 8,21 misunderstood Marcus and that the Tyrrhenian Sea between Sicily and Cumae is meant. Buttmann even supposes that *lacus* is the same as *Ulixi labyrinthus*, which cannot be true because of *agimus*. Nor can *lacus* refer to the bathing place, as J. Guey, Rev. d. Ét. lat. 29, 1951, 314f., assumes. Already in antiquity the passage was unclear: the copies used by the second hand had explanatory and conjectural notes (see Proleg. XL and XLII). *Agro* and *nebula* are such conjectures; *agro* points to a land of lakes, and *nebula* seems to refer to Od. 11,15, where the Cimmerians, who lived in this region, are said to be ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι. Cp. Tibull. 3,5,24 *Cimmerios lacus*.

Neque quae is paleographically the best solution, in spite of 8,20.

6,14 *quamquam* correctivum as 5,22M; in parenthesis 2,13M. On the mood after *quamquam* see 88,19.

6,16 I have kept ἅπαντες in spite of the metre and the Vulgata Homeri.

6,20 The MS reading ουδανεμοι leads either to οὐδ' ἄνεμοι (Haines) or to οὐδ' ἄν ἐμοὶ (so my first edition and Pepe), but a negation is impossible, as sleep must have been the cause of Eurylochus' ill counsel.

7,1 *postea ubi* instead of *postea cum* seems more high-flown and is only found in Cato, Orat. frg. 113 Sblendorio; Agr. 156,4; and here.

7,2 *quid*: the ellipsis of *fecit* resembles Caes. B.G. 5,33,1 *haec tamen ipsa timide*, sc. *faciebat*. See at 61,12f.

Expergitus is an archaism: Priscian. Gramm. II 512,24 *expergiscor experrectum facit, quamvis vetustissimi etiam expergitus dicebant*. These *vetustissimi* are Lucilius, Lucretius and Valerius Antias. After these authors, also Fronto 210,19, Apuleius and a few later writers.

7,3 γεγώνευν is usually preferred by editors of Homer, but the corrections by the second hand are uncertain and tend to restore the textus receptus; see Proleg. XLI. On the form γεγώνουν see P. Chantraine, Grammaire Homérique I, Paris 1948 348; 439.

7,3–4 Marcus leaves out verse 371 but this does not mean that his Homer text was defective, as Hauler, inedita, assumes.

7,5 *Ulixen*: Quint. Inst. 1,5,63 *recentiores instituerunt Graecis nominibus Graecas declinationes potius dare*. This fits in with the practice of Fronto and his correspondents: *Alcibiaden* 48,12; 138,17; *Apellen* 27,7M; 133,9; *Arsacen* 124,13; *Demosthenen* 27,7M; *Heroden* 37,13; 38,8; Nealcen 133,9; Polycraten 138,17; Protogenen 133,9; Socraten 138,18; but *Socratem* 230,16; 230,18; 250,2M; and *Pyladem* 114,8V. See Neue-Wagener I 472ff. *Ulixen* is a proleptical accusative, a colloquialism, see at 107, 13–15. Cp. Plaut. Cas. 599 *meum virum veniat velim*; Plaut. Persa 414 *possum te facere ut argumentum accipias*; Cic. Quint. fr. 2,15(14),2 *haec me ut confidam faciunt*; Chiron 840 *sine eum . . . lambiat*. 52,10M *fac me ut sciam* (so there is no reason to assume with Ehrenthal 36 n.77 that Marcus imitates here Ter. Haut. 84 *fac me ut sciam*); 178,9 *(dei) uxorem ut recte proveniat favebunt*; (265,7 *fac me . . . ut sim certus*). Sometimes the accusative is put in front to emphasize the word: 8,1M τὸ ὅτ' ἠντίασεν *vides quale sit*. See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 113f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 471f. It is not a Graecism, as A. Garzya, Maia 10, 1958, 336f., thinks.

Sino with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Diu has caused unnecessary difficulties: 'a long recognition of his native land' (Haines). It does not refer to δήν Od. 13,189, nor does it mean 'by day' (so Hauler in his inedita), for Ulysses did not come home by dark (see Od. 13,93ff.); it refers to Od. 10,30 (10,29 has already been quoted by Marcus 6,13), where Ulysses almost reaches Ithaca and sees—for a short time—the outlines of the island.

7,6 Od. 1,58 seems to have been a popular verse, see 72,4M and Apul. Apol. 57 *Ulixes fumum terra sua emergentem . . . frustra captavit*. Marcus quotes freely and the second hand supplies blindly: Homer has καπνὸν ἀποθρῴσκοντα νοῆσαι / ἧς γαίης θανέειν ἱμείρεται

7,7 *Laertio: Laertius* (= *Laertiades*) occurs Liv. Andr. Od. 4 (= Hom. Od. 1,65); Laevius 20; Plaut. Bacch. 946 *Ulixes Lartius* or *Lertius*. Later it is only used as an adjective: Verg. Aen. 3,272 *Laertia regna*; Ovid. Met. 13,124 and Trist. 5,5,3 *Laertius heros*. Apparently it is an archaism. See Neue-Wagener I 129f.

Atridam also 9,4. Marcus is the first to use this accusative instead of *Atriden*, but the nominative *Atrida* we find already in Prop. 2,14,1. See Neue-Wagener I 48f.; 93; 507ff.; 511; 857f. Greek names of the first declination in Fronto: nominative *Apella* 16,1 (second hand); *Pythagora* 134,10–14; *Sota* 56,1; genitive *Anaxagorae* 143,2; *Niciae* 124,12; dative *Ochae* 226,21; accusative *Alcibiaden* 48,12; 138,17; *Apellen* 27,7M; 133,9; *Arsacen* 124,13; *Heroden* 37,13; 38,8; *Nician* 133,10; *Phidian* 27,6M; *Stratonabian* 183,14; but *Charilam* 116,15; *Cheryonam* 59,5; *Lusiam* 216,2; *Pausiam* 133,11; *Protagoram* 48,9; *Pyladem* 114,8V; ablative *Herode* 55,15; *Oroete* 223,12; *Perse* 223,12; *Philocteta* 14,25. For names ending in -ης, genitive -ου, see at 138,13.

Most codd. and Aristarchus have πανσυδίη.

7,8 *funduntur fugantur* is regarded by the translators as a praes. historicum, but in fact it is a praes. generale: *legiones* would be an anachronism. This alliteration is very popular with Roman historians: Fronto himself has 122, 20 *fudit fugavitque*. With *-que* also Sallust, Bell. Hisp., Livy, Velleius and Florus; *fudit ac fugavit* Varro, Sallust and Livy; *fusi et fugati* Cic. Off. 3,112.

Less correct is *fugant funduntque* Sall. Iug. 21,2. See Wölfflin, Die allitterierenden Verbindungen 17 and 60.

7,8–9 *ex... somnio*: Zeus sends Oneiros to the sleeping Agamemnon Il. II 6ff.

7,9–10 The anaphora of *quid* emphasizes the question, see at 97,4.

7,9 ὁ ποιητής, synecdoche. Since the first century AD, Homer is often called like that. See Harmon, The Poet 35ff.

7,11 Again a popular verse: Plut. Praec. ger. reip. 2; Macrob. 5,14,9; 6,7,14; Hesych. s.v. βρίζει; Etym. M. 126,54; 213,31.

7,13 This verse was well known in rhetoric: Hermog. Progymn. p. 8,19 Rabe quotes it as an example of a γνώμη; Theon. Rhet. Gr. II 98,15 Spengel as a χρεία; cp. Nicolaus, Rhet. Gr. III 464, 12Sp. Translated by Sil. 3,172; Priscian. p. 432,20K; Fulg. Myth. 3,1. See J. Teufer, De Homero in apophthegmatis usurpato, diss., Lipsiae 1890, 30; Tolkiehn, De Homeri auctoritate 248f.

7,14 *orator egregius*: Fronto. In the same way, Marcus 249,17 speaks of the *orator saeculi huius.*

Mire... evertit: 'wrested in a strange fashion' (Haines), not, of course, 'translated', as Ida Kapp & G. Meyer, TLL s.v. everto, assume. Cp. Hieron. Adv. Ruf. 2,19 p. 442 C *quae (verba) ab isto non versa sunt, sed eversa.*

Quondam: ironically, viz. in Fronto's lost letter.

7,15 *Ennium*: in a dream Ennius was urged by Homer to write the Annals; we owe Ann. I 5 to Fronto 66,10 *somno leni placidoque revinctus*, and Fronto 141,8f. alludes to Ennius, Ann. I 6 *visus Homerus adesse poeta.* See Porphyr. Hor. Epist. 2,1,50; Schol. Pers. prol. 1ff.; Cic. Somn. Scip. 1; Lucret. 1,124ff.

Ex is noteworthy, cp. Scrib. Larg. 200 *initium ex emplastris faciemus.* Note the alliteration.

7,16 *sibi*: dat. sympatheticus instead of *suum*; see at 55,18.

7,18 Considering *pastorem*, it seems that Marcus had in mind Hesiod. Theog. 22f. αἵ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδὴν ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ζαθέοιο and ποιμένι in line 20. But there Hesiodus is not sleeping. So, on the face of it, Marcus is mistaken, as Pfeiffer states in his edition of Callimachus. There was a tradition, however—be it from a later date—that Hesiodus, like Ennius, was sleeping and dreaming: Proclus, Schol. Hesiod. Op. p. 62 Gaisford (see Tzetzes, Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi p. 47,21 Wilamowitz) καθευδήσας Ἡσίοδος ὄναρ εἶδεν; Synes. De insomn. 1288 C speaks of a poet who καταδαρθὼν became famous, which passage is explained by Nicephorus Gregora (14th cent.), P.G. 149 pp. 555f., as follows: φασὶ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἡσίοδον, πρότερον μὲν ὄντα ποιμένα προβάτων, ἐν μιᾷ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον... κατακλιθέντα δόξαι τὰς Μούσας θεασάσθαι. See G. Méautis, Le prologue à la Théogonie d'Hésiode, Rev. d. Ét. grecques 52, 1939, 573ff.; K. Latte, Hesiods Dichterweihe.

Hinc ad Hesiodum: for the elliptic phrase see at 61,12f.

7,19 *apud magistrum*: there are two possibilities: *magister* could be Fronto and *olim* is then used ironically as *quondam* in line 14, 'just now'. We know that Fronto made a special study of poetical prooemia, including Greek

poets, see at 203,14. In this case, Fronto would have quoted the lines of Callimachus in his lost letter. However, it is more likely that *apud magistrum* means 'at school', cp. Plaut. Bacch. 433 *(ubi) apud magistrum adsideres, cum librum legeres*; Sen. Epist. 108,4 *qui ad philosophum fuerunt*; Suet. Gramm. 24,2 *legerat... libellos apud grammatistam*; Gell. 18,5,7 *apud suum... grammaticum legisse*; 36,21M *apud te eruditum*; 151,20 *ad philosophos librum leges*. Thus, the *magister* is Alexander of Cotiaeum, a grammarian and Homer expert, teacher to Marcus and Aelius Aristides (Vita Marci 2,3; Ael. Arist. Orat. 13 pp. 138f.D.). Marcus remembered him with sympathy, Medit. 1,10. In this case, *olim* points to an earlier stage of life and *magister* cannot be Herodes Atticus, as Hauler in his inedita thinks, see at 13,14 and 17,10–15. We do not know when exactly Alexander was Marcus' teacher, but it was certainly before 139–146, as assumed by P. von Rohden, RE I 2285, 57 (1894).

Legere does not prove that *magistrum* is Fronto: for the infinitive of the present instead of the past cp. Serv. Georg. 4,127 *ordo est 'memini vidisse'; dicimus autem et 'memini videre'*; Agroec. Gramm. IV 117,14K. *memini me facere dicere debemus, non memini me fecisse*. So 29,12f.M *anno abhinc tertio me commemini... devertere*, but, referring to the past, Fronto 21,5f. *memini... te frequenter... admonuisse*; and 44,6 *profuisse memini*; cp. also 236,5 *numquam nasci melius foret*.

Legere: 'to recite', see at 69,42.

7,20–21 That these verses were written by Callimachus was first seen by A. Hecker, Götting. gelehrte Anzeig, 1844, 1805. Fronto's text has been corroborated by Pap. Oxyr. 2208, see Pfeiffer's edition I 1949. Mai thinks that the verses were by Fronto himself. On Callimachus see at 1,6f. and 20,11.

8,2–3 *de eo... quem* is *somnus; qui laudat... quid ait* is Homer. Fronto had quoted a few Homeric lines in order to praise sleep (e.g. Il. IV 223 and II 24, which he had 'wrested', 7,14) and he had certainly found those verses where Homer praises the γλυκὺς ὕπνος. But the same Homer, Marcus says, calls sleep death's counterfeit.

8,4 Macrobius 5,3,12 compares Verg. Aen. 6,522 *dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti* with Od. 13,79f. and also quotes νήδυμος ἥδιστος θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς.

8,5 *haec... luserim* is Hauler's unpublished reading. See at 5,21. *Satius* in the sense of *potius* we find in Varro R.R. 1,2,26 (Fronto has *satius est* in the sense of 'it is better' 56,11; 57,26, as e.g. Petron. 61,4).

Tui: see at 42,20.

Luserim: the potentialis perfecti indicates the present, not 'I have indulged in' (Haines); see at 1,10f. *Ludere* with accusative means 'to write playfully', as e.g. Cic. Fam. 9,16,9 *superiora illa lusimus*.

8,6 *dormitum eo* is colloquial: comici, Bell. Afr., Horace, Phaedrus and Martialis.

Vespera: see at 29,1. It was rather exceptional to write and study *post cenam*; see Roller 318f. and at 52,7. The reason may be that Marcus did not sleep very well, see at 5,22.

Detexuit, 'I have spun out' (Haines), seems to be derogatory.

8,7 *gratiam referat*; the same irony in, e.g., Plaut. Persa 853; Ter. Eun. 385; Cic. Cat. 1,28. See at 48,11f.

8,8 Chronology: see at 5,21. On the form of address see at 1,5.

8,9–10 When Marcus did not know where Fronto was staying, he sent his letters to Fronto's address in Rome, see 2,7 *nescio quo* and, perhaps, 63,10 *ubiubi es.*

8,13 *hoc acuminis* is almost *tantum acuminis.* Apart from 47,4 *ad hoc noctis* and 190,1 *ad hoc locorum*, this is the only passage where *hoc* is found with a gen. partitivus. *Id, istud* and *illud* are never used with genitive. *Idem detrimenti* 37,7.

8,14 *vespera scripsisse*: see at 29,1 and 52,7.

8,16 *namque* is used only by Fronto, before vowels as well as before consonants, not by his correspondents.

Crocus: the simile is dragged in. Masculine *crocus* is used for the plant, *crocum* for the perfume; see 140,8 (marg. b.).

Priusquam with subjunctive 53,24 and 73,2M; with indicative 30,11M; 42,17M; 60,5M. *Antequam* always with subjunctive: 63,6M; 143,2 (marg. a); and with tmesis 59,5; 128,21; in a gap 193,8.

Praeolet: *praeolēre* is not found elsewhere, but we have *olēre* beside *olĕre. Praeolĕre* is only found in Plaut. Mil. 41.

8,17 *igitur* in fourth position, see at 139,11.

8,19 *usus*: 'usableness', 'value' (Haines).

Ponderis: see at 135,11.

Saviatum, 'charming', a new adjective. L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 78, does not believe in it, but it also occurs 182,11 (marg. b). Its original meaning might be 'worthy to be kissed' (cp. *corruptus, optatus*), and that same meaning we find 78,25, derived from the old active form *saviare* (Nov. Com. 81; Pompon. Com. 84; Claud. Quadr. Ann. 2 frg. 39).

On the ellipsis of *est* see at 61,12f.

9,1 *istaec*: see at 231,6.

Interposita: cp. 215,27 *versus congruentes (inserendi sunt)*; Iul. Victor p. 448,29 Rhet. Lat. Halm *Graece aliquid addere epistulis suave est.* See at 268,17.

9,2 *pyrrhicha*: another simile of dubious taste. Originally, the *pyrrhicha* was a sword dance described by Plato, Leg. VII 815 a. Since Iulius Caesar it was a pantomime, a sort of ballet performed by professional *pyrrhicharii* (Suet. Caes. 39; Nero 12). Fronto must have seen such performances, for Hadrian *militares pyrrhichas populo frequenter exhibuit* (Vita Hadr. 19,8). According to Plut. De sera num. vind. 9, the artists danced ἐν χιτῶσι διαχρύσοις καὶ χλαμυδίοις ἁλουργοῖς, and, very similar to Fronto, Apul. Met. 10,29,4 *veste nitidi, incessu gestuosi . . . dispositis ordinationibus decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbem rotatum flexuosi, nunc in obliquam seriem conexi et in quadratum patorem cuneati et in catervae discidium separati*; Claudian. De VI. cons. Honorii 621ff. *certaque vagandi textas lege fugas inconfusosque recursus . . . in varios docto discurritur ordine gyros.* See Friedländer II 135; Warnecke, Tanzkunst, RE IV 2 (1931); E. Wüst, Pantomimus, RE XVIII 3 (1949); M. Kokolakis, Pantomimus and the Treatise περὶ ὀρχήσεως, Platon 11, 1959, 20ff. A different *pyrrhicha* is described by Athen, 14,631 A.

Versicolorum: because of *discursus* (swift movements to and fro, see Apuleius and Claudianus) and *amicti*, it seems to be masc. plur.: 'the gaily-drest performers' (Haines; so too J. Rubenbauer, TLL s.v. discursus), not 'vesti

a diversi colori', as Della Corte translates. *Versicolor* is mostly used as a synonym of *varius*: 'of many colours', 'in colori diversi' (Portalupi), which is certainly the meaning 133,8, where Fronto speaks of paintings 'of a rich colouring'. The original meaning, however, is 'die Farbe wechselnd, schillernd' (Georges), 'having colours that change' (Oxford Dict.): a variation of colours is seen when the object changes its position, so of birds: Cic. Fin. 3,18 and Prop. 3,7,50 *plumae*; Tert. Pall. 3,1 *pavo pluma ... multicolor et discolor et versicolor ... totiens ... mutanda quotiens movenda*, and Plin. Nat. 28,113 speaks of the *versicolor mutatio* of the chameleon. In garments, we call this effect 'changeant', when warp and weft are of different colours, cp. Philostr. II 310,5 οὐ γὰρ (χλαμὺς) ἐφ' ἑνὸς μένει χρώματος, ἀλλὰ τρεπέται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἶριν μετανθεῖ, (same words in Aristaen. Epist. 1,11). Such an effect was especially achieved with purple colours. See H. Blümmer, Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern I 167; J. Marquardt, Das Privatleben der Römer 505; H. Blümmer, Die römischen Privataltertümer 253; J. André. Étude sur les termes de couleurs dans la langue latine, Paris 1949, 231; Vels Heijn, Kleurnamen 28. Liv. 7,10,7; 9,40,3; 34,1,3; and Quint. Inst. 10,1,33 speak of a *vestis (vestimentum, tunica) versicolor*, either in the original sense or in the later one. *Versicoloria* in Ulp. Dig. 32,70,12 and Paul. Dig. 34,2,32,6 are 'colourful tissues'.

9,3 *luteo*: see at 261,6.

Alii aliique is a figure called symploce; it gives a better idea of the whirling dance than the usual *et ostro alii et alii purpura*. *Alii aliique* is found for the first time in the Paneg. Messal. 17 *alios aliosque componere versus*, where it has the same meaning as *alios atque alios*. Fronto's *alii aliique* has been defended by O. Hey, TLL s.v. alius; J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v. cohaereo; and by Hauler in his unpublished papers. Della Corte keeps it also, but he translates *alii aliisque*, as conjectured by Novák. Haines and Vretska read with Novák *aliisque*. *Cohaerentes*, 'shoulder to shoulder', is used absolutely of soldiers in the line of battle, e.g. Curt. 3,11,4 *conferti et quasi cohaerentes*. *Concursant*, too, is a military term: Liv. 5,8,8; 21,35,2; 22,18,3; 28,2,7. It is not 'les groupes des danseurs se nouent et se dénouent' (J. Heurgon, Fronton 147).

9,5 *aliam*: 'another'; it refers to the passage lost in the gap 8,18.

Malitiosam petam: both Hauler and Bischoff, Der Fronto-Palimpsest, read *petam*, but Hauler failed to see what it meant. The solution was found by S. Timpanaro, Peta = ictus gladiatoris in Frontone e in Servio, Studi Urbinati 171ff. and in Contributi 457ff. Serv. Ann. 9,437 *petas enim dicimus impetus gladiatorum* (the editors wrongly read *petitiones*); Gloss. I 441 *petas impetum gladiorum* (Timpanaro prefers *gladiatorum*); Petronius Arbiter, De antiquis dictionibus, ed. Ch. Beck 1861, *petus: impetus gladiorum*. Haines, who reads *pilam*, translates 'that was a nasty turn you gave Q. Ennius'; Timpanaro: 'mi hai dato un'altra maliziosa stoccata'; Della Corte, who reads *plagam*, also inserts *mi*; Portalupi, who, in her first edition, has *petam*: 'tu desti un altro colpo basso', and she is right: the *malitiosa peta* is not given to Ennius or to *mi*; it is 'a bad or miserable stroke', 'a miss', for here *malitiosus* does not mean 'malicious' but 'miserable', 'pitiful', as 56,12, not 'knavish' (Haines) or 'disonesti' (Portalupi). There was nothing malicious in Marcus' remark 7,16f.

(Portalupi[2] 'tu hai assestato un' altra stoccata'). The TLL does not give this meaning of *malitiosus* (O. Hey regards our passage as corrupt), but it justly states that *malitia* can also mean *malum*, *miseria*; cp. 139,1, where it means 'vice'. *Malitiosa peta*, 'a miss', 'an unfortunate stroke', is a military term, and in the passages quoted above we need not alter *gladiorum* to *gladiatorum*. It may also be proverbial, cp. Hor. Ars 350 *nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus*. *Plaga* is, of course, an explanation by m², see Proleg. XL. *Malitiosus* has the usual meaning 21,2.

9,7 *si pote*: see at 1,6.

Argutius belongs to *oderit me*; therefore a comma after *si pote* seems to be appropriate.

Praestrigiae and *praestrigiator* (154,9) are the older forms: Caecil. Com. 209; Plaut. Amph. 782; Aul. 630; Poen. 1125; Truc. 134; Cic. Nat. deor. 3,73; Lucull. 45 (however, the text of these passages is not always certain). See F. Bücheler, RR im Anlaut 109f.

9,8 I follow E. Baehrens, Fragm. Poet. Lat. 293, who regards *nulla decipula tam insidiosa* as taken from Laevius; Büchner only the word *decipula*, Haines *decipula tam insidiosa* and F. Semi, Poet. Lat. Min. Rel., Venetiis 1965, 60, *praestrigiae* . . . *insidiosa*. *Decipula*, 'snares', is neutrum plur. Laevius' line may have been in his Erotopaegnia. Fronto's interest in this poet seems to be based on his word-jugglery. On Sittl's conjecture *Novius* see at 9,9.

Quid si introduces an ironic or indignant question: 3,5; 36,15M; 133,6–8 with anaphora. 157,17 it is almost 'why not?' *Quid si* is often found in comic poets and has a colloquial ring. *Quid vero si* 154,5f. See H. Blase, Tempora und modi, Leipzig 1903, 135; Hofmann, Umgangssprache 67.

9,9 *expergiscare*: in our correspondence only Fronto uses these verbal endings in *-re*. See Grammatical Index s.v. passive forms.

Aliud can be 'another' (Haines) if Fronto in the gap 8,18 had quoted a proverb. But it can also mean 'now something different, an idler's proverb'. K. Sittl, Philol. Rundschau 3, 1883, 1104, thought that *nulla decipula tam insidiosa* was that other saying and altered *Laevius* to *Novius*, because the latter is known for his scurrilities.

Scurrarum proverbium: according to Cic. Off. 3,77, this was an old proverb of *rustici* (hence Mai's conjecture): *cum enim fidem alicuius bonitatemque laudant, dignum esse dicunt, quicum in tenebris mices*; Fin. 2,52 *unde est hoc contritum vetustate proverbium, quicum in tenebris?* Instead of *quicum*, Petron. 44,7 has, like Fronto, *cum quo*. Fronto jokingly aims at Marcus, and *scurra* is 'idler' rather than 'jester' (Haines) or 'buffoni' (Portalupi). See at 230,5.

9,10 *mices*: 'giocare alla morra' (Portalupi), a game still in use in Italy: one has to guess quickly how many fingers the opponent raises. See A. Köhler, Archiv 6, 1889, 39; A. Otto, Archiv 7, 1892, 16; J. Marquardt, Privatleben 836; Blümner, Privataltertümer 418; K. Schneider, Micare, RE XV 2 (1932); O.W. Reinmuth, Micare, Kleine Pauly (1969).

Sumne = *nonne sum*. See at 48,7.

9,11 *ab domino*: our MS follows for *ab* and *a* the general rules: *ab* before vowels (*a Iudaeis* 221,2) and *h*. *A* always before *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *s* and *v*. Before *b* we only have one example: 221,2 *ab Britannis*. Before *c* always *a*, except

173,21 *ab Cirta*. Before *d* generally *a*, but *ab domino* only here (*a domino* 79,4; 112,24; 114,17V; 183,5). *Ab d(e)is* we have 86,27; 87,5; 87,8; 148,16, but *a dis* 43,23; 84,9; 86,9M. Furthermore we have *ab dextro* 65,28. Before *g* always *a*, except 182,5 *ab Gellio*. Before *p* always *a*, except 242,2 *ab puppi*. Before *r* always *a*, except in the legal term *ab re esse* 110,12. Before *t* always *a*, except in the archaic *abs te* 118,14 (260,17).

9,11–12 *quo . . . magister*: brachylogy.

9,12 *dormias*: Marcus was a bad sleeper: 5,22M; 28,25M; 52,12M; 69,41; 70,2M; 230,20ff.; 233,16; 234,8f. Only once, 85,14, Marcus calls himself a great sleeper. For the last period of his life see Cass. Dio 71,24,4 γέρων ἤδη καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ οὔτε τροφὴν ἄλυπον οὔθ' ὕπνον ἄφροντιν λαβεῖν δυνάμενος and Birley, Mark Aurel 388f. There is no trace in our letters of Marcus taking theriac against pain or insomnia; see at 64,4.

9,13 *perge uti libet* seems to be colloquial: Ter. Andr. 310 *age, age ut libet*; 249,2M *age, perge quantum libet*; Plaut. Aul. 453 *facite . . . quantum libet*. *Perge* alone 55,15M.

Prodormias: a neologism not found elsewhere; as it is the opposite of *pervigiles* (note the alliteration), it must mean 'sleep early', 'go to bed early', which is confirmed by 62,9M *aliquantum prodormivi propter perfrictiunculam*. Here, *prodormivi* apparently is inchoative and might be derived from *prodormisco* (*condormisco, edormisco, indormisco, obdormisco, perdormisco* are also very rare and are found especially in Plautus). The same *prodormivi* 75,13M. I do not believe that it means 'fortschlafen' (Georges), 'to sleep late' (Sedgewick, Marcus Aurelius, and M. van den Hout, Mnemos. 12 1944, 225), or 'prolungare il sonno', 'dormire a lungo' (Della Corte and Portalupi). Less fortunate is Hauler's translation 'vorschlafen', 'vorausschlafen' (Wien. Stud. 44, 1924–25, 123) and certainly incorrect is Marache's 's'en dormir en tombant en avant, profondément' (Mots 27). Heindorf's *perdormias* (adopted by Haines) is also a hapax.

9,14 With *facultate*, A 86 begins. I have now chosen with Vollmer, TLL s.v. facultas, and with Rubenbauer, TLL s.v. elegans, for the reading of m[1] *facultate fandi*. Hauler, always in search of *verba insperata atque inopinata*, prefers *facundatum*, because it is a hapax. In this prayer, Fronto uses the solemn *fandi* instead of *dicendi*. *Eloquentia* is a gloss to *facultate fandi*, see Proleg. XLII.

Et = *et quidem*, as 136,9 (marg. b).

Prosperent: *prosperare alicui rem* is an old sacral formula: Liv. 8,9,7 *vos (dei) precor . . . uti populo Romano Quiritium vim, victoriam prosperetis*; cp. Plaut. Cas. 1005 *hanc tibi nunc veniam . . . prospero*. See at 188,11.

9,15 *gaudium . . . cura*: the metonymical vocative *gaudium* occurs for the first time in Phaedr. 4,20,18, then here and 21,10; 85,20M. See at 32,9f.; 65,15–17. *Cura*, 'love', is a metonymy used by poets; as a vocative since Verg. Catal. 5(7),6 and Stat. Silv. 4,2,15.

10,1–2 Chronology of this letter and the answer I 7: it is generally accepted that these letters were written in 143, but not during Fronto's consulate (1 July–1 September 143), because the letters from and to Fronto consul were assembled by the ancient editor in book II. Two passages, however, present a problem: 13,14 *Herodi filius natus hodie mortuus est* and

14,9 *consulatum mihi putas tanto gaudio fuisse.* We do not know when Herodes' first son was born, because we do not know when Herodes married his second wife Annia Regila. T.D. Barnes, Latomus 27, 1968, 581, dates this marriage c. 140; K. Münscher, Herodes 13, RE VIII 1 (1912), and Graindor, Un milliardaire 82, to 140–141; Ameling, Herodes Atticus I 78ff. and II 16 and 20, to 140–142; Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes Atticus 32, to 141–142; Studemund in Klussmann's Emendationes XX, to 142; Fülles 16, to 142–143; Haines, Pepe and Portalupi to 143. If, as we shall see, this letter dates from September 143 or a little later, the marriage will have taken place in 141–142, probably in 142. See for the date of the baby's death at 13,14. When Niebuhr; Naber; Studemund l.l.; G. Fülles, De Herodis Vita; Brock, Studies in Fronto; A, Stein, PIR II^2 p. 178; Barnes l.l.; and Birley, Mark Aurel 146 n. 30, date our letters to 143, several of them have not realized that *consulatum fuisse* 14,9 and *contigisse* 15,11 indicate that Fronto's consulate has come to an end. Mai did realize it and dated the letters after 1 September 143; so did Ameling: autumn 143. Others dated them perhaps too late: Graindor o.c. 143–144; Fülles and Pepe early 144; Haines, edition, 144–145; and Champlin is too cautious and dates them between 1 September 143 and c. 160. Haines, Chronology, is the only one to date the letters to July–August 143. Mommsen wrongly assumed a strict chronological order and consequently dates them before book II, i.e. before 1 July 143, interpreting *consulatum fuisse* as Fronto's designation as consul. He is followed by Brakman; Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes Atticus; and Maria L. Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 454. A slip of the pen is Portalupi's dating of I 6 after 13 August 143 and I 7 144–145. Cortassa cannot decide: he dates the letters shortly before Fronto's consulate or shortly after.

On the form of address of I 6 see at 1,5.

10,3 *ne ego*: Fronto had sent some *orationis particulas* to Marcus, with the remark that it might be considered impudent to do so. *Ne*, 'verily', also 105,20 and 231,14. It seems rather solemn, but Hofmann, Umgangssprache 28f., regards it as an archaism.

Quicquam with partitive genitive is colloquial; also 19,16.

Meorum scriptorum is said in general; it does not refer to Caes. I 4 (so Hauler), nor to a lost letter (so Klussmann, Emendationes 22).

10,4 *ingenio* is often used metonymically; *iudicium* also Quint. Inst. 2,12,6 *apud corrupta iudicia.*

10,5 *voluerat* ὑπεκρινάμην: I have chosen for this possibility because in Hauler's reading καὶ ὑπεκρινάμην, καὶ does not make sense (it means *etiam*, says Hauler; 'anche', Portalupi[1]). Haines reads *voluit* αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπεκρινάμην, but αὐτὸ cannot refer to *locum*. Since Aristot. Rhet. 3,1,1403 b, ὑπόκρισις means 'declamation', in Latin *pronuntiatio* or *actio* (15,2 *M. Caesar actor*), see B. Warnecke, Mimik, RE XV 2 (1932); H. Lausberg, Handbuch 527f.

Commode: 'reasonably well'.

Plane has in later Latin an adversative meaning: 'it is true, though', 'needless to say' (Haines). See Hofmann-Szantyr 493.

10,6 *flagitabant* with acc. cum inf. since Seneca and Pliny the Elder.

Sibi: 'the words cried aloud for their own author to deliver them' (Haines);

sibi does not refer to Pius, as S. Timpanaro, Riv. di filol. class. 117, 1989, 377, thinks.

Denique, particularly at the beginning of a sentence, has sometimes the meaning 'hence', 'consequently', 'therefore'. Thus the reading *vix* is understandable; in its usual sense, *denique* can hardly be combined with *mox*. Apparently, an ancient reader misunderstood *denique* (and *plane*) and therefore changed *vix* into *mox*. In the second century AD several secondary meanings of *denique* appear. According to A. Gudeman, TLL s.v., it here means *breviter, ut brevi dicam*; 'in fact' (Haines), not 'alla fine' (Portalupi). The causal meaning, however, is often found in Fronto and once in Marcus; they are the first writers to use *denique* in this sense: 14,3; 37,3 (Gudeman: *nam, enim*; Haines: 'in fact'; Portalupi: 'insomma' and 'infine'); 44,25 (Gudeman: *igitur*; Haines: 'in fact'; Portalupi: 'basti pensare che'); 85,3 (Gudeman: *certe, saltem*; Haines: 'in fact'; Portalupi: 'insomma'); 112,7 (Portalupi: 'perchè in fine'); 112,10 (Gudeman: *igitur*; Haines: 'in fact'; Portalupi: 'infine'); 122,14 (Gudeman: *breviter*; Haines: 'in fine'; Portalupi: 'infine'); 150,16 (Gudeman: *igitur*; Haines: 'in a word'; Portalupi: 'infine'); 170,7 (Gudeman: *igitur*; Haines: 'finally'; Portalupi: 'infine'); 215,25 (Gudeman: *igitur*; Haines: 'finally'; Portalupi: 'infine'); 249,12M (Gudeman: *igitur*; Haines: 'if nothing else'; Portalupi: 'infine'). Another meaning found for the first time in Fronto is 'for instance', 35,19 (Gudeman: *exempli gratia, veluti*; Haines: 'in fine'; Portalupi: 'insomma'). 59,21 it means 'in short', 'in brief' (Haines: 'in fact'; Portalupi: 'infine'). See at 49,14; 59,4; 173,18; 182,16.

10,7 ἀξίως refers to Marcus' declamation. Garzya defends ἄξιος, viz. λόγος, but that would mean that there was hardly any praise for Fronto's speech. Ἄξιος in exclamations e.g. of the assembly of Oxyrhynchos: ὁ δῆμος ἐβόησεν· πολλῶν ψηφισμάτων ἄξιος (Mitteis-Wilcken 1,2 no. 45,20). See Th. Klauser, Akklamation, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1950) and at 17,20.

Praeoptas with ablative is found here for the first time, see Hofmann-Szantyr 111.

Diu: we would expect *diutius*, as 116,4.

10,9 *quod*: after *moleste fero, non aequo animo fero* (74,11f.M?), *aegre fero* (114, 23M; 162,10) follows *quod* with subjunctive. See Kühner II 276; Hofmann-Szantyr 576; 579.

Alio . . . quo: 'because business required his presence at the time (*modō*) elsewhere (*aliō*) than in court where . . .' (Haines). The sentence with the ellipsis of *ire* (see at 61,12f.) is very colloquial; the variant of m^2 is rather an explanation, see Proleg. XLII. Cp. Cic. Fam. 6,20,2 *ex quo (loco) te, quocumque opus erit, . . . conferas*; Invent. 1,28 *non longius quam quo opus est.* See at 88,16.

Alio . . . quam here in a positive sentence; *alius (aliter) quam* in a negative sentence 31,22; 155,6; 183,5; 235,5M. In a question 11,21; 131,16; *quis alius nisi* 85,8M.

Modo: 'just then', not = 'nuper' (Pfligersdorfer TLL s.v.).

10,10 *intraveras*: probably the auditorium of the Palatium, see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 983,2; M. Kaser, Das römische Zivilprozessrecht, München 1968, 349ff.

10,10–12 *sensuum . . . dispositionem*: the *quinque officia oratoris* are *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria* and *pronuntiatio*.

Sensuum facultas, 'the vigour of thoughts, ideas', cp. 104,3 *ad facultatem sermonis fovendam*; 123,4 *facultatem dicendi*; 143,8 *orationem dignam sensibus*; 161,20P *nihil istis sensibus validius, nihil elocutione civilius*; 249,9f.M *sensuum densitatem* . . . *inventionis argutiam* . . . *aemulationis* . . . *felicitatem*; 41,9 *quaerere et invenire* εἰκόνας; 156,13f. *quaesitum et inventum*; 27,11M *O* τάξις. See Hommel & Ziegler, Rhetorik, Kleine Pauly (1972); Lausberg, Handbuch 146; and at 216,1.

Variam virtutem, a hypallage; see at 10,14ff.; 216,11; 249,5M. Note the alliteration, also in *doctam dispositionem*.

Orationis: the reading *opus orationis* of m^2 disturbs the parallelism and does not go with the *partes orationis*.

Opus orationis we find in Rhet. Her. 1,7,11 and in Cic. Brut. 241.

10,12 *nunc* . . . *post hoc* is colloquial abundance, see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 42. Hauler reads *nunc (credo . . . iuverit) accipe*, but cp. 60,16M *nunc tu postquam*.

10,13 *coepi*, viz. ὑποκρίνασθαι. *Coeperim* is evidently incorrect, see Proleg. XL.

10,14ff. This is the only larger fragment of a speech by Fronto. In his published articles, Hauler has only contributed new readings in Wien. Stud. 29, 1907, 172 and 37, 1915, 374–376. For the rest, we must depend on his inedita.

Mai called this speech 'De testamentis transmarinis', because it deals with a will made by someone in Asia (11,13). He believed that it might be identical with the Pro Bithynis (180,8; 180,16) or with one of the speeches Pro Cilicibus (167,9) or the Pro Ptolemensibus (267,22). Niebuhr and Philibert-Soupé 30 decided for a speech Pro Cilicibus, Naber for Pro Bithynis. On the face of it, the problem has now been solved, for 180,16 m^2 writes above *orationem pro Bithynis*: *de Asianis testamentis*. But where did m^2 get his information? Is it a simple conjecture? Here, the matter of the will is evidently a civil action; in Pro Bithynis it concerns a criminal case: Fronto compares it with Cicero's Pro Sulla (*in simili re* 180,10) and speaks of a *crimen mandatae caedis* (180,21). In our fragment there is no *crimen*, only an *adversarius* (11,12). So it seems reasonable that Schanz III 96 rejects Naber's identification. However, 12,9 Hauler reads in his inedita *reus publicanus*, be it with great uncertainty. This *reus* could refer to the Bithynian case: maybe Fronto defended him, and the defendant was so grateful that he remembered Fronto in his will (12,12). Later, however, he defended the Bithynians against a Roman magistrate, see at 180,7. So we could assume that the *publicanus* died soon after his aquittal (13,3ff.) and that the disinherited relatives, in a new lawsuit, took action against that will. Though he had two sisters (12,10; 12,19) and another relative (the *adversarius*), the *testator*—perhaps a *publicanus*—had made a will in favour of Fronto's client, who was not a *legitimus heres*. In this will, the *heredes intestati* were disinherited (10,23ff.). Both parties appear before the court of the proconsul, and that is where our case begins: the proconsul does not open the sealed will (10,20). According to Rudorff, Römische Rechtsgeschichte II 41, it is a *consultatio* of the emperor *ante sententiam* on the part of the proconsul. This cannot be correct: the *causa* (11,11) had been brought before the proconsul and he had passed judgement (*decretum* 10,19). Nor can the supposition of Mommsen, Staatsrecht

II 976,3, be correct that the *heredes intestati* protested against the opening of the will, because disinheritance would be unfair: the exact thing the proconsul had to do was to open the will in order to settle the question whether or not it was a *testamentum inofficiosum*. False, too, is the assumption of Garnsay, Social Status 68, that Pius was warned by Fronto not to comment on the decision of a governor. And who will believe the suggestion of Champlin, Fronto 61f., that it concerns a simple collusion of the proconsul with the disinherited in order to allow them sufficient time to consume the inheritance (see 11,20–22)? The main point is: why did the proconsul not open the will (10,19–23)? It can only be explained by the fact that he regarded the will as invalid, and a will is invalid either if there is something wrong with the names or persons of the testator's witnesses (cp. Ulpian. Reg. 20,3–7), or if the will is not *iure factum*. This point has already been put forward by Dirksen, Beitrag 243ff.: the proconsul—before whom the five witnesses plus the *libripens* plus the *familiae emptor* had to appear—was convinced by the *heredes intestati* that this *testamentum per aes et libram* had not been made according to the ritual of *mancipatio* and *nuncupatio* (cp. Ulpian. Reg. 20,9), and the witnesses had to admit this. Therefore, a *bonorum possessio secundum tabulas* could not be considered. Now we know from Gaius, a younger contemporary of Fronto (he may have lived in Bithynia!), that since Pius heirs with *tabulae non iure factae* had priority over *heredes intestati*: Instit. 2,120 *sed videamus an, etiamsi frater aut patruus extent, potiores scriptis heredibus habeantur. Rescripto enim imperatoris Antonini significatur eos, qui secundum tabulas testamenti non iure factas bonorum possessionem petierint, posse adversus eos, qui ab intestato vindicant hereditatem, defendere se per exceptionem doli mali.* See also Instit. 2,149 a and Ulpian. Reg. 28,6 *etiamsi iure civili non valeat testamentum, forte quod familiae mancipatio vel nuncupatio defuit, si signatum testamentum sit non minus quam septem testium civium Romanorum signis, bonorum possessio datur.* See Bachofen, Ausgewählte Lehren 245–321; 393; Manigk, Hereditarium ius, RE VIII 1 (1912); Bortolucci, Corn. Frontone 431ff.; M. Amelotti Il testamento romano attraverso la prassi documentate I, Torino 1966, 111ff.; 138; E. Bund, Testamentum, Kleine Pauly (1974); M. Kaser, Römisches Privatrecht, München [12]1981, 275f. According to Bachofen, the *imperator Antoninus* in Gaius is Caracalla, but he was not acquainted with the passage in Fronto. Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 211ff., erroneously sees in this fragment not a speech in court but a speech Fronto wanted to deliver in the consilium principis 'als er als cos. suffectus in 143 diesem Gremium angehörte', see at 10,6 *imperator*. But Fronto was not a member of this consilium, see at 96,3 and 259,9. Cases like Fronto's have brought about a change in the priority of heirs: in 143 *heredes intestati* had, in a simple praetorian will, a priority of claim to the *heredes scripti*, and the proconsul was right not to send either the will or Fronto's client to the imperial court; he could only allow him to appeal to the emperor. The persons involved remain shadowy: the *testator* seems to be a *publicanus*, a Roman eques; the *heres scriptus*, Fronto's client, is unknown. The *heredes intestati* seem to be two sisters of, respectively, the *testator* and the *adversarius*; the latter may have been an *adgnatus*: 11,1f. more *adgnati* than *cognati* are enumerated. The

tator made a will when charge was brought against him in the Bithynian case, and he died shortly afterwards. There are three major points in Fronto's arguments: firstly, a simple *testamentum septem signis signatum* should be regarded as a valid will; secondly, the abuse should be stopped of not appearing in person in Rome or of requesting postponement after postponement; thirdly, the imperial court itself should now take a decision and not relegate the case again to the provincial governor. As in the case of Matidia's will (95,4ff.), Fronto's attitude towards legal problems is that of a practical man and a rhetor: but for Gaius' testimony, we could hardly know what it was all about. His tirade on the risks that wills may incur on a sea voyage is highly rhetorical though not unrealistic: usually only one or two specimens were made, copies were invalid. Mai refers to Cod. Iustin. 6,23,18 (of 397 AD) *testamenta omnia ceteraque quae apud officium censuale publicari solent, in eodem reserventur nec usquam permittatur fieri ulla translatio.*

The style of our fragment is remarkable: the first part (10,14–11,23) is staccato with pointing questions, sober, even harsh: *in orationibus iudiciariis, ubi sedulo curamus ut pleraeque sententiae durius interdum et incomptius finiantur* (215,14ff.). Yet we find in these short sentences a strong symmetry with homoioptoton, homoioteleuton, asyndeton, alliteration, synonymy, assonance, polyptoton. This is the *genus siccum* referred to by Macrobius, see at 272,4. The second half is rather Asianic: here, too, we have homoioteleuta, but also antithetical parallelism, anaphora and chiasmus. There are even poetical words: *crudus* (11,7), *harenae* and *volucres* (11,30), *nubila* (12,13) and, of course, verba insperata: *bonis alienis incubare* (11,21), *dilapidare* (11,22), *superruere* (12,16), but no archaisms, see at 57,16. In this second part—and that is very typical of Fronto—similes serve as arguments. It is this specimen of style that Mamertus Claudianus characterizes as *pompa*, see at 272,4. The difference between the two parts struck Marcus: *elocutionis variam virtutem* (10,10f.). The same *variatio* we find again in a letter which Fronto himself calls a *causidicatio* (189,19): the first part (189,20–191,7) has short sentences and sharp questions, and in the second part we again have similes as arguments (191,8ff.). See Droz 21f.; Ussani, Frontone 5f.; Beltrami, Il numerus.

10,14 *rebus et causis*, 'judicial affairs', a hendiadys occurring several times in Cicero.

Privatis iudicibus: not 'private courts' (Haines) but judges who are just private persons, as opposed to a judge who is an emperor, cp. Quint. Inst. 5,10,105. In order to underline this antithesis, m² adds *publicum* after *periculum*. A *privatus iudex* can also be a judge in a civil case: Tac. Ann. 14,28,2; Suet. Claud. 14. Cicero would call him *iudex privatarum litium* or *iudex rei privatae* (Fin. 2,36; Verr. II 2,71). Fronto 170,7f. *qui publico vel privato iudicio disceptarent.*

Iudicibus iudicantur: an etymological figure also found in Cic. Rab. perd. 7; Piso 94; Marcell. 29; and in later authors.

10,15 *intra causarum terminos* is a legal term.

Demum, 'only', is silver and later Latin. Also 211,3.

10,16 *decretis*: cp. e.g. Gaius, Inst. 1,5 *constitutio principis est quod imperator decreto vel edicto vel epistula constituit nec umquam dubitatum est quin id legis vicem obtineat.* See Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 911; Hesky, Decretum, RE IV (1901);

M. Kaser, Das römische Zivilprozessrecht, München 1968, 349ff.; Cugusi, Evoluzione 118ff. R. Orestano, Il potere 67, has misinterpreted this letter.

Imperator: though Pius was not present (see line 9), and could not be present at all sessions of courts, yet the lawyer addresses the emperor, see at 167,18 and 266,12. The same goes for speeches held in the senate, see at 267,22. In the middle of the second century it was perhaps the praefectus urbi or the praefectus praetorio who presided the court of appeal, see Kaser o.c. 397ff. 11,16 Fronto addresses Pius as *Caesar*. On Steinmetz's interpretation of this passage see at 10.14ff.

Exempla, 'precedents' (Haines), a legal term, as in line 19 and 190,23.

10,17 *sanciuntur*: cp. Cic. Balb. 25 *si suis decretis legibus sanxissent*; Cod. Theod. 11,21,3.

10,18 *in*: 'with regard to' 'nei confronti dei singoli individui' (Portalupi), not 'adversus' (Th. Bögel, TLL s.v. decerno) or 'in individual cases' (Haines).

10,19 *ibi*: 'with that'.

Universa: with Garzya, I have kept the lectio difficilior: it corresponds with *quid* and means *omnes et omnia*.

10,19–20 *decretum proconsulis*: in his function as a judge, the proconsul had acknowledged a *bonorum possessio decretalis*, an assignment for the time being; see Leonhard, Bonorum possessio, RE III (1899). As the case was brought before the imperial court in 143—after having been postponed twice (11,15f.)—we may assume that it served before the proconsul in 141–142. We know that in the early 140s Q. Vononius Saxa Fidus was proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia, cp. Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 150; Lambrechts, La composition 232; R. Hanslik, Voconius, RE Suppl. IX (1962). But Alföldy, Konsulat 266ff., has made it seem probable that it was M. Roscius Murena. See also Maria L. Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 156, and at 180,7. Obviously, however, this only holds good if our assumption that *De testamentis Asianis* was linked up with the speech Pro Bithynis is correct.

10,20 *formam* in legal Latin is 'rule' (Haines), 'norma' (Portalupi), not 'decretum' (Ida Kapp, TLL s.v.). Fronto is the first to use the expression *formam dare* in this sense; cp. Ulp. Dig. 2,14,10 pr. *ante formam a divo Marco datam* and often in legal texts, see at 80,1.

Placuerit . . . dederis: see at 1,10f.

Omnibus omnium: polyptoton.

11,2 *nomina*: 'degrees' (Haines).

Privilegium invadent: 'to appeal unjustly to an exception of the legal rules', not 'privilege' (Haines), 'prerogativa' (Portalupi).

11,3 *iure sanguinis* also in Manil. 2,679; Pompon. Dig. 50,17,8; Paul. Dig. 1,7,23.

11,4 *remissa*: 'relegated', 'referred' (Haines). Cp. Liv. 36,35,10 *causam . . . Romam reiecere*. Cicero would use *deferre*, e.g. Cluent. 44 *causa Romam . . . delata*.

Heredes scripti: 'the heirs designated in the will', a legal term often found in the Digesta and elsewhere; see F. Lanfranchi, Il diritto nei retori romani, Milano 1938, 375.

11,5–6 *diem . . . ducent*: Caes. Gall. 1,16,4 has the same alliteration: *diem ex die ducere*; Liv. 25,25,4 *dum is diem de die differret*; Sen. Benef. 2,5,4 *diem de die extrahens*; Hieron. Epist. 53,11,3 *diem de die trahens*; Tac. Ann. 6,42,6 *diem ex die prolatabant*.

11,6 *dilationes*: in the huge Roman empire it was a problem how many times a postponement could be granted in civil affairs (Dig, 2,12 *De feriis et dilationibus et diversis temporibus*). Fronto's *adversarius* had already twice been granted a *dilatio* (11,15f.). In the second century, emperors were inclined to limit the postponement as much as possible: Ulp. Dig. 2,12,7 *oratione quidem divi Marci amplius quam semel non esse dandam instrumentorum dilationem expressum est, sed utilitatis litigantium gratia causa cognita et iterum dilatio tam ex eadem quam ex alia provincia secundum moderamen locorum impertiri solet, et maxime si aliquid inopinatum emergat*. Cod, Iustin. 3,11,1,1–2 speaks of *instrumentorum vel personarum gratia dilatio* and states that *in transmarina autem dilatione novem menses computari oportebit*, but: *non facile amplius quam semel . . . tribuendam*; ibid. 3,11,7 *nec de statu ac patrimonio litigantibus in transmarina etiam dilatione mensium novem spatia egredi concedatur*, Paul. Dig. 2,12,10 *in pecuniariis causis omnibus dilatio singulis causis plus semel tribui non potest*. In 322 it was stated that, in an appeal to the imperial court, no postponement could be granted: Cod. Iustin. 3,11,5 *cum a nobis fuerit ad appellationem consultationemve rescriptum, sive sit primo iudicio petita dilatio sive ea tributa non sit sive nec petita quidem, eam dare cuiquam non licebit eadem ratione qua nec in iudiciis quidem cognitionum nostrarum dilatio tribui solet*. In our case, the *adversarius* did not turn up at all, and this example, or at least similar examples, brought up a rescript of Antoninus Pius: Ulp. Dig. 42,4,7,19 *divus quoque Pius in persona eius, qui hereditatem possidens copiam sui non faciebat, rescripsit in possessionem rerum hereditariarum adversarium inducendum*. Evidently, since the middle of the second century postponements were not easy to obtain (against Garnsey, Social Status 71,3).

11,7 *hiemps . . . mare*: Veget. Epit. 4,39 *tertio idus Novembres usque in diem sextum idus Martias maria clauduntur*. March and April were still dangerous, and proper seafaring only started in the second half of May. See E. de Saint-Denis, Mare clausum, Rev. d. Ét. lat. 25, 1947, 196–214; F.J. Meyer, Mare clausum aut apertum, Hermeneus 55, 1983 2–20.

Hiemps: the nominative *hiemps* occurs in Fronto only here and in the next line. Scaur. Gramm. VII 21,6 *hiems carere p littera debet, quia in ceteris casibus nusquam p nec b propinqua eius respondet*, and so all grammarians, but *hiemps* is found in several old MSS.

Crudum: see at 10,14ff. p. 29; Sil. 14,454 *crudo luctari pelago*.

11,7–10 Note the rhetorical ellipsis of a principal sentence. See at 85,5M.

11,10 *nauseat*: not 'is seasick' (Haines) but 'is subject to seasickness'.

Poma culpabuntur: a sneer, but there was a legal ground: Ulp. Dig. 2,12,1 pr. *ne quis messium vindemiarumque tempore adversarium cogat ad iudicium venire, oratione divi Marci exprimitur*. In classical Latin, *culpare aliquid* is chiefly used by poets; 216,3 *culpare aliquem*.

11,11 *non*: see at 42,20.

11,12 *debuerat*: see at 37,11 and 182,18,

11,13 *tandem*: 'in nome di Dio' (Portalupi). So in impatient questions 95,13 and 141,1.

Et expresses indignation or astonishment, as 2,1M; 93,16; 190,14. See Kühner II 5.

11,14 *magnum iter*: normally, travellers from Asia to Rome did not take the sea route. They crossed the Hellespont and went by the Via Egnatia all the way through Greece to Dyrrhachium, crossed the Adriatic to Brindisi and took the Via Appia to Rome. In the opposite direction, Verus went to the East, see at 109,5 and 109,14. Especially the crossing of the Adriatic was regarded as dangerous: Gell. 19,1,1ff.; Friedländer I 323. Such a journey could take several months, see at 108,2.

Et festinatum = *etiamsi festinetur* (Klussmann, Emendationes 23), not 'and he has made haste' (Haines).

Diplomatibus: a δίπλωμα, usually *diplomata*, is an imperial passport which authorized magistrates to use the cursus publicus, see Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten [3]1963, 198f.; Seeck, Cursus publicus, RE IV (1901); Wünsch, Diploma, RE V (1903). The Latin word is *evectio* 91,1.

11,15 *velocia stativa*: an oxymoron.

Cum interim: 'and in the meantime', see at 67,3.

11,15–16 *proposita semel*: 'is fixed a first time'. *Proposita* is not a legal term. *Semel* in this sense e.g. Cic. Sest. 49.

11,17 *duum mensum*: in some expressions the form *duorum* is avoided, so in *duum milium, duum mensum*: Liv. 3,25,4; 10,5,12; Vita Gord. 28,2; Ulp. Dig. 26,7,7,11. *Mensum* is more frequent than *mensium*, see at 267,22 *parentum*.

11,18 *proximis*: 'the last' (Haines), see at 73,27.

Mediei: 'between now and the last ides'; cp. 109,21 *quantum mediei isti dies promoverint ad vires reficiendas*.

Isti: 'since then'. Temporal *iste* can refer to the past or to the future, just as *proximus*. To the past 72,23M *dies istos tales transegi*, and so with *dies* 83,9; 109,21; 250,2M; 31,21 *in isto biduo*; 103,13M *biduo isto*. To the future 69,41 *dormei per istas noctes* ('forthcoming'); cp. 35,6. This use of temporal *iste* occurs for the first time in Fronto and Marcus, then in Gellius, Apuleius, Tertullian and in some later authors.

11,18–20 For the epanaphora see at 97,4.

11,20 *cogitat* sc. *proficisci*. *Cogitare* with infinitive is 'to intend', as 62,4M.

11,21 *bonis alienis incubare*: Serv. Aen. 1,89 *incubare proprie dicitur per vim rem alienam tenere*. Inspite of Rehm, TLL s.v., it is not a legal term: Tert. Uxor. 1,4 *alienis opibus*; Heges. 1,25,1 p.39,4 *alienis*; Cod. Theod. 4,18,1 *rei alienae*; Val. Clem. Homil. 8,4 *facultatibus alienis*. Jurists have *incumbere*, e.g. Ulp. Dig. 26,10,3,15 *bonis alienis incumbere*. *Incubare* in the literal sense has the accusative 211,2.

11,22 *dilapidare* in its proper sense, 'to smash', is only found in Colum. 10,330. Metaphorically—'to waste' (Haines)—it is a hapax in a small number of writers: Ter. Phorm. 897 *dilapidat nostras triginta minas*; Comm. inc. 55 Rib. *rem*; Ps. Cic. Epist. Oct. 3; Apul. Apol. 75 and a few times in the Digesta and in later writers.

Priebe; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 23; and Marache, Mots, regard it as an archaism, mistakenly as it seems.

11,24 *si fuerit inductus*: in sentences with *si* (36,16M; 174,10), with relative pronouns (44,9; 87,27; 193,14) or with *priusquam* and *ubi* (42,17M; 80,3), *fuerit, fuero* always indicate what has been done before. H. Blase, Zur Geschichte der Futura und des Konjunktivs des Perfekts im Lateinschen, Archiv 10, 1898, 322, points to the fact that in old and classical Latin the partic. perf. pass. with *ero* is predominant, but since Vitruvius *fuero* is mostly used. For Fronto the ratio is: partic. with *ero*: partic. with *fuero* = 2:9.

11,29–31 *sive maris*... *consumitur* could be a Stoic thought, cp. Lucan. 7,809–840; Petron. 115,17–18 *fluctibus obruto contingit sepultura*... *ferae tamen corpus lacerabunt*; see also Pacuv. Trag. 198f. *priusquam ferae volucresque* with Cicero's comment Tusc. 1,102ff. There is no reason at all to assume with Mai and Frassinetti, L'orazione di Frontone 251, that Min. Fel. 11,4 was inspired by Fronto: *quasi*... *intersit, utrum ferae diripiant an maria consumant an humus contegat an flamma subducat, cum cadaveribus omnis sepultura*... *poena sit.* See at 259,8.

11,30 *harenae*: 'sand masses', see at 262,33.

11,31 *satis sepelitur*: alliteration.

11,32 *res*... *familia*: cp. Liv. 22,53,11 *domum, familiam remque meam. Familia* is more than the corpus servorum (against O. Hey, TLL s.v.): it includes children, slaves, clients and even friends; see 13,3ff.

12,2–3 *aedibus*... *opisthodomis*: wills were kept in temples, see Iuv. 8,143; Ulp. Dig. 10,2,4,3; Iavol. Dig. 43,5,5; Marc. Dig. 48,13,6, especially in the temple of Vesta: Suet. Caes. 83; Aug. 101; Tac. Ann. 1,8,1; Plut. Anton. 58,5; Cass. Dio 48,37,1. See also the inscriptions mentioning *tabularii* in Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten ^{3}1963,113.

Thecis is rather difficult: Hauler's reading leads either to *tecis* or to *oecis*. Latin *theca* never indicates a place where important documents are kept, but θήκη can indicate any place. *Oecus*, 'hall', seems out of the question.

Archium (ἀρχεῖον) is the older form, first used here; *archivum* the younger. As a depository of wills in Ulp. Dig. 48,19,9,6 and Paul. Sent. 4,6,1. Latin *opisthodomus* occurs only here; Varro, L.L. 5,160 has the Greek form. It often indicates the treasury in the inner cell of a temple. See M. Memelsdorff, De archivis imperatorum Romanorum qualia fuerint usque ad Diocletiani aetatem, diss., Halis Saxonum 1890, 11ff.; K. Gross, Archiv, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum I (1950).

12,3 *iactitarint*, 'to hurl', occurs here for the first time in its proper sense. Hauler's *subactuarint* seems impossible; it might be *subiactitarint*.

12,4 *onera mercium*: gen. epexegeticus; Cic. Verr. II 5,145 *onera atque merces*.

Etiam: for the meaning 'adhuc', 'etiamnunc', the TLL only quotes Lucr. 6,979 and our passage. The same meaning 235,9M.

Superest ut: 'the next thing will be that' (Haines), an expression used since Seneca philosopher.

12,4–5 *iactu*... *iactentur*: nautical terms: Sen. Contr. exc. 4,4,1 *necessitas est, quae navigia iactu exonerat*; Call. Dig. 14,2,4,1 *navis quae in tempestate*

iactu mercium ... levata est. Iactu is a substantive, not a sup. II, as R. Novák, Wien. Stud. 19, 1897, 244, and Kühner I 725 assume. See E. Köstermann, TLL s.v., and Lumpe-Ehlers, TLL s.v. opus est. Cicero and Sallust have the word *iactura.* The nautical term *iactare* is found in Iuv. 12,52; Iulian. Dig. 41,7,7 *merces ex nave iactatas*; Paul. Sent. 2,7,3; Ulp. Dig. 47,2,43,10 and 11; Actus Apost. 27,38 ἐκούφιζον τὸ πλοῖον ἐκβαλλόμενοι (*iactantes*) τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

12,6–13,2 Hauler's text is very uncertain and often incomprehensible.

12,7 *salis*: from *salum*, see line 14.

12,9 *non facundum* is an understatement: instead of *non iure factum*, Fronto calls it 'clumsily formulated'. 13,1f. we have the opposite: *perfecto testamento.*

Publicanus: on taxes in Bithynia see Fr. Vittinghoff, Portorium, RE XXI 1 (1953). For other tasks of the *publicani* see G. Ürögdy, Publicani, RE XII 1184ff. and Kleine Pauly (1971).

12,10 *eo ... quo*: it may mean: 'depending on the extent to which someone was useful to him in social commerce, he gave him a legacy'.

12,11 *notis*: if we read *gnatis* with m^1, it would mean that the *sui heredes* became only a legacy, but *igitur primo etiam mihi* indicates that friends are meant, not sons.

Publico opere: 'a public building project'? 'a public mine'?

Tabula: 'auction'? 'archives'?

12,12 *partes*: of the inheritance.

12,13–14 *aqua ... insectantur*: 'the sisters persecute the legatees by (exposing the will to) the water of the sea'?

12,14 *et*^{1}: 'even'.

Clarissimo: clarum salum or *clarum mare* does not occur elsewhere.

12,15 *transituris*: 'those who must cross the sea' (or the Adriatic).

Arbitrio marium: Hor. Carm. 1,3,15 calls Notus the *arbiter Hadriae*; cp. e.g. Liv. 10,24,9 *arbitria ... fortunae.*

12,15–16 *procellarum dolo*: Lucr. 2,557 *infidi maris insidias virisque dolumque ... vitare.*

12,16 *avulserint*: see at 1,10f.

Superruentes: this verb occurs here for the first time, then Apul. Met. 1,16,6 (with accusative) and 2,26,3 (with dative) and four times in Ammianus.

12,17 *mox inde* is not found elsewhere, but *mox deinde* occurs several times since Tibull. 1,5,73.

12,18 *soluta* and *sparsa* are synonyms: 'having suffered heavy damage'. Cp. Mart. 9,40,6 *dispersa rate ... procellis.*

12,19 *eradicantur*: i.e. the legata.

12,19–20 *bona ... epulantur*: 'they feast on the estate'.

13,3 *funere*: of the testator. (J. Vahlen, Cn. Naevi De bello Punico reliquiae, Lipsiae 1854, 7, and J. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, RE IV, think that this passage refers to the death of Censorius Niger, 162,6.)

13,4 *vadatus*: 'obliged', 'devoted'. The partic. has passive meaning since Plaut. Bacch. 180 *me vadatum amore vinctumque adtines.*

13,5 *legato honoratus*: the same expression in legal texts: Call. Dig. 48,10,15 pr.; Cod. Iustin. 6,28,4,8; 6,43,1 pr.; 7,7,2 pr.

Facis is the reading of Studemund and Hauler; Mai and Naber read *agis*. It concerns *facio* with double accusative, not with *exequias facere* (against O. Hey, TLL s.v. facio 96,73).

13,6 *hereditas cernitur*, 'is decided upon', a legal term: Gaius, Inst. 2,164 *intra certum tempus vel adeant hereditatem vel... summoveantur; ideo... cretio appellata est, quia cernere est quasi decernere vel constituere*. It is often the same as *hereditas aditur*, e.g. Gaius, Inst. 2,166 *eam hereditatem adeo cernoque*.

13,7 *detrahitur* is not 'to shear off' (Haines and P. Gräber, TLL s.v.); Gräber refers to Colum. 7,4,7 and Apul. Apol. 56,2; see also Ps. Quint. Decl. 13,8. It is 'to strip the skin with its wool', as is proved by the following substantives *ebur* etc. *Detrahere pellem, cutem, ungues* is quite usual, not *pinnas plumasque*. The explanation of m^2 in the margin, *calvetur* ('is plucked'), can only refer to birds. Plin. Nat. 11, 130 is the only author with *calvere* of birds, but there it means 'to be callow', not 'to pluck'. Perhaps we should read *calvatur*: Gloss. V 493,42 explains *calvo* by *tondeo, decollo*, i.e. after having decapitated the animal the farmer shears off the wool, cp. Isid. Orig. 1,130 *calvus est natura, calvatus manu*. In this case m^2 agrees with Gräber, though wrongly, I think.

13,8 *iacet*: again a legal term, which indicates the situation of an inheritance before the official *cretio*. E. Köstermann, TLL s.v., explains: 'sine domino esse, quasi pro derelicto esse', cp. Papin. Dig. 37,3,1 *utilius erit... proximo cuique possessionem dari, ne bona iaceant*; 40,5,4,17 *iacere* is the opposite of *agnoscere*; see also 36,4,5,20; 38,9,12 and Leonhard, Bonorum possessio, RE III (1899); Manigk, Hereditarium ius, RE VIII 1 (1912); M. Kaser, Römisches Privatrecht, München ^{12}1982, 209f.

Differtur: differre aliquid sometimes means 'to delay the discussion or the decision in a case'; so e.g. Cod. Theod. 9,10,4,1 *si (iudex) violentiae crimen... distulerit*. It is not 'to put aside' (Haines) or 'dissipare' (H. Ammann, TLL s.v.).

13,9 *exposta* is a poetical form used here because of the metric clause. Cp. *supposta* 160,10. See Neue-Wagener III^3 533.

13,10 *totum descripsi*: 'I have given an impression of the whole', not 'I have copied out the whole' (Haines and E. Vetter, TLL s.v.), because Fronto had picked out only samples of his speech for Marcus: 14,10.

Ergo: 'indeed' (Haines).

13,10–11 *quom totum*: anaphorical gemination, see at 118,13f. and 97,4.

13,12–13 *carissime, dulcissime* and *optatissime* are also found in Cicero's letters. *Desiderantissimus* like *amantissimus* and *reverentissimus* has a passive meaning. It is found first in an inscription of 50 AD, CIL XIV 3624, also in XI 6507 and in later inscriptions. In literature, Marcus here and 30,11 and Fronto 81,7 and 109,9 are the first to use this colloquialism. See Bastiaensen, Le cérémonial 25, and at 115,18.

13,14 *Herodi filius*: we know three sons of Herodes and Regilla by name, but none of them can be the *filius* who died soon after his birth. Nor can this be the son mentioned by Lucian. Demon. 25 υἱὸν πενθοῦντι καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἑαυτὸν καθείρξαντι, for this apparently happened in Greece, whereas in this letter Herodes is in Italy (*hodie*!), perhaps in his villa near the sepulchre of Caecilia Metella. So we must conclude that this is Regilla's first-born

child, who is not mentioned in the threnody of Marcellus (CIG 6280), because he only lived one day. See on the death of the baby Graindor, Un milliardaire 82; Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes 29ff.; A. Stein, Claudius 802, PIR II^2 (1936); W. Peek, Mitteil. d. deutschen archäol. Inst. Athen. Abt. 1942, 137f.; M. Wolock, Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite, Amsterdam 1973, 170; Ameling, Herodes Atticus II 16ff. Marcus uses this occasion to reconcile his master Fronto and the friend of his family on the mother's side (36,20f.), for since the trial of Herodes in 140–142 (Caes. III 2–6) they had been enemies. Those who believed with Mommsen that Caes. III 2–6 were written in 143–144 must assume that Caes. I 6 is of an earlier date, and K. Münscher, Herodes 13, RE VIII 1 (1912), even states that in I 6 Fronto and Herodes were friends.

Volo ut is much stronger than *volo* with subjunctive (see at 37,11; 176,10), and Marcus' effort met with success: 55,16M and 102,18. Herodes is now in Italy, where he is going to stay for a longer period. It is not exactly known when he came to Rome: 139–141 (see at 36,1); the trial took place in 140–142 and this letter was written not long after 1 September 143. We can hardly believe that before this date Herodes already was Marcus' teacher: Fronto would have known that. On the other hand, it seems that Marcus is preparing him for a change in the situation, and so we must assume that Marcus accepted Herodes as a teacher late 143 or early 144, perhaps half-heartedly, for the Stoic young man and the flamboyant and larmoyant Greek had nothing in common. Graindor, o.c. 67, dates Herodes' teachership to 139–140; Münscher l.l. and Birley, Mark Aurel 139, to 140–143; Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, to 139 onwards; Haines I 61 n. 2 after the trial; H. Gärtner, Herodes 16, Kleine Pauly (1967), to 143; Fülles, De Herodis vita 15, to 139; Kaemmel, Herodes Atticus, and Brock, Studies 332, to 140; Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes, before 143; H. Rutledge, Class. Journ. 56, 1960, 101, to 134 (Herodes was not in Rome that year); Ameling, Herodes Atticus I, to 140–141; Pflaum, La valeur 270f., after 145–146. According to the Vita Veri 2,5, Verus also was a pupil of Herodes. It seems that the lessons given by Herodes did not amount to much; Marcus does not mention him in his Meditations.

As *Herodi* can be genitive (Neue-Wagener I^3 509ff.; see at 138,13) or dative, different translations are possible; if genitive, we should translate 'the son of Herodes, born to-day, is dead' (Haines); if dative, 'il figlio nato oggi a Erode è morto' (Portalupi in her first edition), but also 'il figlio nato a Erode oggi è morto' (Cortassa and Portalupi^2). Ameling chooses for this last translation and assumes that the son could already have been born in 142. However, if the child was over a year old, we should probably have known its name. Haines' translation is the most likely one.

The letter Marcus asks for must be Caes. II 1, see Proleg. XLVIII.

13,14–15 *non aequo animo*: Herodes was of an impetuous nature and could not control himself (μετριάζειν 16,11) when grieving over his beloved dead: Pilostr. V.S. 2,9 p. 64,27f. K. Ἠώδῃ . . . πονήρως διατιθεμένῳ τὸ πένθος. 2,10 p. 66,1ff. ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ δαπέδῳ τὴν γῆν παίων καὶ βοῶν . . .

ἐπένθει δὲ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ταύταις τὰς θυγατέρας. Gell. 19,12,2 *lacessitus a quodam Stoico, tamquam minus sapienter et parum viriliter dolorem ferret.*

13,16 *semper valae*: see at 61,4.

13,17 Chronology: see at 10,1f.

13,19 *aestimas*: see at 1,10f.

14,1 *cum*, 'since', becomes explicative 'that' (Haines) after verba affectuum in comic poets and in Cicero's letters, e.g. Fam. 7,15,2 *quom vero in C. Mati . . . familiaritatem venisti, non dici potest, quam valde gaudeam.* So it must be a colloquialism. After Cicero it is hardly used in this way; in our correspondence 38,12M; 51,22 (*quoniam* Schopen); 59,16 (*quod* Heraeus); 60,14M; 73,6 (*quod* Schopen); 74,17; 78,18; 88,2. Apul. Apol. 13,3; 27,4. For explicative *cum* with subjunctive see at 74,11.

14,2 *finem . . . modum*: the same synonymous combination 155,13; 193,17f. Cp. Plaut. Merc. 652 *quis modus? . . . quis finis?*; Lucil. 1331 *finem . . . scire modumque*; Cic. Verr. II 2,118 *modum aliquem et finem orationi . . . faciamus.*

Finem ut: proleptic emphasis, see at 21,8.

Quin: see at 5,3. It is not = *immo* (against Klussmann, Philol. Rundschau 1 1881, 1369).

14,3 *denique*: 'for that matter', see at 10,6.

14,4 *etiam quantum*: 'however much you may love me'. It is almost the same as *quantumcumque* or *etiamsi tantum.* This combination of *etiam* with a relative adverb is rare, e.g. Varro, L.L. 9,28 *etiam ubi dissimilis foetus . . . tamen* etc. The TLL under 'etiam paradoxum' has no example of *etiam quantum.* Haines and Portalupi[1] do not translate *etiam*; 'ancora quanto' Portalupi[2]. See at 218,2 (marg. b) *nondum etiam.*

14,5 *adversus* in a positive sense since Cicero; with *amor* also 66,4; with *officium* 103,9M.

14,6–7 *quantum plurimum potest*: see at 178,15 and 44,6. 171,4 *quantum plurimum possum.*

14,7–8 *id quod amaveris*: 'l'amore che mi portavi' (Portalupi). The addition of *id* by m^2 is not absolutely necessary.

14,9 *consulatum*: see at 10,1f.

Tua tot: alliteration.

14,10 *excerpseram*: see at 29,2.

14,11 *irationis* is, of course, the speech De testamentis Asianis, not the speech of the ides of August 143 (24,22), as Jüttner, De Polemonis . . . arte, and A. Stein, PIR II[2] no. 1396 p. 322, suppose.

14,11–12 The *pronuntiatio* or *actio* (ὑπόκρισις) has three aspects: Rhet. Her. 1,3 *pronuntiatio est vocis, vultus, gestus moderatio*; 3,19 *de voce et vultu et gestu*; 3,26 *motus est corporis gestus et vultus moderatio*; Cic. Brut. 141 *(actio) partienda est in gestum atque vocem*; Orat. 55 *voce atque motu*; Div. 1,80 *vidi . . . in Aesopo . . . ardorem vultuum atque motum*; Quint. Inst. 11,3,1 *vocem atque motum*; 11,3,14 *actio . . . in duas divisa (est) partes: vocem gestumque*; Mart. Cap. 5,540 *partes sunt tres: vox, vultus, gestus*; Serv. Aen. 2,41 *vultu, voce, gestu.* In our passage, *oculos* stands for *vultum*, as 39,11 *oculis . . . voce . . . verbis*; cp. Cic. De orat. 3,214 *oculis, voce, gestu*; Fronto 186,1 *vultu . . . gestu*; 141,16 *gestu Roscii.* See at 39,11f.

and F. Graf, De gebaren van Romeinse toneelspelers en redenaars, in J. Bremmer & H. Roodenburg, Gebaren en lichaamshouding van oudheid tot heden, Nijmegen 1922.

14,12 *utendus*: the personal gerundive also 111,8; *fruendus* 227,8; *paenitendus* 47,8; *laetandus* 118,11.

14,13 *quis quisquam*; a colloquial emphasis: 'whosoever'. Plaut. Aul. 810 *quis me Athenis nunc magis quisquam est homo, cui* etc.; Most. 256 *quid illa pote peius quicquam muliere memorarier?* See Hofmann-Szantyr 801.

Veterum: see at 19,16.

14,14 Clodius *Aesopus* and Q. *Roscius* Gallus were the most famous actors in Cicero's time; they are mentioned together by Hor. Epist. 2,1,82 and Quint. Inst. 11,3,111. See also Tac. Dial. 20,3 and at 141,17.

14,15 *actor*: Marcus had lessons in declamation from Geminus comoedus: Vita Marci 2,2; 3,8 *frequentavit et declamatorum scholas publicas.*

14,17 *optabile* has no superlative, hence Cic. Sest. 98 *maxime optabile.*

Miror quod with subjunctive also Cato, Dicta 65; Cic. Verr. II 4,33; II 5,16.

Oratio oris: etymological figure, as 112,4.

14,19 *alienam extrinsecus mutuantur*: abundance.

14,20 *vile aut volgatum*: the same alliteration Cic. Rosc. Am. 71; Colum. 7,1; Curt. 3,1,14; Mamert. Pan. Lat. 3,6.

Pulpamentum; 'bit of flesh' (Haines). It is not an archaism (Schwierczina and Hofer) but a word used in daily life: Plautus, Terence, Cic. Tusc. 5,90 (in a letter of Anacharsis); Plin. Nat. 9,48; Vita Numer. 14,3.

14,21 *vasis*: abl. instrumentalis, whereas Cic. Att. 6,1,13 has *in vasis fictilibus appositurum.*

14,21–22 *floribus et coronis* may be a hendiadys, cp. Cic. Verr. II 4,77; Curt. 4,4,5; 5,1,20; 9,10,25. Ameling (see at 10,1f.) thinks that these words point to autumn 143.

Dignitate: 'scale of worth' (Haines), 'quality', not 'decoro' (Portalupi). See at 223,2.

14,22–23 A similar remark 18,1: the same act in ordinary life and in a religious context has not the same value. Some grammarian has found it necessary to give further information, which has led to the so-called variants of m^2, see Proleg. XXXVIII and XL. The words *in Portunio* and *in templo* are completely superfluous and a typical example of learned interpolation. Yet Heindorf, Fr. Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. 12, 1857, 260; Haines; and S. Timpanaro, Contributi 379ff., Riv. di filol. e di istr. class. 117, 1989, 372 (= Nuovi contributi 353) follow the second hand. The old Italian god Portunus, who had some affinity to Ianus, had a temple *in portu Tiberino*, near the Pons Aemilius. The square near this temple was called *Portunium*, a name found only here but conjectured in Varro, L.L. 5,146 by H. Jordan and in the Curiosa Urbis Romae Reg. XI by C. Hülsen. It was there that florists had their stalls. See Chr. A. Lobeck, Aglaophamus I 707; C. Wissowa, Religion^2 111ff.; H. Papenhoff, Portunus, RE XXII 1 (1953); G. Radke, Portunus, Kleine Pauly (1971) with further literature.

14,24 *-que* often introduces a new sentence with a new point of view.

14,25 *Patricole*: Ennius Trag. 314 Klotz, has the vocative *Patricoles*, Cic. Tusc. 2,39 the nominative *Patricoles*, an anaptyctic form of Πατροκλῆς. See W. Corssen, Über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache II^2, Leipzig 1870, 77; W. Heraeus, Archiv 14, 1906, 462 n. 3; A.W. de Groot, Die Anaptyxe im Lateinischen, Göttingen 1921, 10ff.; Neue-Wagener I^3 448.

Philocteta: nominative and ablative *Philocteta* in Cic. Fat. 36f.; Quint. Inst. 3,1,14; 5,10,84; and elsewhere. See at 7,7.

Viris virtute: an etymological alliteration; also in Verg. Aen. 1,566; Catull. 68,90; Tac. Hist. 5,25,2.

14,27 *habet*: impersonal *habet* stands for *est* (so already Plaut. Pseud. 935) or for *scriptum est*, as in Cassiod. Didym. in I Petr. 1,25 p. 18,30 Z. *sic enim habet.* See at 87,25.

15,1 *scena*: according to Varro, L.L. 7,96, both *scaena* and *scena* are used. 213,10 we find *scaena* without correction of m^2. So we had better keep here, too, the reading *scaena.*

15,2 *actor*: see at 10,5.

15,4 *quom Ióve patre audiénte Musae cántant* has a poetical ring, but Ehrenthal, Quaestiones 43 n. 82, rightly observes that we are faced with a lyrical mood of Fronto rather than with a quotation.

15,5 *istam*: 'that poor speech of mine', see at 1,10.

15,6 *descriptam*: see at 1,6.

Noster does not mean that Laberius was an African, as Mai thinks; see at 259,8; 90,2.

15,7–8 Fronto quotes freely. These verses—M. Bonaria, Romani mimi, Roma 1965, 121, wrongly thinks that it is prose—have been reconstructed by the Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817, 176:

Ad amorem iniciendum delenimenta <sunt>
delibamenta <et> beneficia veneficia

by Ribbeck, Com.:

Ád amorem delénimenta <méra> deleraménta <sunt>
<nón> beneficia, <séd> veneficia

and, much better, by Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 131:

<Tibi polliceor:>
ad amórem iniciendúm deleniménta deleraménta <fore>,
beneficia autem veneficia.

We should not alter *deleramenta* to *deliramenta*: it is a paronomasia (annominatio) with *delenimenta*, and the form *deleramentum* is also found in MSS of other authors, see 31,17 crit. app. The scribe first wrote *deliberamenta*, a non-existent word. The conjecture *delibamenta* (the Anonymus quoted above, Kessler, Orelli and Jacobs) disturbs the antithesis and the paronomasia. On *delenimentum* see at 18,12.

Beneficia . . . veneficia: the same pun Apul. Apol. 102,3 *grave veneficium dicam*

an ingratum beneficium? On the commutation of the two words see H. Thielmann, Archiv 1, 1884, 19; K.E. Georges, Lexicon der lateinischen Wortformen, Leipzig 1890.

15,8 *poculo aut veneno*: hendiadys for *amatorium poculum*, 'philtre'. Plin. Nat. 8,83; 9,79; 13,142 and 20,32 gives examples.

15,8–9 The reading of m^1 is clear and needs no alteration. *Incutere amorem* is a frequently used expression, the uncertain *adamasios* does not occur elsewhere (but we have *adamare* and *adamator*). Yet L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 78, prefers the reading of m^2. Haupt's *adamatorius* is only found in glossaries.

15,9 *praeut*: 'compared with the way you have' etc. This conjunction occurs several times in Plautus, once in Terence (Eun. 301) and perhaps in Fronto 95,4, and later only in Symmachus. Therefore Ebert, Syntax. 24, and Marache, Mots, are right in regarding it as an archaism. On *praequam* see at 224,2.

15,10 *litterae*: 'characters'.

Istic: see at 1,11.

15,11 *laureas . . . pictas*: the new consul, the suffectus as well as the ordinarius, held a processus consularis (here *triumphus*) to the Capitol. His fasces were laurel-wreathed (Mart. 10,10,1 *laurigeris annum qui fascibus intras*) and he wore a *toga purpurea picta* (Ovid. Fast. 1,81 *iamque novi praeeunt fasces, nova purpura fulget*; Pont. 4,9,26; Mart. 8,8,4; Herodian. 1,16,3; Auson. Grat. act. 11,52 *iste habitus ut in pace consulis est, sic in victoria triumphantis*; Pacat. Pan. 12,28 *purpuras consulares*). See Mommsen, Staatsrecht I^3 414f.; B. Kübler, Consul, RE IV (1901); and at 19,5.

With *contigisse* the MS begins a new paragraph, and so do Mai and Naber: they put a question mark after *Titio poetae*. Ebert, Synt. 34; Kühner I 721; and Hofmann-Szantyr 366 regard *contigisse quid tale* as an exclamatory acc. cum inf. But even if we begin the sentence with *contigisse*, this verb depends on *usuvenit*. Niebuhr was the first to see the correct interpunction.

15,12–17 *M. Portio . . . Nepote*: famous authors whose works were edited by famous scholars; sometimes these scholars were friends of the author. In the second century AD there was a great interest in tracing old MSS and in establishing the original texts. Fronto himself devoted his energy to this: 1,6 he has a copy made of an unknown writer; 56,1 he provides Marcus with a new copy of Ennius' Sota. But he devoted himself especially to Cicero: 187,10ff. and 104,6ff.; see 277,5. It is an exaggeration to regard this passage as 'one of the most grossly misinterpreted pieces of evidence about ancient texts' (Zetzel, Emendavi 241): when Fronto states that Lampadio and others made copies *sua manu*, it is only a rhetorical manner of speaking. Moreover, it is not relevant for our passage if in the second century copies circulated which unjustly bore the name of a famous philologist. Fronto distinguishes three groups: the first four writers are men of letters (the political ideas of Cato and C. Gracchus find no interest with him), then one general and one statesman, and lastly the one and only Cicero. Thus we can explain why P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, although older, is mentioned after Gracchus and Titius. Each author has

his publisher, and Titius must be connected with D. Aurelius Opilius, who lived c. 100 BC. Therefore, Titius cannot be the poet mentioned by Hor. Epist. 1,3,9: he must be the C. Titius who was a contemporary—and possibly a friend—of Aurelius Opilius. Macrob. 3,16,14 calls him an orator, Cic. Brut. 167 an orator and a tragic poet. So the remarkable addition *poeta* seems to prove that Aurelius Opilius published only his poetical works. See on Titius Selvatico, Scambio 282; P.L. Schmidt, Titius, Kleine Pauly (1975). The speeches of Scipio Africanus are mentioned 29,3M, those of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus several times in Gellius, see at 261,24. C. Octavius Lampadio (second century BC) seems to belong to Ennius, not Cato: Gell. 18,5,11 (on the Annals) *librum summae atque reverendae vetustatis, quem fere constabat Lampadionis manu emendatum* (not *scriptum*!). According to Zetzel, this liber was a forgery. Lampadio also divided Naevius' Bellum Punicum into seven books (Suet. Gramm. 2). Staberius Eros (first half of the first century BC) was a grammarian who wrote De proportione; that he edited or emended texts, probably Cato's, we only know from this passage. Plautius may be identical with L. Plotius Gallus (Suet. Rhet. 2), a partisan of Marius. He may have been a friend and follower of C. Gracchus, but nothing is known of his philological work. Aurelius Opilius (his praenomen D. or S. is only known from this passage) was a contemporary of Titius and Plotius Gallus. He was a man of broad interests (Suet. Gramm. 6) and wrote several works on ancient Latin literature (Gell. 1,25,17; 3,3,1). The name Autrico is very uncertain and no one of this name is known. Possibly Autrico is a name like Atticus, Afer, Syrus, and he may have been one of the Autricones in Spain and have met Scipio Minor there. *Ex Baecula* belongs to Autrico; Livy mentions this Spanish city repeatedly. L. Aelius Stilo Praeconius was a renowned philologist, friend of Metellus Numidicus and teacher to Cicero and Varro. In the Anecdotum Parisinum (see Suetonii reliquiae ed. Reifferscheid 138 and Gramm. Lat. VII 533) a Laelius is mentioned together with other scholars who used critical signs in *in adnotationibus Ennii, Luci<li>i et historicorum*. Reifferscheid and Marx in his edition of Lucilius CXXX recognize in this Laelius our L. Aelius Stilo, and F. Mentz, De L. Aelio Stilone, diss., Jenensis, Lipsiae 1888, 19, supposes that the fragments of Metellus in Gell. 7,11 and 17,2,7 were taken from Aelius' edition.

Exempla = *exemplaria*, 'copies'; see at 104,11.

Tirone: that M. Tullius Tiro emended Cicero's works we know from Gell. 1,7,1; 13,21,16; 15,6,2. In some humanistic MMS we find the following note at the beginning of Cicero's second speech against the Lex agraria: *In exemplari vetustissimo hoc erat in margine: Emendavi ad Tyronem et Laecanianum et xxx dom⁻* (= *Domitium?*) *&* *alios veteres* (see Zetzel o.c.). According to Zetzel, the so-called Tiro MSS of Gellius were forgeries, but this does not mean that Tiro did not emend Cicero's speeches at all. Schanz I 548 supposes that *dom⁻* stands for Domitius, and a Domitius Balbo is mentioned by Tac. Ann. 14,40,1 but Fronto's Domitius is probably a contemporary of Atticus and Nepos *Descripta*: see at 1,6.

T. Pomponius Atticus and Nepos stand without participle; it seems, at least for Atticus, that both *emendata* and *descripta* should be understood.

Atticus did not only publish Cicero's works (Cic. Att. 2,1,2; 4,13,2; 12,40,1; 12,44,1; 12,45,3; 12,47,3; 13,22,3; Nepos, Att. 13,3), but he also was Cicero's Aristarchus (Att. 1,14,3) and he kept Cicero from faults (Att. 7,3,11) by marking dubious passages *miniata cerula*, 'with red pencil': Att. 15,14,4; 16,11,1.

Nepote: there are indications that Cornelius Nepos had philological interests (Suet. Gramm. 4), especially with respect to Cicero's works (Gell. 15,28). The only conclusion we can draw from our passage is that he was, in some way or other, involved in the editing of Cicero's work. He was a close friend of both Cicero and Atticus (Cic. Att. 16,14,4), and Att. 16,5,5 shows that he was interested in a collection of Cicero's letters. J. de Ghellinck, Patristique et Moyen Age II, Bruxelles/Paris 1947, 346, assumes that Nepos was a member of the workshop of Atticus. See also Lily R. Taylor, Cornelius Nepos, and V. Burr, Editionstechnik, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum IV (1959).

16,1 *ut si* with a potentialis introduces an imaginary example, denied by the irrealis *adderet*: Apelles never painted an ape or a fox. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 41, 1919, 102, failed to understand this passage. *Ut si* with potential subj. also 18,1; *consimile ut si* 134,23. *Ut si* with irrealis 141,17. A similar assumption is introduced by *quid si* 133,6ff.

Simiam: the passages of Plautus quoted speak of the ape as a *nihili bestia*. It was commonly disliked: Enn. Sat. 69 V. *turpissima bestia*; Plaut. Rud. 610 *bestiam nequissimam*; Cic. Div. 2,69 *monstrosissimam bestiam*; Ovid. Met. 14,93 *deforme animal*. See also Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. simia; S. Grün, Affe, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum I (1950); and at 272,12.

Volpem: in our MS, words beginning with *vu-* are always written *vo-*; see 128,10; 181,15; 186,1; 220,7. I have omitted to note this Proleg. XXXIII. The fox, a *fraudulentum animal* (Isid. Orig. 12,229), also gave rise to several proverbs, see Otto, but nowhere is it called a *bestia nihili*.

Apelles, Appelles, Apella, Appella: Appelles also Varro, L.L. 9,12; Quint. Inst. 2,13,12; Priscian. Gramm. II 245. Apella is the older form: Plaut. Epid. 626; Poen. 1271; Hor. Sat. 1,5,100; Appella is the title of a comedy by Naevius. 27,7M accusative Apellen. See Neue-Wagener I^3 58 and at 7,7.

16,2 *nihili*: see at 229,10.

Cato: Hauler suggests that Fronto may refer to Cato, Agr. 2,7 *servum senem, servum morbosum et si quid aliud supersit, vendat (pater familias)*, see also Plut. Cato 4,4, but the text is too uncertain for us to draw conclusions. We do not know either if Cato has spoken of *aes alienum*.

16,4–6 = Testim. 25. Charisius quotes Fronto because of *usquequaque*. This is to say that its meaning here is not 'sempre' (Portalupi) but 'in every respect'. 57,6 it means 'on all occasions' (Haines) or 'dovunque' (Portalupi); 67,2 'anywhere' (Haines), not 'sempre' (Portalupi).

Insitus: in spite of 4,17, I have not followed the MS reading *situs*. For Marcus'literary *lepos* see 8,13.

16,10 Chronology: this letter must be the one Marcus 13,15 asks for, even though it seems to be part of book II, see Proleg. XLVIIf. and at 13,14. Niebuhr; Mai^2; Naber; K. Münscher, Herodes 13, RE VIII (1912);

and Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 50, assume that this letter was written at the death of Herodes' wife Annia Regilla, but since it has been included in book II it must have been written in 143, see at 10,1f., and Annia Regilla died years later.

The form of address is, of course, not the original one. The letter is almost insulting in its rashness, see at 38,16. R. Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes Atticus (followed by K. Vretska, Anzeiger f. d. Altertumswiss. 11, 1958, 18f.), has completely failed to understand this letter; so has Silvana Fasce, L'Erotikos: she regards it 'come un elogio dell'amore paidico basato sulla virtù'.

16,11 μετριάζειν: see at 13,14f.

16,12 ἐν παντί: 'in all circumstances'.

Κατὰ πάντα: 'in every way', 'totally'.

16,13 παιδείας: 'culture'. In a letter to the Athenians (ed. Cortassa 662,89f.), Marcus praises Herodes σὺν τῇ εὐκλεεῖ περὶ παιδείαν σπουδῇ.

16,15 παράλογον: 'unreasonable'.

'Ανίαν is a poetical word.

17,1 ἡλικίας: see at 23,20. Herodes was forty-two.

'Ανατροφήν, 'rearing', 'education', is here used in the sense of γέννησιν.

17,2 ζημία: 'loss' (Haines).

'Αποκοπτομένη: Polyb. 3,63,8 ἀποκεκομμένης . . . τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος. Apoll. Rhod. 4,1272 πᾶσαν μὲν ἀπ' ἐλπίδα φημὶ κεκόφθαι.

17,3 εἰς τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν is rather unusual and reminds one of the Latin *ad* with gerund. 'Αναγαβεῖν is intransitive: 'to recover', as Plato, Resp. 467 b; Demosth. 18,163; Hippocr. Mul. 2,118; not 'to bear' (Haines) or 'sanarlo' (Portalupi).

17,4 ἀγεννής: the meaning 'ignoble', 'mean-spirited' (Haines) is so gross that we must have to do here with one of Fronto's puns: it also means 'childless'.

Τὸ παρόν: 'that which is at hand', 'the present reality' (Haines).

17,5 ἀφείλετο and ἐστέρησεν: aor. empiricus, see at 244,9.

17,6 πείρᾳ ('experience' [Haines]) μάθων: also in Oppian. Hal. 3,101; Alciphr. Epist. 1,3,1; Theophan. Nonn. 33.

17,7 σοφίᾳ: speculative wisdom of philosophers, see 171,17ff.

17,7–8 τοτὲ μέν . . . τοτὲ δέ: 'at one time . . . at another' (Haines).

17,8 Athenodotus was a pupil of the Stoic Musonius (135,4), of whom Marcus used to speak highly (Medit. 1,13). Fronto calls him 65,23 *magister et parens*. It is probable that Athenodotus taught in Rome (cp. Plin. Epist. 2,14,10 with Medit. 1,13; see at 6,2; 135,3f.; 137,4; 140,1) and Fronto will have been his pupil there, not in Carthage or Alexandria, as has been suggested. We know next to nothing about Fronto's childhood and adolescence. Heurgon, Fronton 142, thinks that he studied rhetoric in Carthage, but most philologists assume that his rhetorical studies began in Alexandria, Egypt, see at 167,5 and 168,7; so Niebuhr XX; Mai[2]; Westermann, Geschichte der Beredtsamkeit 312; Priebe I 3; Hofer 2; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Haines I, XXIII; Teuffel 3^6,74; Schanz III 89; N. Terzaghi Storia della letteratura latina, Milano 1934, 485; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 38;

Grimal, Marc Aurèle 70. Eckstein, Fronto, was the first to have his doubts, and according to Philibert-Soupé, De Frontonianis reliquiis 13, Fronto received his rhetorical education in Rome (or in Cirta!). It was Rome, see Champlin, Fronto 20. Athenodotus taught philosophy (135,4) and rhetoric (65,23ff.). The classification of the *officia* (136,11ff.) may go back to his teaching, as well as the Greek terms 41,16–18. Τοῦ σοφοῦ is the learned and wise man, not 'the philosopher' (Haines).

Dionysius is called Tenuis by Fronto 152,2 and ὁ λεπτός by Athen. XI 475f., who mentions his commentary on the poet Theoridas (Theodoridas). Mai—and Meursius (Johan van Meurs) before him—thinks that he was also called ὁ ἀσκάλαφος because of Etym. Magn. 278,1 Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀσκάλαφος ἐλέγετο ἢ ὅτι συνεχῶς ἐμέμνητο τοῦ Ὁμηρικοῦ στίχου 'οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀσκάλαφον καὶ Ἰάλμενον καὶ Ὀρέστην' (Il. IX 82) ἢ ἐπειδὴ μακρὸς καὶ λεπτὸς ἦν καὶ ὠχρός.

17,8–9 καὶ δὴ . . . τύχοιμι: when Fronto lost a dear friend, he realized that he still had someone he loved. Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes 18f. (followed by K. Vretska, Anzeiger f. d. Altertumswiss. 11, 1958, 18f.), has completely misunderstood this passage and arrived at the strangest conclusions.

Κεῖνος οὗπερ is generally speaking and does not refer to one of the two teachers or to Marcus. Elsewhere Fronto always has ἐκεῖνος.

17,10 ἁλώσιμος: 'a prey to', 'at the mercy of' (Haines), with dative, as Xen. Memor. 3,11,11. It is an Attic word seldom found in later writers. See at 24,3.

17,10–15 Fronto is referring to Marcus and it seems probable that in this period Herodes became Marcus' teacher (see at 7,19; 13,14); hence καὶ σύ ('as I am his lover') and ἀντεραστής.

17,11–12 ἁμαρτάνω with participle is Attic.

Ὁρμῶν: 'attach yourself to' (Haines), 'trust to'; cp. Soph. Oed. Col. 148 οὐ γὰρ ἂν . . . ἐπὶ σμικροῖς μέγας ὥρμουν. Aristid. 1,134 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς ὁρμεῖν, and Lucian. Dem. Enc. 18 ἐπὶ μιᾶς τῆς ποιητικῆς δυνάμεως ὁρμούσης Cp. the proverb ἐπὶ δυοῖν ἀγκύραιν ὁρμεῖν: Pind. Olymp. 6,170f.; Demosth. 56,44; cp. 18,281; Plut. Sol. 19,2; Liban. Epist. 223. Cp. Sen. rem. fort. 15,2 *tu in tanta tempestate ad unam ancoram stabas?*

17,13 ὡς: 'since' (Haines), not 'cosicché' (Portalupi).

Ἐφ' ὅσον: 'as long as' (Haines).

17,13–14 The same expression 22,2 φράσω καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι.

17,16–17 Chronology of Caes. II 2 and 3: they were evidently written during Fronto's consulate (July–August 143), but there are some minor problems. We know that Fronto held his great speech in the senate to thank Pius for his consulate on 13 August 143, see 24,22. In II 2, however, he twice mentions a speech, or rather two speeches, which have to be identified: an *oratio* 17,19 and an *oratio in senatu* 20,7. The Greek appendix to this letter says 21,20 λόγον γάρ τινα συνήγαγον περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως (Pius) and 23,7 τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγκώμιον, called τὸ σύγγραμμα 23,9. The *oratio* mentioned here has often been identified with the great speech of 13 August 143 (Eckstein; Philibert-Soupé 62ff.; P. von Rohden, RE II [1896] 2502; Jüttner 34; A. Stein, M. Cornelius Fronto, PIR II[2] [1936]; H. Lameere 347ff.; Birley, Mark Aurel 150). Mommsen, Chronologie (followed by Brzoska

and Haines), thinks that Fronto held two speeches, one as a consul designatus and one on 13 August 143. He infers his conclusion from 106,4f. *patris tui laudes a me in senatu designato et inito consulatu meo dictas.* Hanslik, Anordnung 24f., does not believe either that the *oratio* 17,19 is identical with the speech of 13 August 143 (he is followed by Portalupi), nor does he believe in a speech as consul designatus: he follows a suggestion of Klussmann, Emendationes 28, that 17,19 is some epideictic speech, identical with the *oratio quam in senatu recitavi* (20,7). On the other hand, he does identify the speech mentioned 21,20 and 23,7 with the speech of 13 August 143, and he thinks that *posterioribus litteris tuis* (24,16) indicates that II 2 and 3 were written at the end of July at the latest. Hanslik is followed by Champlin, Fronto 131, who dates II 2 and 3 between 1 July and 13 August 143. However, some indications seem to have been overlooked: the *oratio* 17,19 was not held in the senate, because in 143 Aufidius Victorinus, who heard that speech, was only twenty-one years old and therefore not a member of the senate (see Pflaum, La carrière de C. Aufidius Victorinus), and *in coetu hominum* (18,3) clearly points to the contio populi (see at 138,4f.) So the speech of 17,19 is neither the *oratio in senatu* 20,7 nor the great speech of 13 August 143 which was also held in the senate. We cannot but conclude that the speech 17,19 was either some unknown epideictic speech, as Klussmann and Hanslik think, or—and this seems more likely—a speech Fronto held as consul designatus before the people. In his Staatsrecht II 128, Mommsen states that in the imperial age it was customary that a new consul introduced himself to the people before taking up his duties, and he cites Cass. Dio 55,6,5 where Augustus designates Tiberius as consul γράμματά τε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν, ἐκθεῖναι (to promulgate) πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν (ad populum) ἐποιήσε. What Dio calls γράμματα is σύγγραμμα 23,9, but it is a speech because it is recited (*recitabis* 18,4). It seems evident that the λόγος 21,20 and the ἐγκώμιον 23,7 are one and the same speech, for II 3 is an appendix to II 2. Moreover, λόγον γάρ τινα συνήγαγον does not sound like writing an important speech like the one of 13 August 143: συνάγειν is 'to put together' rather than 'to compose', as Haines translates; the aorist shows that this speech had already been written. So I cannot agree with von Rohden, Brzoska, Hanslik, Birley and Champlin that the speech 21,20 and 23,7 is identical with the speech of 13 August. Haines has sensed the difficulty, putting the Greek letter II 3 after II 6! If the speech of 17,19 is the speech of the *consul designatus*, it means that this speech was held on the Forum or the Campus Martius, late in June 143, and that Caes. II 2 and 3 were written in the first days of July. The few lines which Fronto quotes from this speech show that it was an ἐγκώμιον of Pius: Fronto praises the emperor for having called a homo novus like himself to such a high office which, in old times, was reserved to patricians. See at 108,7. As we have seen, Mommsen appealed to 106,4f. in order to prove that there were two speeches: one of the *consul designatus*, the other *inito consulatu* on 13 August. This is not correct: the speech 17,19 was not held in the senate, and in 106,4f. only one speech (*orationem* 106,7) is meant by *laudes a me in senatu designato et initu consulatu meo*

dictas: designato does not belong to *consulatu*, for we can say *consulem designare aliquem* but not *consulatum designare* (Gell. 14,7,1 only seems to be an exception: *Cn. Pompeio consulatus . . . designatus est*, for here we may have *designare* with dative). *Designato* belongs to *a me*, as E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v., has rightly seen: *a me* (sc. *consule*) *designato* (which is far more probable than Jüttner's assumption that *designatus* here means *designatus ad dicendum*), so we should translate: 'the praises of your father which I uttered in the senate when I was designated as consul and had assumed my office'. The passage 106,4f. has something in common with Plin. Epist. 6,27,1–2, where the question arises what a *consul designatus* should say when praising the emperor: there, Pliny clearly alludes to his Panegyricus, not to a speech which had to be held as *consul designatus*. Mai, Jüttner, von Rohden, Birley and Pepe are right in assuming that there is only one speech 106,4f., the speech of 13 August. Mommsen's view is shared by Schanz III 95, Haines, Hanslik, Champlin and L. Demullier, De inauguratierede van de consul, Hermeneus 56, 1984, 194. The *oratio in senatu* 20,7 may be another *gratiarum actio* which Fronto held for his *designatio*, see at 20,7: just as Polemo was an insignificant person until he was called to philosophy by Xenocrates, so Fronto was an insignificant African until Pius called him to the consulate. See also at 27,1f.; 106,4f.; 161,12; 267,2.

The form of address with *tuus* is very unusual, see Roller, 434.

17,18 *sint*: Schopen, Naber and Haines read *sunt*, putting an exclamation mark after *tempore* and *elegantia*.

Aures: when judging (*spectandis*) a speech, the ancient listener payed special attention to the cadence of the sentences with their metrical clausulae. Cicero, Orat. 212–214, is listening to the tribune C. Carbo *in contione*, observing his clausulae; Orat. 168 *contiones saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidissent*; 24,21 Fronto looks for a *Tulliana conclusio* and 89,13 speaks of a *forma sententiae Tullianae*. See also at 19,2; 48,24f.; 119,11; 138,14; 215,15f. On Fronto's clausulae see Droz 63f.; H. Bornecque, Les clausules métriques latines, Lille 1907, 507; Beltrami, Le tendenze 38ff. and Il numerus e Frontone; Dorothy Brock 140f.; Pohlheim, Reimprosa 200ff.; Federica Rosso, Utilisation de la mesure. The first quotation is also remarkable for its *i* sounds. Buttmann thinks that this quotation was praised because of its hyperbole and the second disapproved of because of its arrogance.

17,19 C. Aufidius Victorinus, a friend and fellow student of Marcus, see at 176,5. Here Aufidius is not yet engaged to Fronto's daughter Cratia, see at 61,5. Probably he was a contubernalis of Fronto, see at 172,5.

17,20 *clamores*: declamations were interrupted by applause: 156,13 *quis clamor iteratur!* (*clamor* also Cic. Phil. 4,2; Sen. Contr. 7,2,9; Quint. Inst. 4,2,37; 12,8,3; 12,9,8; *plausu* Quint. Inst. 4,1,77). There were shouts of *bene et praeclare!, belle et festive!, non potest melius!* (Cic. De orat. 3,101) or *pulchre!, bene!, recte!* (Hor. Ars 428) or *euge!, belle!* (Pers. 1,49) or *effecte!, graviter!, cito!* (= Italian 'zitto', says Friedländer ad loc.), *nequiter!, euge!, beate!* (Mart. 2,27,3) or *insigniter!* (Apul. Apol. 73,2). See Norden, Kunstprosa I[3] 274f.; A. Stuiber, Beifall, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1954); and at 10,7.

17,21 *imago*: the *imagines* were wax masks of the ancestors kept in the

atrium of noble families and carried in funeral processions. Originally, only patricians had the *ius imaginum*, which is why the homo novus Fronto comes to speak of it.

Pingere is 'to decorate' (Haines): Polyb. 6,53,6 ταύτας δὴ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔν τε ταῖς δημοτελέσι θυσίαις ἀνοίγοντες κοσμοῦσι φιλοτίμως. Vitruv. 6,3,6 *imagines item alte cum suis ornamentis... sint constitutae.* These ornaments or *insignia* were the toga praetexta or picta, according to the status of the deceased. Della Corte and Karin Alt, TLL s.v. insigne, erroneously take *imago* here in the sense of 'rhetorical simile'. See Marquardt, Privatleben I² 241ff.; Mommsen, Staatsrecht I³ 442ff.; Schanz I 39f.; K. Schneider, Imagines maiorum, RE IX 1 (1914); W. Eisenhut, Imagines maiorum, Kleine Pauly (1967).

18,1–2 The same thought 14,22f.

E: accendere de is more frequent than *accendere ex*, and that is why m² corrected the reading of m¹. For *ex*, cp. e.g. Phaedr. 4,11,1 *lucernam fur accendit ex ara Iovis.*

Quoniam with subjunctive: see at 106,3.

Aeque: the reading *adaeque* of m² is tempting: after Plautus this word has been reintroduced by Fronto 213,7 and Apuleius.

18,2 *admurmurati sunt*: Fronto is the only author to use the deponens; yet *admurmurare* is found merely three times in Latin literature (Cicero). Besides, there are *murmurari* and *commurmurari.*

18,4 *auribus serviendum*: see at 55,18f. 58,22 *doctorum auribus servituti serviendae nosmet dedimus.* Note the nuance in Cic. Orat. 24 *semper oratorum eloquentiae moderatrix fuit auditorum prudentia*; 159 *voluptati autem aurium morigerari debet oratio*; 208 *(auditor) gratiam... habet oratori voluptati aurium servienti.* A future emperor (*te ita conpares*) would have to take into consideration the rules of rhetoric when speaking in public, a theme to which Fronto recurs again and again, e.g. 138,4f. *Caesarum est in senatu quae e re sunt suadere, populum de plerisque negotiis in contione appellare*; see at 122,11. Since 145 Marcus ventures to declare openly that he regards rhetorical delectatio as *obliqua et insincera et anxia* (47,20f.), because οἱ Στωικοὶ δὲ τὸ εὖ λέγειν ἔλεγον τὸ ἀληθῆ λέγειν (Hermog. Rhet. prol. 8,8) and Musonius Rufus *reprehendit improbavitque laudari philosophum disserentem a vociferantibus* (Gell. 5,1). It had struck Hadrian that the little Marcus behaved like the champion of truth, *Verissimus*, Vita Marci 1,10; 4,1. See at 93,12. And the reason why Fronto was appointed teacher to Marcus was not in the first place that he was a famous orator but that he was a man with conservative ideas: he was to mould Marcus' character into the pattern Pius wished, see at 67,16.

18,5–6 *simile... atque*: see at 35,22.

Facitis: emperors in general.

Strenue: see at 109,17.

18,6–8 *ubi... conceditis*: Fronto knew that Marcus detested such spectacles, see at 66,16. Vita Marci 4,8 *fuit autem vitae indulgentia, ut cogeretur nonnumquam vel in venationes pergere vel in theatrum descendere vel spectaculis interesse*; 11,4 *gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperavit*; 23,5 *fuit enim populo hic sermo, cum sustulisset ad bellum gladiatores, quod populum sublatis voluptatibus vellet cogere ad philosophiam*; Cass. Dio 71,29,3 Μάρκος γε μὴν οὔτω τι φόνοις οὐκ ἔχαιρεν,

ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὥσπερ ἀθλητὰς ἀκινδύνως ἑώρα μαχομένους. σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀξὺ ἔδωκεν.

Populo ... ornatis: Quint. Decl. 302 p. 190,22 *rudem postulante populo accepit*; Iuv. 7,243 *accipe, victori populus quod postulat aurum.*

Manumittitis: Mart. Spect. 27(29),3 *missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est.* Tiberius was forced to enfranchise a comedian (Suet. Tib. 47), but Hadrian refused to do so (Cass. Dio 69,16,3) and Marcus λέοντά τινα δεδιδαγμένον ἀνθρώπυς ἐσθίειν ἐκέλευσε μὲν ἐσαχθῆναι αἰτησαμένου τοῦ δήμου, οὔτε δὲ ἐκεῖνον εἶδεν οὔτε τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσε (Cass. Dio 71,29,4). Paul. Dig. 40,9,17 pr. *divus Marcus prohibuit ex adclamatione populi manumittere.*

18,7–8 *nocentes ... damnatos*: this did not happen often. We know of a runaway slave *dimissum ... et poena solutum* (Gell. 5,14,29). Cod. Iustin. 9,47,12 *vanae voces populi non sunt audiendae; nec enim vocibus eorum credi oportet, quando aut obnoxium crimine absolvi aut innocentem condemnari desideraverint.*

Scelere damnatos: the ablative is rare but is also found in Cic. Phil. 13,27 *quo scelere damnatus*; Suet. Otho 2; Ulp. Dig. 48,5,2,6.

18,7–9 Note the alliterations *populo postulante* and *praevalet et praepollet.*

18,9 Cp. Cic. rep. 3,24 *pollere, regnare, dominari.*

18,11–19,11 The text from other MSS which m^2 presents in the margin is hardly the original one: some grammarian seems to have rewritten the text in order to make it easier to understand. Only *rectae eloquentiae* is an improvement. See Proleg. XLII.

18,11 *hic*, 'herein' (Haines), a preparative adverb, but nowhere else is it followed by an *ut* sentence. In Seneca it is followed by *si*: Benef. 2,12,1 *quid hic contumeliosum est, si ... aurum ... osculatus est? Hic* means 'on this point' 46,11; 118,13; 136,3.

Non magno detrimento: on this ablative see at 1,10.

18,12 *rectae eloquentiae*: gen. obiectivus. 126,14 *eloquentiae rectae virtus.* Cicero speaks of *vera eloquentia* when eloquence is coupled with philosophical and scientific knowledge (e.g. Brut. 23; Orat. 17). For Tacitus *vera eloquentia* is eloquence with a social function (Dial. 34). Fronto's *recta eloquentia* is the formal eloquence which does not lapse into Seneca's faults.

Oblectet: we should not conclude from this passage that Fronto does not acknowledge the three aims of eloquence, *docet et delectat et permovet* (Cic. Opt. gen. or. 1,3; Quint. Inst. 3,5,2; 12,10,59): he only fears that the Stoic Marcus is afraid of *delectare*, cp. 139,13M *cum aliquid pulchrius elocutus sum, placeo mihi ideoque eloquentiam fugio.*

Eaque delenimenta: emphatical prolepsis, see at 7,5. For *delenimenta* see at 15,7f.; 88,29 *facundiae tuae delenimenta.* Gell. 5,1,6 and Symm. Epist. 3,11,2 have *delenimenta aurium.* It is not an archaism, as Studemund apud Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1, and Hofer state, nor a poetical word (Priebe I 18).

19,1 *mulcendis*: originally, *(per)mulcere aures* is a poetical expression: Hor. Epist. 1,16,26; Ovid. Met. 5,561; Trist. 2,358; Sil. 11,290; it is used in prose by Cic. Orat. 163; Quint. Inst. 2,12,6; and Apul. Met. 1,1,1. Fronto 122,14 *eloquentia ... mulcet.* The expression is not borrowed from some poet, as Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 thinks.

Cum: 'coupled with', 'along with' (Haines).

Multo ac magno: in the singular this alliteration is rare: Cic. Marc. 11 *multo magnoque comitatu*; Ps. Sall. ad Caes. 2,1,3 *multam magnamque curam.*

19,2 *fucata* has a neutral sense, cp. Gell. 13,27,3 (*versus Vergilii*) νεωτερικώτερος *et... fucatior (quam Homeri)*. It is mainly used in malam partem: Cic. Mur. 26; Brut. 36; De orat. 2,188 (*fuco puerili*); Gell. 6,14,11; in bonam partem Lucr. 1,644; see fucus 219,2.

Potius ut: 'rather than' (Haines); it is not *potius est ut* in the sense of *praestat ut*, as Hofer supposes. The meaning is 'if we have to choose, there be rather' etc., or, with Schmalz, Kritische Kleinigkeiten, 'kann es nicht ohne Fehler abgehen, so mag sich lieber in einer Weichheit... ein Verstoss zeigen als' etc.

Conpositionis structuraeque are synonymous (Fortun. 3,10 p.127,7 Halm *compositio quam structuram vocamus*; Sacerd. Gramm. VI 493,2 *est... structura verborum compositio*): the way in which the words of a period, especially in their cadence, rhythm and clausulae (Consent. Ars 13,23), should be arranged: Rhet. Her. 4,12,18 *conpositio est verborum constructio, quae facit omnes partes orationis aequabiliter perpolitas*; Quint. Inst. 9,4 *De Compositione* and e.g. 9,4,22 *in omni... compositione tria sunt genera necessaria: ordo, iunctura, numerus.* See at 17,18; 114,11; 134,2; 215,16f. *In conpositionis structuraeque mollitia* stands for *in molli conpositione. Structura* is originally an architectural term but since Cicero a metaphor in rhetoric: Orat. 149 *ut fiat (verborum) quasi structura quaedam*; Opt. gen. or. 5 *sed et verborum est structura quaedam duas res efficiens, numerum et levitatem, et sententiae suam compositionem habent*; Quint. Inst. 9,4,45 *omnis structura ac dimensio et copulatio vocum constat aut numeris (numeros* ῥυθμούς *accipi volo) aut* μέτροις. See G. Lieberg, Der Begriff structura in der lateinischen Literatur, Hermes 84, 1957, 455ff.; Lausberg, Handbuch 455; and at 134,2 and 215,17. The reading of m[1] *instructuraequ[a]e* (defended by Hildebrand) is due to the vulgar Italian pronunciation; we find the same variant in Frontin. Strat. 2,3,17; Augustin. Quaest. Hept. 1,6; Eustath. Basil. Hex. 6,2,7.

When used of style, *mollitia* mostly has a not unfavourable meaning: Cic. Brut. 132 *(librum) conscriptum molli et Xenophontio genere sermonis*; Orat. 77 *habet enim ille tamquam hiatus et concursus vocalium molle quiddam*; Sen. Epist. 100,7 (on Cicero's compositio) *sine infamia mollis.* But Fronto blames that same Seneca for his *mollitia* 153,12. See 47,19; 152,18. In itself, *mollitia* is not used here in malam partem. W. Buchwald, TLL s.v., interprets it as 'effeminatio', and so does Della Corte—erroneously, I think. *Effeminatio* is always derogatory, e.g. Quint. Inst. 8 Prooem. 20; 8,3,6.

Delictum is a substantive, 'lapse' (Haines), as opposed to *inpudentia*, so there is no reason to read with Schopen, Buchwald, Schmalz and Haines *inpudenti.*

19,4–5 *vestem... esse quam*: the text has been amended in the margin to avoid the unusual acc. cum inf. We might expect *sicut vestis... delicata est*, but Schmalz l.l. has justly defended the text of m[1]: *potius ut* contains the idea of an *oportet*, and he compares Varro, R.R. 1,49,1 *(herba) subsecari... debet et... furcillis versari; cum peraruit, de his manipulos fieri ac vehi ad villam* etc. See at 215,6.

Vestem: rhetoricians often compare the speech to a garment, see at 88,9 and Quint. Inst. 8 praef. 20 *illa translucida et versicolor* (see at 9,2) *quorundam elocutio res ipsas effeminat.*

19,4 *serico*: silk garments were worn by rich women (Mart. 11,8,3; Vita Marci 17,4) and by effeminate men (Mart. 9,37,3; Tac. Ann. 2,33,1 (see H. Furneaux ad loc.); Vita Heliog. 26,1). See W. Richter, Seide, Kleine Pauly (1972).

Purpuream ipsam: 'purple properly so called, the real purple'.

19,5 *luteam nec crocatam*: on luteus, 'yellow-orange', see at 261,6f. *Crocatus*, 'saffron-yellow', occurs before Fronto only in Plin. Nat. 16,147. See Vels Heijn, Kleurnamen 45ff. *Purpura et cocco*: on festive occasions Roman emperors wore the triumphal *toga purpurea picta* and their full dress was the scarlet *paludamentum*: 61,8; Vita Alex. Sev. 40,6 *uses est ipse chlamide saepe coccinea*; 42,1 *hoc solum imperatorium habens, quod lacernam cocceam accipiebat*; Vita Ant. Diad. 3,3 *indumenta coccea et purpurea . . . accepit.* See A. Alföldy, Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser, Mitteil. d. deutschen archäol. Inst. Röm. Abt. 50, 1935, 50ff., and at 140,7 and 261,6.

19,6 *amicienda*: Fronto is the only author to use this verb for presenting a speech; also *amictus* 154,15. See at 88,9.

19,7 *facies* etc.: fut. pro imperativo is colloquial; also 27,23M; 41,15; 41,25; 59,27; 60,20M; 62,6M; 63,10M; 67,9; 82,12; 102,5M; 104,11; 108,23f.V; 113,7; 182,17; 189,11; 215,8; 230,18; in Greek 245,14.

Temperabis . . . temperamento: etymological figure and chiasmus.

19,7–8 *modo . . . optimo*: ἄριστον μέτρον is proverbial, see Paroemiographi Graeci II p. 80 no. 79 with the note of E.L. von Leutsch. Plin. Nat. 17,226 *omnia modo constant certoque temperamento.*

19,9 *ingenio*: see at 87,26.

19,9–10 *studio . . . et labore*: Vita Marci 3,7 *tantumque operis et laboris studiis inpendit, ut corpus adficeret.*

19,11 *certum habeo* is colloquial; with acc. cum inf. also 73,7; 80,9; 91,13; 146,20; 168,9.

19,12 *etiam prosae orationi: etiam* implies that Marcus is writing verse now, which is confirmed by 20,17. Fronto seems to be alarmed, though *plerumque . . . ad orationem faciendam versus, ad versificandum oratio* (prose) *magis adiuvat* (49,22f.). *Oratio prosa* is commonly used since Seneca and Columella, Cicero calls it *oratio soluta.* R. Wauters, Herwaardering 337f., does not believe that Marcus is writing verse; he comes to the far-fetched conclusion that here *prosa oratio* is the opposite of *oratio perpetua*, and that it means loosely structured prose; but the opposition *quadripedo—tolutim* makes it certain that poetry and prose are meant. This passage (*certum habeo*) indicates that Fronto's teaching was neither consistent nor systematic.

19,13–14 *quadripedo . . . tolutim*: Plaut. Asin. 706–708 also opposes both terms, so there is no need to add *cursu. Quadripedo*: 'at a gallop' (Haines), *tolutim*: 'at a trot' (Haines). A. Funck, Die lateinischen adverbia auf -im, Archiv 8, 1893, 97; 105; Ebert, Synt. 22; Hofer; Lannoy, De invloed; Marache, Mots; Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115, regard *tolutim* as an archaism, but it is of course a term of horsemanship: the 'passage' in breaking in or

the amble. Apparently Fronto refers to the artificial character of poetry. See also *sententias tolutares* 153,15.

19,14 *magis necessaria*: see at 108,4.

19,16 *veterum*: for Fronto, the *veteres* are prose-writers until Cicero and Sallust, poets until Vergil. See 14,13; 48,4; 49,19; 56,19; 57,18; 106,13 (marg. d); 144,20; 261,13; 263,20.

Lectione: 'reading'. Novák (1897); Haines; Löfstedt, Philologischer Kommentar 207; and Beikircher, TLL s.v., defend the plural *lectionum* in the sense of 'books' or 'authors', as 49,18 and 158,8, but 51,2M and 105,15M we also find the singular, meaning 'reading'. The choice is difficult.

20,1 *attigeram*: Heindorf's conjecture has been supported by Novák, Cornelissen, Haines and Walter (1928). *Libros attingere* is found in Cic. De orat. 3,81; Att. 6,2,9; Gell. 12,2,1; 18,10,8. Cp. Cic. De orat. 1,82 *qui sero ac leviter Graecas litteras attigissem.*

Deorum . . . virtute: a colloquial expression: 'thanks to the gods and to yourself'. See A. van Omme, Virtus, een semantische studie, diss., Utrecht s.d., 28f.

Profectum: 'progress' (Haines). It is hardly a gen. plur., as Klussmann, Emendationes 31, thinks. See at 32,11.

20,2 *et*: see at 136,9.

20,3 *adsidue*: 'regularly' (Haines). *Adsidue scribere* also in Amm. 30,1,3 and Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,11,8. Desrousseaux, Sur la correspondance 150f., erroneously thinks that it means here 'avec soin', 'avec diligence'. See also 128,8 and 182,17.

20,4 *in istis . . . Tullianis*: *istis* is 'well known': 20,12 *fabulam istam Polemonis* and 170,13 *istae commendantium litterae*, and here it does not stand for *tuis*, as Wauters, Herwaardering 340,73, supposes. *Remissioribus et Tullianis*: in his first edition Mai remarked that this passage has a slight touch of contempt, and this false interpretation has made history: Crossley, The Correspondence 71, 'the word Tullianus . . . has always in his pages a slightly contemptuous sense attached to it'; Monceaux, Les Africains 236: 'À l'adjectif Tullianus (Cicéronien), Fronton attache presque toujours une nuance de dédain'. Having been corrected by Leopardi, Mai in his second and third editions reconsiders his view and refers to 104,14 *epistulis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius.* A well-balanced judgement is passed by Schanz III 98: 'Schwierig war das Verhältnis Frontos zu Cicero. Ganz beiseite konnte der berühmte Autor nicht gelassen werden . . . allein das, was man suchte, seltene und unerwartete Worte, fand man doch zu wenig bei ihm (57,5ff.) . . . Ein absprechendes Urteil wagte der Rhetor dem berühmten Mann gegenüber nicht, ja er musste sogar ihn hier und da loben (97,2; 124,7; 124,4 (marg. d); 134,4–5; 140,11; 148,11; 180,10; 225,7); allein man fühlt trotzdem, dass Cicero nicht sein Mann ist'. There is criticism of Cicero: 97,12; 125,4; 160,9, a fact that A. Klotz, Klassizismus und Archaismus, Archiv 15, 1908, 401ff., fails to notice. Berger, L'éducation de Marc-Aurèle 590, translates our passage correctly: 'dans un genre plus familier, à la manière de Cicéron', and so, too, Haines and Portalupi.

Remissus means 'wanton', 'relaxed', and it refers to epistolary style (*nam*

epistulae tuae... ostendunt). Cic. Fam. 2,4,1 calls this genus epistularum *familiare et iocosum*; Sen. Epist. 75,1 epistolary style is *inlaboratus et facilis*, and this style tends to colloquialisms: Rhet. Her. 3,23 *sermo est oratio remissa et finitima cotidianae locutioni*; Cic. Fam. 9,21,1 *epistulas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus*; Ovid. Trist. 2,547 *ne tamen omne meum credas opus esse remissum, saepe dedi nostrae grandia vela rati*. See also Cic. De orat. 2,95; 3,219; Brut. 317; Orat. 59; Quint. Inst. 11,3,164; 12,10,19. It is clear that *remissiora* and *Tulliana* are not 'un genre inférieur' (Boissier, La jeunesse de Marc-Aurèle 674). Our passage has nothing to do with the fact that Fronto missed in Cicero a painstaking search for the right word, as assumed by Klussmann, Emendationes 28; Peter, Der Brief 125; and Brock, Studies 136; on the contrary, it is precisely in Cicero's letters that we find such words, and 57,5ff. Fronto only speaks of Cicero's speeches. *Remittere* is 'to give free rein to the writer's pen', or, as Madame de Sévigné puts it, 'il faut un peu, entre bons amis, laisser trotter les plumes comme elles veulent... la mienne a toujours la bride sur le cou' (éd. Monmerqué-Régnier IV 246). *Remissus* also 49,3; 52,9M; 175,9; 195,16. Cic. Brut. 317 calls the orator Cotta *remissus et lenis* in his style, the opposite of *ornatus, acer*; Sen. Contr. 3 praef. 7 *genus dicendi non remissum aut languidum, sed ardens et concitatum*; Sen. Epist. 115,2 *magnus ille remissius loquitur et securius*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,67 *inter haec ipsa (gracile validumque) mixtum quiddam ex duobus medium est, quoniam... aliquid... vehementi remissius... invenitur*. With Crossley, Monceaux and Boissier, several other scholars, too, feel in Tullianus a sense of contempt: Niebuhr; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 29; Hofer 8; Brzoska; Peter l.l; Brock l.l.; Schanz l.l.; Teuffel 3^6, 75. The reverse is true: in Fronto, *Tullianus* always means 'typically Ciceronian': 20,7; 24,21; 89,13, whereas *Ciceronianus* (187,10) simply means 'Cicero's'. Marcus does not distinguish between *Tullianus* and *Ciceronianus* 68,11. Others have seen that there is nothing depreciatory in *Tullianus*: the Anonymus, Philol. Anzeiger 10, 1879–80, 254; Droz 46f.; Marache, Critique 170; Wauters l.l. See also at 39,7 and 57,5–18.

20,6 *Polemone rhetore*: see at 29,19.

Epistula tua: this refers to 29,19. It is obvious that the letters are not arranged in chronological order.

Proxime: 'lately' (Haines); it does not belong to *Tullianus*, as Hofer thinks.

20,7 *Tullianum*: 'as a second Cicero', 'als einen Ciceronianer' (Georges; Brakman II 28; Haines; Portalupi). It is meant ironically, for Marcus 29,19ff. shows that he had but a poor opinion of Polemo.

Oratione in senatu: not the speech mentioned 17,20 or the speech of 13 August 143: see at 17,16f. It may be a speech in which Fronto thanked Pius for his designation as consul.

Reddidi: 'to bring on the scene', 'to render', not 'I have given back to you' (Haines) or 'den Rhetor Polemon... zum Philosophen gemacht habe' (W. Stegemann, Polemo, RE XXI 2 [1952], who follows Jüttner 34).

Philosophum: Polemo, a crazy and licentious Athenian c. 300 BC, was converted to philosophy after hearing the Academic Xenocrates and became head of the Academy. *Peripateticum* is a wrong conjecture by an ancient scholar who could not agree to the reading *peratticum* or *peranticum*. The story of Polemo's conversion was a well-known topic: Hor. Sat. 2,3,254ff.;

Val. Max. 6,9,15 ext. 1; Lucian. Bis acc. 16; Diog. Laert. 4,16; and several other authors. So there is no reason to assume that Augustinus (Testim. 45) had read this letter of Fronto, see at 270,25: 'Der Bericht von Polemons "Bekehrung"... muss als legendär angesehen werden' (H. Dörrie, Kleine Pauly [1971]).

20,8 *peratticum* is not found elsewhere (Cic. Att. 15,1b,2 has ὑπεραττικός), but 'thoroughly Attic' seems to fit better than *peranticum*, 'very old', cp. *persingularis* 115,14. *Anticus* instead of *antiquus* we find 60,6M. *Perantiquus* in Cic. Brut. 41; Rep. 1,58; Verr. II 4,4. 182,18 I read with Buttmann *Attici* (*antiqui* cod.). Like many Romans, Fronto mentions the Attici with a certain contempt, see at 106,13 (marg. c); 249,11M.

Ain: see at 59,11.

20,9 *fabula*: see at 231,15ff.

Descripta, if correct, must mean 'recorded', 'committed to paper', not 'copied' as often in Fronto, see at 1,6.

Plane: 'of course' (Haines). It does not belong to *multum*, as Hofer thinks. *Multum* with genitive: see at 226,2.

20,10 *Istic*: 'on that subject' (Haines), not 'in quel luogo' (Della Corte); see at 1,11.

Horatius: propter hortos and the litotes *non alienus* seem to indicate that *memorabilis* is pejorative, not 'in praise of Horace', as D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory 321, thinks. See at 29,5.

20,11 *Maecenatianos hortos*: Maecenas bequeathed his *horti* and his modest villa to the imperial house. The estate was parcelled out and sold by Vespasianus and Traianus. The *horti* were situated to the left and right of the Porta Esquilina, and Fronto's house was between the present-day Via Merulana and Via Leopardi. Through the years the successive owners had enlarged the villa, and 240,12 Fronto speaks of the *vastitas domus meae*. It had a large hall, the so-called *auditorium Maecenatis*, which still exists. Water-pipes with the names of Fronto and his brother Q. Cornelius Quadratus were found here, Testim. 4, p. 260; they may have been laid for the installation of a new bath, see at 263,37. Perhaps the *domus Frontoniana* mentioned by Magister Gregorius (twelfth century) is the same as the *domus Maecenatiana*, see at 275,18. In the large hall two inscriptions were found, one with an epigram by Callimachus (Anthol. Pal. XII 118; on Callimachus see at 7,19) and CIL VI 31821: *[Hispania ci]teriore conv[entu...] Segonti[ni...]*. Champlin, Fronto 21f., has good grounds to believe that this inscription was dedicated to Fronto's son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus, for in 171–172 he was *legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciarum Hispaniae ceterioris et Baeticae* (see Pflaum, La carrière de C. Aufidius Victorinus; G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses, Wiesbaden 1969, 38ff.). When Fronto died c. 167 he left his house to his daughter Cratia and her husband Aufidius, and according to CIL XV 7398 (third century), a woman called Aufidia Cornelia Valentilla was still living there; the chances are that she was a descendant of Aufidius Victorinus, see Champlin, Fronto 152 n. 50 and at 275,18. Long after Maecenas' death the estate was still called *horti Maecenatiani* or *Maecenatis* (Suet. Tib. 15; Tac. Ann. 15,39,1), so there is no reason to doubt the identification of these *horti* and Fronto's mansion; G. Leopardi 1816, 77, assumes that Fronto's

horti Maecenatiani were *horti suburbani* (see 116,5 and 175,22), and he is followed by L. Homo, Lexique de topographie romaine, Paris 1900, 303, and by Gall, Horti, RE VIII 2 (1912). See Olch, Gartenbau, RE VII 1 (1910); A. Kappelmacher, C. Maecenas, RE XIV 1 (1928); H. Thylander, Le prétendu auditorium Maecenatis; Champlin, Fronto 21f.

20,12 *namque*: only here, 139,2 and 139,21 it is put in second position. See at 8,16.

20,13 *si recte memini*: the errors in our MS are due to the copyists, not to Fronto's bad memory, as suggested by Höhne, Die Geschichte des Sallusttextes 40. Only *e* instead of *ex* is noteworthy.

20,18 *versus*: see at 28,19.

Victorinum nostrum: 'our mutual friend', as 17,20. From this passage we may conclude that Victorinus was also a pupil of Fronto, cp. Vita Marci 3,8 *amavitque e condiscipulis . . . Seium Fuscianum* (not in our correspondence) *et Aufidium Victorinum*. On Victorinus see at 176,5.

20,19 *chartam*: on the use of papyrus for letter-writing see Roller, Das Formular 263 n. 24.

Ita does not correspond to *ne*; it refers to *chartam diligenter lino transui*.

Lino . . . obsignavi: the letter was folded (*inplicui* 21,13; *complicare* Cic. Quint. fr. 3,1,17; Att. 12,1,2; Sen. Epist. 18,14) and the open sides were sewn up with a thread (*transui*); then the end of the thread was sealed, cp. Cic. Att. 15,4,4 *veritus . . . ne solveret (epistulam)*; Nepos, Hann. 11,3 *soluta epistula*; Nepos, Paus. 4,1 *vincla epistulae laxavit signoque detracto* etc.; Ovid. Pont. 3,7,5 *quamvis cera sit a vinclis non labefacta suis*; Trist. 4,7,7 *chartae sua vincula dempsi*; Curt. 7,2,25 *vinculum epistulae solvens*. On the sealing see Capito ap. Macrob. Sat. 7,13,12 *veteres non ornatus sed signandi causa anulum secum circumferebant* (which is only partly true), *unde nec plus habere quam unum licebat nec cuiquam nisi libero, quos solos fides deceret, quae signaculo continetur*. See e.g. Plaut. Curc. 346; Curt. 3,6,7; 3,7,12; Frontin. Strat. 4,7,38; Plin. Epist. 10,74,3, and Wenger, Signum, RE II A 2 (1923); Roller o.c. 394 n. 205; 396 n. 208; 403 n. 213. K. Dziatzko, Brief, RE III (1899), thinks that letters were not folded but rolled up. On *linum* and *cera* Plaut. Bacch. 715 *ecfer . . . stilum, ceram et tabellas, linum*; 748 *cedo tu ceram ac linum . . . obsigna cito*; Gaius, Inst. 2,181 *lino propriaque cera consignamus (tabulas)*. See at 180,3.

Musculus: in our collections of Greek and Latin proverbs the mouse does not figure as an inquisitive animal; therefore some learned scholar must have thought that we should read *mustela*, 'weasel': Plaut. Stich. 499 and Phaedr. 1,22,1; 4,2,10; 4,6,1 regard the weasel as a sly and unreliable animal.

21,1 *aliquid aliqua*: polyptoton (traductio), also Plaut. Epid. 100; 331; Lucil. Sat. 632; Apul. Apol. 32,3.

Possit is correct: Fronto does not yet know how things have turned out.

De belongs to *quicquam*: Plaut. Trin. 477 *neque . . . quicquam de vita mea*. We often have *de* with a substantive instead of a gen. partitivus: 58,4; 60,12M; 95,4; 155,11; 156,1; 156,7; with pronouns: 65,28 *nihil de pondere*; 144,2 *de dialecticis istis ecquid tenes?*; 117,5 *quis . . . de caris tibi amicis*; 168,17 *quem de Graecia*; with numerals: 66,24 *tertium de meis frivolis*; 70,4 *unum verbum de oratione*; 232,7 *de . . . fratribus unum*.

21,2 *malus ac malitiosus*: a frequent paronomasia (annominatio): Plaut. Mil. 887; several times in Cicero; Gell. 9,2,8; Arnob. Nat. 7,51. See Ed. Wölfflin, Ausgewählte Schriften, Leipzig 1933, 266. Other examples: 35,19 *inpudens atque inpudica* (also Plaut. Rud. 115); 56,7 *semiperitum ac semidoctum*; 170,18 *libero ac liberali* (also Apul. Apol. 7,6; cp. Gell. 18,10,8 *hominibus liberis liberaliterque institutis*). Sometimes synonymy with alliteration: 48,1 *inertem atque inutilem* (also Cic. Off. 3,31); 48,7 *primo ac potissimo* (also Lucr. 3,780; Liv. 5,12,12; 21,11,6; 26,40,1; Quint. Inst. 6,5,5; Frontin. Aqu. praef. 1); 78,20 *bonus ac benignus* (also Plaut. Most. 816; Poen. 589; Ter. Phorm. 767; Hor. Sat. 1,2,51; Sen. Epist. 22,12; Firm. Math. 1,2,2; Vulg. II Macc. 15,2; Notiz. d. Scavi 1893, 521); 84,27M *primum ac praecipuum* (also Tac. Ann. 6,4,1; Dial. 32,5); 132,7f. *insolens aut intempestivum*; 189,11 *laetus ac libens* (also Enn. Fragm. var. 129; Plaut. Trin. 821; Catull. 31,4; Liv. 23,7,11; Sen. Dial. 1,3,13; CIL I[2] 2183; III 11128; Prud. Cath. 4,67).

21,3 *cito et cursim*: the same alliterating synonymy Plaut. Poen. 567.

21,4 *remuneratus... mutuo* is abundant; see at 53,22; 176,22; 270,13.

Paria paribus habet: 'he has tit for tat', a polyptoton. The dative *paribus* depends on *paria*. The same proverb 48,8M, where *par pari* is masculine; 180,11 (neutrum); 235,20 (masculine). Add to the passages quoted by Otto and Nachträge zu Otto: Cic. Cato 7; Hor. Epist. 1,5,25; Tert. Ieiun. 6,7; Ammian. 16,12,47; Hieron. Epist. 31,2,2; Auson. 313,2. Herod. 1,2,1 ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι; Cp. 9,48,4; Soph. Ant. 142; Eur. Phoen. 750.

21,5 *ne*[1]: 'in order to prevent that', only loosely connected with what precedes.

Hinc: 'from this', 'out of the packet' (Haines). It is not 'a me' (so B. Rehm, TLL s.v.).

Audiret: 'get to know', 'sentire' (Portalupi). Perhaps the custom of reading aloud plays a part in this use of *audire*, see J. Baloch, Voces paginarum, Philol. 82, 1927, 84ff. and 202ff.

21,6 *admonuisse*: see at 7,19.

21,8 *sanus* with gen. relationis or respectus as in *sanus mentis* (Plaut. Trin. 454). A similar genitive 37,21 *consilii tui certiorem*; 46,16 *laborum tuorum parciorem et occupationum tuarum modestiorem*; 56,6 *omnium artium... imperitum et indoctum*; 117,6 *nostri fastidiosus*; 162,14 *verborum suorum... inpos*; 162,15 *multarum rerum frugi*; 175,5 *rei militaris peritus*; 213,11 *histrionum... indiligentem*; 218,17 *ceterarum rerum indiligentem*; 235,25 *optimarum artium praecipuum*. See at 213,11.

Male etc.: there is nothing wrong with the text: an independent sentence with *dum* (= *dummodo*) and an emphatical *male*; it is *dum ne umquam similiter nos male* (= *vehementer, valde*) *perturbes*. Such a proleptic use of an adverb or noun we also find 2,10 *nunc ut*; 2,19 *vix ut*; 8,1M τὸ "ὅτ' ἠντίασεν" *vides quale sit*; 14,2 *finem ut*; 18,12 *delenimenta... ne*; 192,1 *cannam... qui*; 223,7 *suo quam*. See at 7,5. On *male* see at 182,5.

Natali tuo: 26 April 121.

21,9 *cetera*: 'for the rest'; this adverbial accusative since Plaut. Mil. 927 *quiescas cetera*; also 50,15M and 164,9. See Ed. Wölfflin, Das adverbielle cetera, alia, omnia, Archiv 2, 1885, 93.

Minus laboro: cp. Cic. Fam. 7,32,2 *de iudiciis quod quereris, multo laboro minus.*

21,9–10 εἰς Πυρραίων κεφαλήν: Paroem. Graeci I p. 84 εἴ τι κακὸν, εἰς Πύρραν, 'zum Henker damit' (Hauler). The proverb is also found in Plut. prov. 109. A variant in Plut. Moral. 146 E εἴ τι κακὸν, αὖθις ἐς Πριήνην. Pyrrha, a town on Lesbos, was hated by its neighbours; if some evil was hanging over them, they wished it might fall on the Pyrrhaeans' heads.

21,10 *gaudium* . . . *gloria*: see at 9,15; 70,6. Fronto is the only one to use *hilaritas* metonymically of a person. *Gloria* as vocative also 27,21M: 70,6M; 250,6M and Macrob. Somn. 1,1,1.

21,10–11 *Vale* . . . *serio*: such valedictio formulas are often found in letters: Cic. Fam. 7,5,3 *cura ut valeas et me, ut amas, ama*; 12,12,5 *fac valeas meque ames*; 16,8,2 *ama nos et vale*. According to Ribbeck, we here have a quotation: . . . *ómni modo ames quá ioco qua sério*, but Fr. Oomes & W. Ehlers, TLL IX 2,622,61, and Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 308, justly reject that. See also at 201,10ff. The adverbial antithesis *ioco—serio* we find also in Plaut. Amph. 906 *nec ioco nec serio*; Liv. 7,41,3 *ioco seriove*; Suet. Nero 25 *serio iocove*; Sen. Contr. 3 praef. 17 *vel ioco vel serio* (so, too, Suet. Aug. 53,1 and Fronto 231,7), but nowhere *qua ioco qua serio*. See at 182,19. *Qua* . . . *qua* does not seem to be an archaism (against Hofmann-Szantyr 521). See also 171,2 *iocum seriumque participavimus* and 175,9; 182,19; 213,13.

21,12 *epistulam*: the Greek letter that follows.

Quae mea inpudentia est refers to *Graece*: 'impudent as I am' (= *pro mea inpudentia*). 63,17M *quae tua et mea meteoria est*; 173,19 (marg. b) *quae tua nobilitas est*. Fronto writes in Greek because Domitia Lucilla was very *graecissans*. See also at 32,2 and 36,20. On Fronto's knowledge of Greek see at 24,2f. The same captatio benevolentiae 24,22ff. and 250,12f.

21,13 *barbarismus*, a grammatical term occurring several times in the Rhetor ad Herennium, Quintilianus and in later grammarians. The Greek word is found since Aristot. Poet. 22,4 in a slightly different sense. See Gell. 5,20,4 and 13,6. What Fronto means is that his Greek might not be pure Attic. See at 276,13. Βαρβαρίζειν 24,11.

Quis: see at 162,23.

21,14 *recentior a*: Varro, R.R. 2,8,2 *pullum* . . . *a partu recentem*; Verg. Aen. 6,450 *recens a vulnere Dido*; Sen. Dial. 1,3,3 *haec vox est, a qua recens sum* ('is fresh in my mind'); Mart. 8,75,2 *Lingonus a* . . . *Flaminia recens*; Paul. Fest. 79 *recentes a somno*; Mart. Cap. 4,347 *animalia* . . . *ab ortu recentia*; Mar. Vict. Carm. 3,597 *pueros a matre recentes*.

Nolo with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

21,15 *mater*: Domitia Lucilla. From this and other passages we may conclude that she lived in the imperial palace. She was born c. 106 and died c. 156; see at 82,7. Her name is not mentioned in our correspondence, and when Marcus speaks of *domina mea* he usually means her, not Faustina junior; see Index Nominum. It is unlikely that it was she who chose Fronto as a teacher for Marcus (against Mommsen, Chronologie 208), see at 93,12. On Domitia see also at 33,7–12.

Opicum: already Plato, Epist. VIII 353 e, regards the *Opici* (= *Italici*) as barbarians who did not understand Greek; so, too, Cato, Ad Marcum f. 1 p. 78 Jordan. Schol. Iuv. 3,207 ὀπικίζειν *Graeci dicunt de iis qui imperite loquuntur*. *Opicus* in the same sense 31,6M and 39,19.

Savium: 'a smacking kiss', a colloquial word: Plautus uses it forty-one times against nine times *osculum*. Elsewhere Fronto sends his kisses only to Marcus' children. *Savium* only here and 67,4; *saviari* 67,12; 89,15; 112,7 (*uvam labris saviari* 178,19). *Basium* not in our correspondence; *basiare* twice: 25,18; 27,25M. *Osculum* twelve times in Fronto, twice in Marcus and once in Verus. As a verb we only have *exosculari*, eight times. Serv. Aen. 1,256 *sciendum osculum religionis esse, basium voluptatis*; Don. Ter. Eun. 455 *oscula officiorum sunt, basia pudicorum affectuum, savia libidinum vel amorum*. See Haupt, Emendantur S. Propertii elegiae; J. Süss, Acta semin. philol. Erlangensis 1878, 46f.; TLL s.v. osculum.

21,17 This is an appendix to the preceding letter, see at 17,16f. On the form of address see Proleg. XL. It seems to have been written shortly before 13 August 143 (so Hanslik, Anordnung 25; Champlin, Chronology 140). According to Naber, it was written shortly after that date; Brakman dates it between 8 August and 1 September 143. In later years, Marcus did not hold with such rhetorical show-pieces, see at 275,28.

21,18–19 τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν: *'these last days'*. Apparently Fronto wrote to her often, but we only have this letter and Caes. II 15.

21,20 λόγον: see at 17,16f.

21,21 τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως: Fronto seems to imitate Herodotus. In the East it was common practice to call the emperor βασιλεύς, but only since the fourth century AD the eldest emperor was called ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς. Sometimes βασιλεύς is used without the article, so 23,18. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 764.

22,1 παροιμία: according to Porphyr. Hor. Sat. 1,3,32, the Latin proverb is *amici mores noveris, non oderis*. As to the Greek proverb see Otto.

22,2 φράσω etc.: the same expression 17,13f.

22,3 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων: Fronto knew of course that *hyaena* was a Greek word, but the Greeks also called it γλάνος and γάννος.

22,3ff. A so-called ecphrasis, a series of similes to explain a point. See at 22,12–19.

22,4 λέγουσιν: Aristotle made some correct observations about the hyena: Hist. anim. 6,32 λοφίαν ἔχει δ' ὅλης τῆς ῥάχως and 8,5 ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν γλάνον, οἱ δ' ὕαιναν ... χαίτην δ' ἔχει ὥσπερ ἵππος, καὶ ἔτι σκληροτέρας καὶ βαθυτέρας τὰς τρίχας καὶ καθ' ὅλης τῆς ῥάεως, but later authors inferred from this bristly ridge on the neck that it had no vertebrae at all: Plin. Nat. 8,105 *collum et iuba in continuitatem spinae porrigitur flectique ... non quit*; 11,177 *cervix ... leoni tantum et lupo et hyaenae singulis rectisque ossibus rigens* (as to the wolf and the lion, Pliny agrees with Aristot. Part. anim. 4,10). See also Solin. 27,23f. and Aelian. Nat. anim. 7,22.

22,7 τὰ ἀκόντια: is this a mistake on Fronto's part? We know of an aggressive snake called 'darter', in Greek ἀκοντίας, in Latin *iaculus*: Nicander, Ther. 491; Lucian. Dips. 3; Aelian. Nat. anim. 6,18 ἀκοντίων δίκην ἑαυτόν τις (ὄφις) μεθίησι καὶ ἐπιφέρεται καὶ τό γε ὄνομα ἐξ οὗ δρᾷ ἔχει, κέκληται γὰρ ἀκοντίας; 19,23; Galen. Ther. 8; Philum. Ven. anim. 26; Plin. Nat. 8,85 *iaculum ex arborum ramis vibrari ... et missili volare tormento*; Lucan. 9,822f. *procul saevus sterili se robore trunci torsit et immittit (iaculum vocat Africa) serpens*; see also Lucan. 9,720; Venant. Fort. Carm. 8,6,195. It seems that Hor. Carm. 3,27,6 also refers to the *iaculus*: *(serpens) per obliquum similis sagittae terruit mannos*.

22,8 στροφὰς ... στρέφεσθαι: etymological annominatio, typical of Fronto: cp. 22,12 εἰκόνας προσείκασα; 23,3 εἰκὼν ἐοίκοι; 251,21 ὑβριζόμενος ... ὕβριν; 253,14–15 συγγράφει ... συγγράμματα. For Latin examples see at 210,18f. and 229,13.

22,9 εὐθεῖαν sc. ὁδόν or γραμμήν. As in εὐθειᾳ and ἐπ' εὐθείας without the article.

22,12–19 Fronto makes fun of the ancient theory on similes: Tryph. Trop. p. 192,12f. speaks of metaphors ἀπὸ ἐμψύχων ἐπὶ ἔμψυχα (Isid. Orig. 1,37,3 *ab animali ad animale*), ἀπὸ ἀψύχων ἐπὶ ἄψυχα (Isid. *ab inanimali ad inanimale*), ἀπὸ ἐμψύχων ἐπὶ ἄψυχα (Isid. *ab animali ad inanimale*), ἀπὸ ἀψύχων ἐπὶ ἔμψυχα (Isid *ab inanimali ad animale*), and Apsin. Techn. 8 παραβολὴ παραδείγματος τούτῳ διαφέρει, ὅτι ἡ μὲν παραβολὴ ἀπ' ἀψύχων ἢ ζῴων ἀλόγων λαμβάνεται. This classification of similes used as arguments is rather old: Rhet. Her. 4,48,61 *inventio similium facilis erit, si quis sibi omnes res, animantes et inanimas, mutas et eloquentes, feras et mansuetas, terrestres et maritimas, artificio, casu, natura conparatas, usitatas atque inusitatas, frequenter ponere ante oculos poterit et ex his aliquam venari similitudinem*; Quint. Inst. 5,11,23. *nec hominum modo inter se opera similia spectantur..., sed et a mutis atque etiam inanimis interim simile huiusmodi ducitur.* Fronto has probably learned this theory of similes from Athenodotus (65,23ff.) and Theodorus of Gaza (41,20). See Anni Schmitt, Das Bild als Stilmittel Frontos 27ff.; Lausberg, Handbuch 232f.; 286.

22,17 πρεσβυτάτῃ: 'most important'.

22,22 *post integritatem redditam* is not confirmed by this letter.

23,3 εἰκὼν ἐοίκοι: see at 22,8.

Ὀρφέα ... ἐπιστραφέντα: details like Orpheus turning round are relatively late: Verg. Culex 268–295; Georg. 4,454–503; and in late Roman poets. Portalupi, Sull'interpretazione, has tried in vain to prove that Boeth. Cons. 3 carm. 12,26–29 reaches back to this passage in Fronto. See 53,10ff. and O. Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, Berolini 1922, frg. 62 p. 19.

23,4 Note the homoioteleuton -εν.

23,5 ἀνιμημένῃ: ἀνιμάω must be preferred to Mai's ἀνίημι, but cp. Plato, Crat. 403 a ἐκ τῆς γῆς κάτωθεν ἀνίεται ὁ πλοῦτος.

23,7 ἐγκώμιον: see at 17,16f.; 267,2f.

23,9 ὑμῶν: particularly Marcus was mentioned in speeches addressed to Pius: 27,23; 106,8.

Ὠνόμαζον: it is possible to defend ὠνόμαζόν τε: καὶ ... τε, 'and ... and', is found in Homer, Thucydides and later authors, but the variants in V do not support the reading of A and Mai.

Ἐμεμνήμην καὶ ὠνόμαζον is a hendiadys: 'I mentioned you by name'.

23,10 κύλικι: the φιλοτησία κύλιξ. It was customary to drink a toast: Plato, Symp. 214 b οὔτε τι λέγομεν ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι; Cic. Verr. II 1,66 calls it *Graeco more bibere.*

Τέχνωσις, 'craftsmanship' (Haines), 'tecnosi' (Portalupi), is not found in our dictionaries. Mai and Naber read ἀτεχνῶς τὸ, but the reading τέχνωσις (Haines: ἡ τέχνωσις) has been established by Studemund and Hauler.

23,11 ἐπεισρεῖ: 'is an insinuating thing' (Haines).

Αὕτη: 'the following'.

Γοῦν: 'at any rate' (Haines), not 'ancora' (Portalupi); see at 251,24.

Ἐπὶ πάσαις: 'above all', rather than 'which I add to all others' (Haines); Cassan and Portalupi: 'que je préfère à toutes les autres'.

23,12 οὖσα ἐκ: 'coming from', 'being taken from' (Haines). In rhetoric, painting is often a starting-point for simile theory, see at 41,14.

23,13 Protogenes' most famous painting was that of Ialysus, heros of Rhodes, with his dog. According to Plut. Demetr. 22,3 and Aelian. Var. hist. 12,41, it took Protogenes seven years to paint it. In the days of Cicero and Strabo the painting was still at Rhodes: Cic. Verr. II 4,135; Orat. 5; Att. 2,21,4; Strabo, Geogr. 14,2; see also Plin. Nat. 7,126 and Gell. 15,31, but Pliny the Elder saw it in Rome, in the templum Pacis: Plin. Nat. 35,102.

23,15–16 Note the dual as an Atticism (see at 24,3), also τώ 243,18. Champlin, Fronto 165 n. 27, thinks that maybe the author of the Vita Pii (2,1–2) had read Fronto's speech which praised Pius' character and virtues, but that is most unlikely, see Proleg. LIXff. and at 271,5.

23,19 The Doric form Ἀθάνα is found especially in tragic poets, in Pindarus and Theocritus. Here it seems to be quasi-high-flown; elsewhere Fronto has Ἀθηνᾶ: 22,10; 33,12.

23,20 τὰ τῶν ποδῶν: 'his feet and what is connected with them', as τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας 17,1.

23,21 αὕτη: predicative; it refers to the preceding simile.

Εἰκαστική: 'portraying', 'rappresentativo' (Portalupi), not 'verisimilous' (Haines), though there is a pun with εἰκών. Plato, Soph. 235 d speaks of the εἰκαστικὴ τέχνη.

Γραφικική: 'pictorial'.

23,22 εἰκόνων ... αὐτή: 'being itself quite full of images'.

24,1 μάλ': all editors since Mai take μάλ⟨α⟩ as belonging to the preceding sentence, but it does belong to αἰτήσομαι: 'of course'.

Κατὰ τοὺς γεωμέτρας is more or less proverbial for those who want to know the ins and outs of the matter: 'to be exact', cp. Cic. Att. 12,5,3 *tu me* γεωμετρικῶς *refelleras*; Sen. Epist. 88,10 *metiri me geometres docet.*

24,2 ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ταύταις: 'in the letter you have before you'. The plural is used for one letter since Eurip. Iph. Aul. 111; 314; Thuc. 1,132,5; 4,50,2.

Ἄκυρον: 'without Attic authority', cp. Cic. Fam. 16,17,1: a solecism. A similar remark 55,25M.

Βάρβαρον: see at 21,13.

24,3 Ἀττικόν: Fronto's syntax and his choice of words are Attic. On the dual see at 23,15f. Typical Attic words are ἁλώσιμος 17,10, ἀντίδοσις 247,3, τηνάλλως 252,22. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Coniectanea, thinks to find fault with some un-Attic phrases, but these are due to the mistakes in Naber's edition, and it is not correct to deduce from this passage that Fronto 'nicht klassisch schreiben konnte' (Schanz III[3] 88) or, even worse, that 'malheureusement pour lui, il savait mal le grec' (Monceaux, Les Africains 238) and 'Fronto schreibt ein recht ungelenkes Griechisch' (Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur I 7). We have here a captatio benevolentiae, see Norden, Kunstprosa II 595,1. Fronto may have had his first Greek lessons in Cirta, but later he attended lectures by Athenodotus and Dionysius Tenuis, see at 17,8. Moreover, one of his *eductores* (178,22) was the Greek

Aridelus, who *a pueritia me curavit* (79,25), and his wife Cratia probably was Greek (see at 113,4). Yet it cannot be denied that his Greek letters are somewhat scholastic and that they are far less smooth than his Latin ones, as if he wanted to show how well he knew Greek. His father, Titus Cornelius (259,5), probably took his two sons, M. Cornelius Fronto and Q. Cornelius Quadratus (see at 238,12), to Rome when they were still very young (Quadratus was Fronto's junior by four years). There is no doubt that Latin was their mother tongue (against Niebuhr, Über die zu Mailand entdeckten Schriften 61), because they may have been descendants of a colonus Sittianus, see at 269,4. Titus Cornelius must have been a man of means and influence, for we cannot reasonably believe that Quadratus became a consul because of his brother. 135,3f. Fronto speaks of four Stoic philisophers of whom he had heard when he was a boy; at least two of them (Euphrates and Dio Cocceianus) were in Rome c. 100. In the same passage, Fronto mentions Athenodotus, from whom he took lessons, probably also in Rome, see at 17,8. Apuleius' native tongue, too, was Latin, but he knew Greek very well, as was usual in the upper circles, see G. Bardy, La question des langues dans l'église ancienne I, Paris 1948, 55f.; H.I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, Paris 1948, 345ff. Fronto's captatio benevolentiae for his poor Greek is equalled by Apuleius' for his Latin: Met. 1,1,5 *praefamur veniam, si quid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero*, see D.S. Robertson & P. Lavalette in their edition of Apuleius, Paris I 1940, XIIIf.

Dobson's ἀναττικευτοῦ is ἄκυρον and ἀδόκιμον.

24,5 διατρίβω: 'I busy myself', 'I do spend time on mere words or mere idion' (Haines). Such a translation is more likely than Mai's 'haerere' for διατρίβω: 'to be stuck', 'to have problems, precisely in words and style', 'io tentenno in' (Portalupi). See e.g. Plato, Apol. 29 c ἐν ταυτῃ τῇ ζητήσει διατρίβειν. Theat. 173 c διατρίβοντας ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.

'Ανάχαρσιν: Herodotus does not say anything about his knowledge of Greek; Diog. Laert. 1,8,1 calls him δίγλωττος, but later sources say that he σολοικίζει (Anacharsis, Epist. 1 Hercher; cp. Lucian. Anach. 18; Himer. Orat. 30,1). See W. Schmid, Anacharsis, RE I (1894); Mack. Armstrong, Anacharsis; Kuklina, Anacharsis; Kindstrand, Anacharsis 7; Reuters.

24,5–6 οὐ . . . ἐνθυμημάτων: cp. Anach. Ep. 1 οὐ φωναῖς διήνεγκαν ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἀξιόλογοι, ἀλλὰ γνώμαις. Did Fronto know the letters of Anacharsis? Cicero did: Tusc. 5,90, and Fronto was interested in ancient letter-writing: 124,10ff.; 230,17.

24,8 βάρβαρος: Fronto ridicules himself. He is not particularly conscious of his African origin (so Nicole Méthy, Fronton et Apulée 41). Both Scyths and Libyans were proverbial barbarians, see D.A. Tsirimbas, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei den Epistolographen der zweiten Sophistik Alkiphron—Cl. Aelianus, diss., München 1936, 68f.

24,10 νέμεσθαι: 'to graze', 'browse fresh pastures' (Haines).

24,14–16 On the lacuna between Caes. II 3 and 4 see Proleg. XLVIIf. It is not certain that II 4 begins with *Posterioribus litteris*. In the lacuna two letters seem to have disappeared: a letter by Marcus (cp. *posterioribus litteris*

tuis 24,16) and one by Fronto (cp. 26,8 *quas tu litteras te ad me existimas scripsisse*; see also 26,23f.).

24,15 Chronology of II 4 and 5: II 5 does not deal with the great speech of 13 August 143 (against Mai², Mommsen and Brzoska). It answers two letters, II 4 (see 26,17) and a lost letter in which Fronto mentioned a long conversation with his quaestor (26,23f.). II 4 and 5 were written before 13 August 143 (24,22). Speeches of thanks for the consulate were held in the senate (24,16), which assembled on the calends and on the ides. With Marcus (24,16), we might expect Fronto to hold his speech either on 15 July or on 1 August. So we may conclude that II 4 and 5 were written between 16 July and 13 August. Hauler in his unedited papers, Pepe, Champlin and Cortassa date them between 1 July and 13 August; Brakman opts for the period between 1 and 13 August; Hanslik, Anordnung, dates them between 15 July and 1 August. Less accurate is the dating of July 143 by Haines and L. Demullier, De inauguratierede van de consul, Hermeneus 56, 1984, 194. See also at 25,22.

On the form of address see at 1,5.

24,16 *litteris*: see at 159,1.

Orationem: the speech by which he thanks Pius for his consulate, not the speech of thanks for the designation, as Mommsen and others think, see 17,16f. and 161,12. In Ad Pium 2 p. 161 Pius thanks Fronto for his speech. Ausonius probably read this oratio, see at 269,14. *Orationem recitaverim* seems to mean 'to deliver the official speech'.

24,17–18 *edicto . . . proponam: edictum proponere*, 'to put up a proclamation', is often said since Cicero, e.g. Pompon. Dig. 1,2,2,10 *magistratus . . ., ut scirent cives, quod ius . . . quisque dicturus esset, . . . edicta proponebant.* It was written on a white board, *in albo*, at the forum and it retained its original form of a speech. In the second century it had degenerated into a panegyric on the emperor (hence *edicto gracias agere*, an expression not found elsewhere). At the same time, the new consuls together (*nostris*) gave *ludi circenses.* The first to mention these is Mart. 8,78,13f. *quid numerem currus ter denaque praemia palmae, quae dare non semper consul uterque solet*; then Plin. Pan. 92,4 *quibus edicto, quibus spectaculo celebrare continget diem illum?* Arrian. Diss. 4,10,21 κιρκήσια δοῦναι. Ammian 22,7,2; Symm. Epist. 7,4,7; 9,130. See J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung VI², Leipzig 1885, 486; Mommsen, Staatsrecht II³ 137; B. Kübler, Consul, RE IV (1901).

Circensibus nostris: 'on the occasion of our games', rather than 'at my games in the circus' (Haines) or 'prima dei miei giochi circensi' (Portalupi).

24,19–21 *qua die . . . idem dies: dies* masc. and femin. in one passage, also 43,3M *hac die, tuo natali*, and 164,21–26 *felicissimo . . . initi imperii die* and *ista die*. Cp. Caes. Gall. 1,6,4 *diem dicunt, qua die . . . conveniant. Is dies erat* etc. Usually, *hic dies* is masc.; so in Fronto 3,14; 81,22; 104,5. Masc. *dies* is customary in *dies festus* (65,15), *dies tertius* and the like (84,7; 104,5; 116,5), *uno die* (131,6), *diem suum obire* (164,8), *dies natalis* (86,27; 90,1; 164,21), *postero die* (116,14), *dies serenus* (210,20), *dies crastinus* (80,13M with Cicero, Livy and Petronius, but *crastina die* Liv. 3,20,4 and Propertius). *Dies* is femin. with other pronouns than *hic*: *qua die* here and 82,23; 106,9; 116,6; 164,26. The

plural is, as a rule, always masc. Haines has altered all femin. forms to masc. ones. The TLL s.v. dies presents a synopsis of the gender of *dies* in several authors but not Fronto: in our letters the ratio of *dies* masc.: *dies* femin. = 4 : 1, which means that femin. *dies* is more frequent than in Plautus and Cicero but less frequent than in e.g. Apuleius. See at 74,5; Neue-Wagener I[3] 1011f.; M. van den Hout, Mnemos. 1, 1948, 64ff.

24,19 *qua die primum ... ederem*: 'on the very date when I should give'. *Primum* belongs to *qua die*, as in *cum primum, ubi primum, ut primum, postquam primum, simul (ac) primum*: it introduces a temporal clause. *Ederem* is a prospective subjunctive of the type *urbs quae conderetur* (Liv. 1,6,3), see Hofmann-Szantyr 561. It is not 'on the day on which ... I am exhibiting' (Haines), nor 'nel giorno in cui ... per la prima volta io indico' (Portalupi). Fronto is rather proud of this sentence, which contains some unexpected expressions.

Beneficio principis is almost a technical term to indicate that the spectacle was given at the expense of the emperor, see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II[3] 1126ff. Vita Pii 8,4 *ita ut et magistratus adiuvaret et senatores urbis ad functiones suas*. See also at 111,2.

24,20 *gratissimum maximeque populare*: see at 108,4.

24,21 *Tulliana conclusio*: a rhythmical conclusion of a period à la Cicero; see at 20,4. So *concludere* 215,14.

25,2 *sine ... ambagibus*: Cic. Att. 1,1,1 *sine fuco et fallaciis*; Sen. Epist. 26,5 *remotis strophis ac fucis*.

Cum animo meo reputem: the oldest expression is *cum animo suo cogitare* (Plaut. Most. 702; Ter. Ad. 500; Cato, Orat. frg. 1 Sblendorio; Cic. Agr. 2,64; Fronto 224,13, where it is not borrowed from Cato, as Selvatico, Scambio 239, states). Plaut. Trin. 256 *ago cum meo animo et recolo*. Cicero and Sallust introduced new formulas: Cic. Cluent. 70 *cum animis vestris recordari*; Verr. 3,95 *habuisti statutum cum animo*; Fin. 2,115 *delibero cum animo*; Sall. Iug. 13,5; 70,5; 85,10; Epist. 1,7,4 *reputare cum animo suo*, and Fronto may have been influenced by him: 112,3; 193,6?; 218,18; 231,3 (cp. 49,3 *mecum ipse reputans* and 193,6 *putes cum animo tuo*). Sal. Iug. 6,2 and 108,3 *cum animo suo volvere* (Fronto 49,6 *volutare secum*; Verg. Aen. 6,185 *cum corde volutat*); Sall. Iug. 93,1 *trahere cum animo*; Epist. 2,1,4 *agitare cum animo* (also Fronto 97,11; cp. 232,7 *cum corde suo agitare*; 86,12M *in tuo animo agitare*). Fronto 104,16 *converso cum animo meo*. See at 114,15.

25,3–9 This is rather an understatement: Hadrian despised learned men (Vita Hadr. 15,10f.) and, in his later years, was a threat to the lives of many senators (Vita Hadr. 24,4; Vita Pii 5,1). Fronto 238,11f. *multa constanter saepe etiam cum periculo capitis consulta*. So it is no wonder that he calls the day Pius assumed the government his *diem natalem ... securitatis* (164,21–23). Accordingly he does not admire Hardrian's foreign politics: 208,9ff. And he knew, of course, that Marcus had the same feelings about his 'grandfather': in the first book of his Meditations, Marcus does not name Hadrian among the persons he was indebted to. It is impossible that Hadrian appointed Fronto as Marcus' teacher, as has been suggested by Philibert-Soupé 59 and Ussani, Frontone 40. See at 93,12. In the Vita Helii 3,8 we read *ab his, qui Hadriani vitam diligentius in litteras rettulerunt*, and P. Grenade,

Le règlement successoral d'Hadrien, Rev. d. Ét. lat. 52, 1950, 277, supposes that Fronto is one of them. Felicita Portalupi, 2a nota Frontaniana 781f., justly rejects such an absurd idea. I have not seen Sylvia Fein, Die Beziehungen der Kaiser Trajan und Hadrian zu den litterati, Leipzig 1994.

25,3 *divom*: see at 111,11.

In senatu: this gives us an approximate date of Fronto's year of birth: when Hadrian died in 138, Fronto was a member of the senate and at least a quaestor (see at 259,5). To become a quaestor one had to be twenty-five years old, so Fronto must have been born before 113. *Saepenumero* indicates that Fronto already was a senator for several years: if we decide on a period of ten years, the year of his birth might be 103. The date of his consulship, 143, gets us a little further: as a homo novus who had not entered the imperial service (see at 3,23), Fronto must have been forty-three years old or more to become a consul (Alföldy, Consuls and Consulars), and so we may assume that he was born between 98 and 100, probably even earlier. According to Cass. Dio 69,18,3 (= Testim. 16), Fronto pleaded under Hadrian before Marcus Turbo. Apparently he was then in the prime of his career as a barrister, say between thirty and thirty-five years old, which leads us to a date of birth between 90 and 95. This would mean, of course, that he became a consul when he was about fifty, which was not exceptional, see W. Eck, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II 1, Berlin/New York 1974, 183f.; Alföldy, Konsulat 35ff. There are three passages where Fronto mentions facts which happened *nostra memoria*, but they are of little use for establishing the year of his birth, see at 135,3 and also at 41,20 and 78,9. Champlin, Fronto 137f., devoted a chapter to 'The Date of Fronto's Birth', dating it closer to 90 AD than to 100. To the same conclusion came A. Peyron, Biblioteca italiana 4, 1816, 379; Niebuhr in his edition XX; Westermann, Geschichte der Beredtsamkeit II 311,1; Naber XX; Bähr, Geschichte der römischen Literatur II^4 623; P.B. Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, London 1884, 37; W.G. van der Weerd, Uitvoerig synchronistisch overzicht der Grieksche en Romeinsche geschiedenis, Sneek 1899, 176; Haines, Chronology 118. Fronto's birth is dated 95–100 by Mai, ed. princeps X, and by Ellis, Correspondence 6. Too late is the dating between 98 and 113 by Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur I 58, and by Hofer 3. Most scholars date his birth c. 100: F. Aly, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur, Berlin 1894, 343; Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur I 58; Teuffel 3,73; Ussani, Frontone 40; A. Gudeman, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur III, Berlin/Leipzig 1924, 20; Wessner, Sulpicius Apollinaris, RE IV A 1 (1931); J.W. Atkins, Literary Criticism in Antiquity II, Cambridge 1934, 343; de Labriolle, La réaction païenne 87; P.J. Enk, Geschiedenis der Latijnse letterkunde, Groningen ^{3}1946, 255; J. Schneider, Brief, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1954); A.G. Amatucci, Storia della letteratura latina cristiana, Torino ^{2}1955, 29; R. Syme, Tacitus, Oxford 1958,652; J. Morris, Listy Filol. 87, 1964, 316; E. Castorina, Questioni neoteriche, Firenze 1968, 182; Cawley, The Literary Theory 23; A.E. Birley, A Nickname for Commodus 473; Alföldy, Konsulat 300,124; S. Benko, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II 23,2,1081; P. Desideri

Dione di Prusa, Messina/Firenze 1978, 40,3; F.R.D. Goodyear, The Cambridge History of Classical Literature II, Cambridge 1982, 905; Parain, Marc-Aurèle 211; H. Devijver, Hermeneus 55, 1983, 208; Balty, Un nouveau portrait 57. Mommsen, Chronologie 216, dated Fronto's birth between 100 and 110, which is certainly too late; yet he was followed by O. Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der roemischen Verwaltungsgeschichte I, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten, Berlin 1877, 225; Priebe I 3; Brock, Studies in Fronto 11; Frassinetti, L'orazione 20; P.L. Schmidt, Fronto; Della Corte, Frontone storiografo 270; Steinmetz Untersuchungen 69, and Grimal, Marc Aurèle 70. Shortly after 100 is the dating by Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric 592; between 103 and 106 by M. Schanz, Rhein. Mus. 50, 1895, 132.

25,3–4 *studio inpenso* is first used by Fronto here and 166,20, then by Apuleius and later authors. Note the annominatio, with homoioteleuton *inpenso et propenso.* See at 236,12f.

25,4 *frequentes*: cp. Mart. 5,13,3 *tota legor urbe frequens.*

25,5 *bona . . . tuae*: 'with the permission of your filial devotion'. The ablative *bona venia* is a common expression since Ter. Phorm. 378; it occurs often in Cicero and Livy; in Fronto also 153,7 (cp. 61,1M). The MS reading *benia* has not been corrected by m^2. As in the imperial age, *v* came close to *b*, Fronto may have felt an alliteration; see E. Wölfflin, Archiv 8, 1893, 568.

25,6 *Martem*: Serv. Aen. 1,272 *Mars enim cum saevit Gradivus dicitur.*

With its alliteration, *propitium et placatum* sounds like a religious formula, but it is meant jocularly, as 60,26M, and is not found elsewhere. True religious terms are *volens propitiusque* and *propitius ac favens.* See St. Weinstock, Propitius, RE XXIII 1 (1957).

25,7 *volui: velle* with a part. perf. pass. is relatively frequent, e.g. Ter. Haut. 185 *quam vellem Menedemum invitatum.* See at 182,8f. With a predicative adjective as *propitium* it seems to be of a later date, e.g. Min. Fel. 10,5 *molestum illum volunt*; 18,11 *Iovem principem volunt.*

25,9–10 *ut solem . . . amari*: on the asyndeton see at 238,7. Cp. Cic. Fam. 2,13,2 *diligo meque ab eo diligi . . . sensi*; 11,29,2 *dilexi et semper me a te diligi sensi.*

25,11 *actis senatus*, the *acta patrum* or *commentarii senatus.* They were instituted by Caesar (Suet. Caes. 20) and contained not only the senatus consulta but also the speeches held in the senate and the minutes of the discussions. They were accessible to those who were interested, such as historians: Suet. Aug. 5; Tac. Ann. 15,74,3; Vita Alex. Sev. 56,2; Vita Taciti 8,1. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht III[3] 1017ff.; M. Fuhrmann, Acta 1, Kleine Pauly (1962); and at 132,2.

25,11–12 *in manibus hominum oculisque versetur* seems to be a contamination of *in manibus esse* and *ante oculos versari. In oculis versari* is only found in Cic. Verr. 5,144 *species . . . in oculis animoque versata est.*

25,13–14 *cursorem fugitivum*: professional letter-carriers were mostly slaves. According to Schroff, Tabellarius, RE A 2 (1931), they achieved an average of 60–75 kilometres a day, whereas Fronto speaks of 90. See W.H. Gross, Tabellarius, Kleine Pauly (1974). It is not a proverb we are faced with here

(Otto cannot present another example of the saying) but the recollection of a well-known mimus (cp. Sen. Epist. 114,6 *(Maecenas) in omni publico coetu sic apparuerit, ut pallio velaretur caput exclusis utrimque auribus, non aliter quam in mimo fugitivi divitis solent*; Iuv. 13,110f. *mimum agit ille, urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli* or of a comedy (cp. Turpil. 69f. Ribbeck[3] *currendum sic est, sic datur, nimium ubi sopori servias potius quam domino et ubi severo imperio quae imperata sunt*). See at 48,3.

25,15 For the gemination of *mhi* see at 118,13f. and 139,22.

25,15–16 *meo ingenio* = *mea sponte*, 'of my own accord', rather than 'to please myself' (Haines); cp. Tac. Hist. 1,5,1 *miles . . . ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu quam suo ingenio traductus.*

25,16 *ad meum commodum*: see at 64,15.

25,18 *si et* = *etiamsi*; before Fronto only in Quint. Declam. 321 p. 264,28; later also Rustic. C. aceph. 1234 C. See Hofmann-Szantyr 671. So there is no reason to delete *et*, as does S. Timpanaro, Riv. di filol. class. 117, 1989, 378. 39,16 we find *et si* = *etiamsi.*

Basia: see at 21,15.

25,19 *ceterum quidem*: see at 67,21.

25,20 *quidvis qualevis*: 'everything as you wish it'. *Quidvis*: Plaut. Bacch. 871 *pacisce quidvis*; Mil. 358 *loquere quidvis*; cp. Ter. Haut. 464 *faciat quidlubet*; Plaut. Bacch. 866 *pacisce . . . quid tibi lubet. Qualisvis* is not found in our lexica, but *qualislibet* is (Cic. Nat. deor. 2,93; Apic. 4,2,23), as well as *quantusvis.*

25,21 *patrem promerere*: 'prove worthy of your father' (Haines). See at 1,7f. *Promereo(r)* with accusative, 'to deserve well of', since Plin. Epist. 10,94(95),2 *iudicia amicorum*; Pan. 62,7 *principem*; Suet. Aug. 3 *in promerendis sociis.* Fronto 110,15 *promeretur*; 79,10M *promeruit.*

25,22 Chronology: see at 24,15. The passage 26,22–24 cannot refer to Caes. II 2, as Mommsen and Pepe think, nor to I 3, as Brakman supposes. Hanslik, Anordnung, and Birley, Mark Aurel 150, rightly state that it refers to a lost letter. The fact that Marcus responds to two letters at one time seems to indicate that he is not in Rome but with Pius in Naples (25,19; 26,20; 31,8; 32,10.

The form of address is very unusual and expresses Marcus' profound feelings, see Babl, De epistularum Latinarum formulis 13; Ziemann, De epistularum Graecarum formulis 295ff.; Roller, Das Formular 425 n. 238; and at 42,4.

Amplissime: this consular title is found for the first time in Fronto: as vocative 27,22M; 29,7M; 30,12M; 31,18M; as dative 28,5M; 29,10M. Further in a rescript by Pius (Ulp. Dig. 35,1,50), by the *divi fratres* (Ulp. Dig. 49,1,1,3), in CIL VIII 2553; Symm. Epist. 1,101,1. It was already heralded by Plin. Pan. 77,8 *amplissimum honorem* and Suet. Aug. 26 *amplissimo praeditus magistratu.* See Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 87,2; B. Kübler, Consul, RE IV (1901).

25,23–26 Solemn words with alliteration. *Manus do*: 'I declare myself vanquished', cp. Plaut. Persa 854 *fateor, manus vobis do*; Cic. Lael. 99 *qui . . . det manus vincique se patiatur. Cape coronam* is found only here. For *praeco* and *tribunal* see 27,14; cp. Cic. Verr. 3,40 *si palam praeco . . . praedicasset. Pro tribunali*: 'on the front part of', not 'before' (Haines), see at 241,13. Greek words are used because in the Greek world such terms were apparently

the official words by which the name of the conqueror in a competition was announced, and Marcus is in Naples, where he may have attended such contests. Cp. Cass. Dio 63,14,2 of Nero ἠγωνίσατο δὲ ἐν πάσῃ ὁμοίως πόλει ἀγῶνα ἐχούσῃ κήρυκι πρὸς πάντα τὰ κηρύξεως δεόμενα . . . χρησάμενος. This is the only passage in our correspondence where Fronto's full name is used.

25,26 στεφανοῦται τὸν ἀγῶνα: the accusative, 'in the contest' (Haines), is remarkable and was influenced by νικᾶν τὸν ἀγῶνα. It differs from Aristoph. Equit. 647 ἐστεφάνουν μ'εὐαγγέλια, 'for good tidings', and even more from Herod. 1,132,1 ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν.

Φιλοτησίων: jokingly 'the great Friendship-Games' (Haines).

26,1 *prothymia*: 'good spirits' or 'zeal', rather than 'devotion' (Haines) or *delectatio*, as the margin has. The same colloquial word, with the same meaning, in Plaut. Stich. 636 *viden benignitates hominum ut periere et prothymiae?* But in Plaut. Stich. 659 it indeed seems to mean *delectatio: quot ego voluptates fero, quot risiones, quot iocos, quot savia, saltationes, blanditias, prothymias!* ('tendresses' Ernout).

Decessero aut defecero: alliteration. See at 1,10f.

26,2 *ullus . . . ullum*: polyptoton. Though it is an affirmative sentence, *ullus* expresses Marcus' doubt.

26,3 The reading *habeo possideo* by m[1] is a legal term, which seems impossible here.

26,5 *Cratia*: Fronto's wife, see at 113,4.

26,6–7 Mai and the editors of Plautus refer to Most. 138ff. *mi adventu suo grandinem imbremque attulit . . . continuo pro imbre amor advenit . . . is usque in pectus permanavit, permadefecit cor meum.* Leo thinks that we should combine the passage in Fronto and Most. 142 like this: *pro imbre amor advenit, <tetigit guttis grandibus,> is usque in pectus permanavit* (cp. Lucr. 4,1060 *Veneri dulcedinis in cor stillavit gutta*). Leo's conjecture has been adopted by Burckhardt, TLL s.v. gutta. Cassan and Höhne 40 suppose that Marcus here deliberately altered the text of the Mostellaria; others assume that he quotes a lost play by Plautus, which Ad. Kiessling, Philol. Anzeiger 1, 1869, 60, tried to reconstruct thus:

– ⏑ – – ⏑ – *amoris ímber guttis grándibus*
nón vestem modo pérmanavit, séd in medullam ultró fluit

and Ehrenthal 32 n. 73 thus:

– ⏑ – – ⏑ – *amoris ímber guttis grándibus*
nón vestem modo pérmanavit, séd in medullam ultró pluit (*pluit* with m[2] because of the alliteration).

26,9 *mellitum* is a 'Kosebezeichnung' (Hofmann, Umgangssprache 141) of beloved persons and what is connected with them. It occurs in Cic. Att. 1,18,1; Catull. 3,6 and 48,1. Marcus is the first to use the superlative *mellitissime*, 63,10. *Mellite* is already found in Catull. 99,1; also Apul. Met. 5,6,9.

26,11 *quod faciunt*: 'as they do' (Haines). Schenkl, Haines and Portalupi have rightly adopted Klussmann's conjecture. Cortassa keeps *faciant* and

sees in *quod* a final or consecutive conjunction; he compares Ter. Eun. 1064, which is a totally different passage, however.

26,12 *cesserint*: see at 1,10f.

Disertae... doctae: a fortuitous alliteration not found elsewhere.

26,16 In his first edition, Ribbeck attributes this fragment to Novius, but later he sticks to Naevius. Warmington still thinks that the reading Novius is possible, but as the phrase suggests a comedy we should keep Naevius. Marcus' sentence ends in a climax, and *capitalis* means 'dangerous to life', 'pernicioso' (Marmorale, Naevius poeta[2] 232; A. Garzya, Maia 10, 1958, 337), 'fatale' (Portalupi). Haines translates 'transcendent' and Pepe thinks that in Naevius it means 'pernicioso' but here in Marcus 'eccezionale' (Cortassa agrees with him). Pepe may have been misguided by B. Maurenbrecher, TLL s.v., who interprets *capitalis* in Naevius (just as *amicitia capitalis* in Sen. Dial. 10,15,1) as *'gravissimus, qui summi momenti est'*. It is doubtful whether *animum* and *compleverint* are part of the quotation. Ribbeck has *ánimum amore cápitale compléverint.*

26,19 *videris tu*: 'it is up to you to consider'. *Videris* is fut. exact., but whereas the first person *videro* has only temporal meaning (e.g. Cic. De orat. 2,33 *sed de me videro*; Quint. fr. 2,14[13],2 *sed videro*; Att. 7,3,10 *sed de re videro*), the second and third persons were modally influenced and have a jussive meaning. The same formula is often found in Cicero: De orat. 1,246 *quae (ars) quam sit facilis, illi viderint... deinde etiam tu ipse videris, qui eam artem facilem esse dicis*; 2,235 *viderit Democritus*; 2,351 *tu quemadmodum his satisfacias, videris*; Orat. 152 *Graeci viderint*; Brut. 297 *tu videris*; Tusc. 2,42 *Stoici viderint*; Phil.2,118 *sed de te tu videris, ego de me ipse profitebor*; 5,33 *quid concupiscas, tu videris*; Fam. 10,21,7 *tu videris... quando tuum munus apud me velis esse*. Marcus 27,3 has *viderint*, but Fronto 113,17 *videbis*. See Kühner I 148f.

An: see at 138,3.

26,20 *quin*: see at 5,3.

26,23 *super* in the sense of *de* is colloquial; also 28,10M and 241,25. See Hofmann-Szantyr 281.

Multo multoque: this gemination is found first in Sall. Rep. 1,1,8 and Val. Max. 4,1,2; then here and 93,3; 218,9; and perhaps 199,7. See at 118,13f.

26,23–24 *quaestori tuo*: since 37 BC each consul had two quaestors for administrative and executive tasks, cp. Sueton. Caes. 23 with Cass. Dio 48,43,1, and see further Tac. Ann. 16,34,1; Plin. Epist. 4,15,6ff.; 8,23,5; and 10,26,1. Marcus is the last to mention this function, see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 568. Haines and Portalupi suggest that this quaestor might be Aufidius Victorinus or Fronto's brother Q. Cornelius Quadratus, but Aufidius was too young to be a quaestor in summer 143, see at 176,5. Quadratus was cos. suff. in 147 and therefore too old to be a quaestor in 143, see at 238,12.

26,24 *nec dubito* with acc. cum inf. also 138,18 and 174,9.

Ibidem in foro: 'there too, in the forum', where Fronto and his quaestor carried out their tasks. Cassan, Haines and Pepe erroneously think that *ibidem* here means 'about that time'.

Tinnuisse auriculas: Plin. Nat. 28,24 *quin et absentes tinnitu aurium praesentire*

sermones de se receptum est. Cic. Off. 3,5; Fam. 6,18,4; and Horat. Epist. 1,1,7 have *circumsonare* and *personare aures.*

26,26 *in ... protulisti*: cp. Caes. Gall. 1,40,14 *in longiorem diem collaturus*; Papin. Dig. 46,5,8 pr. *in diem cavere longiorem*; Gell. 5,10,15 *causamque in diem longissimam distulerunt*; 19,5,3 *morbos sensim atque in diem longam ... inseminare.*

27,1–2 Chronology: Fronto has held his speech to thank the emperor for his consulate on 13 August 143. He sends a copy of the speech to Pius (and to Marcus) 161,12ff., so this letter must have been written shortly after the ides of August. Pius thanks Fronto for his speech 161,17ff. It seems that neither Pius nor Marcus was present in the senate when Fronto held his speech. This letter's form of address has been taken from 29,17f. See at 1,5 and 272,4.

27,3 *Graeci veteres*: the Attic orators and Plato.

Viderint: see at 26,19.

27,4 *vituperantem*: cp. Cic. Brut. 65 *quis illo (Catone) gravior in laudando, acerbior in vituperando?* However, it is not a quotation from Cicero, as Berger, L'éducation 590, thinks. Cato was, during this period, Marcus' favourite author: 28,2f.; 34,18ff.

27,5 *O si* also 27,24. See Hofmann-Szantyr 331.

27,6 γίνεται: Marcus uses the form in vogue but disapproved of by Moeris. Fronto always has the Attic γίγνομαι.

Quis: after a comparative we have the indefinite *quis* in a principal sentence, also 66,22 *sequius quid dicere*; 228,15 *facilius quis*; but 59,22 *superne quid sustineri*; 61,4M *videndi quid*; 119,13 *unum quid*; 197,10 *qui parum probe quid a te impetratum velint*; 214,11 *quoquo in loco gestum quid foret.*

27,6–8 *Phidian ... Catonem*: see at 133,6–11 and 7,5.

27,7–8 *imitatus fuerit*: see at 1,10f.

27,8 *effectum et elaboratum*: alliteration. *Effectus* in the sense of 'perfect' (Haines) since Quint. Inst. 8,3,88 *quidquid in suo genere satis effectum est, valet*; Plin. Epist. 2,3,3 *syllogismi circumscripti et effecti. Elaborare* is a technical term of rhetoric since Cicero, see at 75,16.

27,9 *cultius*: 'more refined' (Haines), cp. Sen. Contr. 7 praef. 3 *oratio culta*; see also 262,24.

Antiquius: 'more sublime', see at 160,2.

Conditius: 'more seasoned', not 'polished' (Haines), 'elaborato' (Portalupi[1]; 'più antico' Portalupi[2] with the note that it refers to Fronto's archaism), 'elegante' (Cortassa). The term is used of the charm and wit of a speech, in contrast to *gravis*, e.g. Cic. De orat. 2,227 *(oratio) lepore et festivitate conditior*; 2,212 *asperitas contentionis oratoris ipsius humanitate conditur*; Orat. 185 *duo sunt quae condiant orationem: verborum numerorumque iucunditas*; Brut. 110 *id quod dicitur, fit voce, vultu motuque conditius*; 177 *nemo umquam urbanitate, nemo lepore, nemo suavitate conditior. Condire* is the equivalent of the Greek ἡδύνειν.

Latinius: this comparative is found here first, then in Hieron. Epist. 58,9 and Is. 8,26,7.

27,10 *O me*: see at 2,3. The acc. exclamationis—unlike the nominative—voices the feelings of the person in question. Marcus sets up a record with twelve *O*'s!

27,11 Ἐπιχειρήματα: see at 6,3.

Τάξις: see at 10,10–12.

Ἄσκησις: 'adornment' or 'practised skill' (Haines), not 'preparazione' (Portalupi).

27,12 *nitor*: see at 141,13.

27,13 *O omnia*: see at 72,4f.

Ne valeam nisi: Cicero uses as formula excecrationis *ne vivam si, ne sim salvus si, moriar ni, peream nisi*, Catullus and Martialis *dispeream si*, Horace *inteream si*. Martialis is the first to use *ne valeam si non*; 2,5,1; 4,31,3; 6,64,18. The verb of the protasis is nearly always the present indicative. Exceptions: Cic. Att. 8,6,4 *moriar, si magis gauderem, si id mihi accidisset*, which seems to be a contamination of an ordinary irrealis and the formula *moriar si* (see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 31), and, like our passage, Hor. Sat. 2,1,6 *peream male, si non optimum erat*. Then there is Mart. 1,39,8 *dispeream, si non hic Decianus erit* (cp. Ehrenthal's conjecture in Marcus); Brut. Cic. Fam. 11,23,2 *peream, si*... *poterint* and Mart. 2,5,1 *ne valeam, si non*... *velim*. Marcus' assumption is so realistic that he uses the indicative—cp. *erat* in line 17—but the consequences of the assumption are not real: *perduceres, moneres*. See at 55,24; 66,21; 162,12; H. Blase, Beteuerungsformeln im Lateinischen, Archiv 10, 1898, 546; idem, Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache III 1, Leipzig 1903, 149ff.; P. Frassinetti, Athenaeum 54, 1976, 218; Cugusi, Evoluzione 81.

27,15 *quid 'nos' dico?* Such corrective questions are colloquial, see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 4, and Cic. Att. 4,13,1; 8,12,6. Also 30,19M; 46,10; 55,10M; unusual 36,14M *quid dixi 'consulam'?*

Philologos: 'learned folk' (Haines), 'uomini colti' (Cortassa), not 'filologi' (Portalupi). See G. Nuchelmans, Studien über φιλόλογος, φιλολογία und φιλολογεῖν, diss., Nijmegen, Zwolle 1950.

27,16 *adhuc* with imperf. 'finora' (Portalupi), as e.g. Cic. Fin. 3,40; Sen Contr. 1,3,4; Sen Epist, 1,1.

27,17 *multa supersunt*: 'I have more reasons than enough' (Haines), not 'molto ancora mi manca' (Portalupi).

27,17–18 *in ludum*... *introferam: in ludum ire* means 'to go to (the elementary) school' (Plaut. Merc. 303; Persa 173) and Marcus uses this expression to indicate that he still has everything to learn. *Pedem introferre* only occurs in Plautus (Men. 381; 630; Most. 471), but that does not necessarily mean that Marcus borrowed it from Plautus, as Priebe II 6 assumes; it may be colloquial.

27,19 *festinatione*: letter-writers often apologize for writing in a hurry: 76,15M; 94,9M; cp. 107,14V, and so Caes. Cic. Att. 9,6 A; Plin. Epist. 4,13,2; Hist. Aug. Trig. Tyr. 33,8; Alc. Avit. Epist. 95.

Domini mei: for Pius' letter see at 161,12.

27,21 *Igitur vale* at the end of his book also Cic. Off. 3,121 *vale igitur, mi Cicero*, and at the end of a conversation Plautus has (Mil. 1373 and Poen. 568) *bene vale igitur*. Cic. Att. 6,2,10; 6,5,4 and Fam. 15,8,2 has *valebis igitur*.

Decus eloquentiae Romanae: see at 258,3 and 226,2. Perhaps Fronto had these words in mind when he wrote 31,23f., *vale, Caesar, decus patriae et Romani nominis*, but that is no reason to conclude with Klussmann, Emendationes 1 n. 1, that Caes. II 12 is the answer to this letter.

Gloria: see at 21,10 and 70,6.

27,22 μέγα πρᾶγμα: it is unlikely that Marcus took this from Demosth. 35,15; Herod. 3,132,2 already has ἦν μέγιστον πρᾶγμα Δημοκήδης παρὰ βασιλέι. Μέγα πρᾶγμα of a man also Menandr. Sam. 175, of a tank Alexis, Com. 179. More common is μέγα χρῆμα. See at 250,6.

Amplissime: see at 25,22.

27,23 *cavebis*: fut. pro imperativo, see at 19,7. *Cave* is often used with infinitive.

27,24 *horribiliter*: 'awfully well' (Haines), 'schauderhaft gelehrt' (Hofmann, Umgangssprache 78), a colloquialism, as Cic. Att. 8,9,4 *horribili vigilantia*, 'wide awake'. Marcus is the first to use this adverb, then Augustinus and later authors.

Ad: see at 65,19.

Capita caput: pun and traductio. For kissing someone's head, see at 67,14.

27,25 καταπεφρόνηκας: 'you have put in the background' (Haines).

27,26 *frustra*: see on this epanaphora at 97,4.

Nervos contendimus: 'we exert our strength'. The same expression Varro, L.L. 8,63; Cic. Verr. 1,35; Fat. 21; Fam. 15,14,5; Q. Cic. Pet. 56.

27,27 *vale semper*: see at 61,4.

28,1 Chronology: though the form of address does not indicate that Fronto is a consul, Naber, Brakman, Haines and Hanslik, Anordnung 26, date this letter July–August 143. Jüttner 32 and Pepe think that it was written shortly after Fronto's consulate, and Champlin, Fronto 131, even dates it 139–161. The ancient editor may have inserted this letter here because *quam diu te non vidi* resembles *quem ego biennio iam non vidi* 29,8, in a letter written during Fronto's consulate. *In hanc horam* indicates that the letter was sent by return of post, as 96,3 *vides quid horae tibi rescribam*, which means that both Marcus and Fronto are in Rome and that Marcus is not in Naples (see 25,19; 26,20; 27,19f.; 28,25; 29,8; 30,17f.; 31,8; 32,10). We should combine this letter with Caes. II 17 written in September–October 143, where Marcus is also engaged in reading Cato. So Jüttner and Pepe are right and Champlin's dating is highly improbable, because after 145 Marcus was hardly interested in Cato. Marcus' original letter did not contain the exact date and hour, see Proleg. LXIII n. 3.

28,2 *scripsi*: shortly before Marcus had written poetry and made excerpts: 28,19; 29,2.

28,3 *eodem (= uno et eodem) calamo*: so he wrote *sua manu* on papyrus, see at 38,4. On the use of *stilus* see at 28,18.

28,3–4 *quam commode agas*: 'how well you are' (Haines). Marcus is the first to use this expression, here and 2,10M; 73,26M *ago levissime*. Apul. Met. 1,26,3 *quam salve agit?* On *agere*, 'to live', 'to be', see at 40,3.

28,4–7 If only one folium is lost (see Proleg. XLVIIIf.), the lacuna contained the end of this short letter and the beginning of II 8.

28,5–6 Chronology: this letter is the answer to two letters by Fronto: a lost letter in which Fronto had asked for Marcus' hexameters (28,19) and Caes. II 2: cp. 29,5f. with 20,6–13. II 8 and II 10 were written in Naples (28,25 *in theatro*), apparently during the last days of August 143 (29,8f.).

Pepe and Champlin date them July–August 143. The form of address has been restored after 29,10f., see at 1,5 and 65,7.

28,7–16 Marcus speaks about himself. The themes flattery, insincerity and envy at the court recur 44,24ff.M; 54,5ff.; 107,22ff. V; 115,20ff.; Marcus, Medit. 1,9 and 1,11 (= Testim. 11). See Rutherford, The Meditations 122.

28,7 *adfinitate sociatum*, 'connected by marriage' (Haines), an expression found nowhere else; *sociatus* instead of the usual *(con)iunctus*. Marcus became engaged to Pius' daughter Faustina in 138; he married her—after this letter—in 145.

Neque tutelae subditum: Marcus is here twenty-one years old.

28,8 *fortuna*: 'social position' (Haines), cp. Cic. Balb. 18 *si in qua fortuna est nascendi initio constitutus.*

28,8–9 A trochaeus septenarius from an unknown tragedy by Ennius: *ómnes dant consílium vanum atque ád voluptatem ómnia.* Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 128, is the only one who thinks that *in qua* or *in fortuna* belongs to the quotation, supplying . . . *in quá* <*tibi*>, but who is *tibi* in Ennius? Ribbeck supposes that Ennius is speaking of fortune-tellers, which is most unlikely. Lucian Müller's correction *voluntatem* is tempting.

28,10 *super* = *de* is colloquial; see at 26,23.

28,11 *fides* is often used in alliterations: Plaut. Cist. 241 *firmasset fidem*; Miles 453 *firmatam fidem*; Ter. Hec. 581 *firmasti fidem* etc. *Fidentem fallere* is found only here.

28,12 *subsentator*, 'cajoler' (Haines), occurs only here. The variant *subtemptator* is not found elsewhere.

Proximi: metaphor: 'they stand round a king' (Haines). The *rex* goes back to Menander.

28,13 *dictis dicunt* is found only here.

In animo habent: Marcus quotes freely; various conjectures have been proposed to restore the metrum.

28,15 *adfatim sunt: adfatim* with *esse* is colloquial: Plaut. Bacch. 497; Cist. 231; Mil. 980; Trin. 1185; Cic. Att. 16,1,5. Livy always has *adfatim* with genitive and *esse*: 23,5,15; 27,17,7; 34,37,5.

28,15–16 Again a free quotation. Ribbeck and Warmington attribute the verse to an incerta comoedia, but it may as well originate from a tragedy by Naevius. In his second edition, Ribbeck reconstructed: *regum filiis | línguis faveant átque adnutent haút* <*animis*> *subsérviant*; in his third edition: *regum filiis | línguis faveant átque adnutent, néc* <*animis*> *subsérviant*, but he is not sure whether *regum filiis* belongs to the quotation. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 128ff., presents this reconstruction: *(et) regum filiis | línguis favent atque ádnutant et* <*súbdole*> *subsérviunt.* Instead of *regum filiis*, E.V. Marmorale, Naevius poeta, Firenze 1950, 226, reads *filiis regum*. I think that not only *regum filiis* belongs to the quotation (these are the keywords in Marcus' remark) but also *quei et*, because of the form *quei*. The dative *filiis* ('in respect to', 'with regard to') with *favere linguis* is remarkable.

Linguis favent: 'hold their tongues', 'are silent' (εὐφημεῖν). It is a sacral expression found especially in poetry (hence in tragedies rather than comedies).

It cannot mean 'flatter with their tongues' as Haines, Portalupi and Cortassa translate. *Atque* indicates the result of their silence: silence gives consent.

Adnutare also in Naev. Com. 76; Plaut. Merc. 437; Apul. Met. 10,32,3.

Subservire, 'to be submissive', also in Plaut. Men. 766; Marcus 55,18 (where it may also be a quotation); Apul. De Plat. 1,13.

Ego: Niebuhr's *ergo* has been adopted by Haines and is not improbable.

28,17 σκοπόν: Cic. Att. 15,29,2 σκοπός—*hoc est enim—huic nostro nihil praebere*; Macrob. Scip. 1,4,1 *propositum, quem Graeci* σκοπόν *vocant*. In the proper sense, Suet. Domit. 19 *pueri* . . . *praebentis* . . . *pro scopo dispansam dexterae manus palmam*.

Cogito aliquem: 'keep in view', as e.g. Cic. Fin. 5,2 *Scipionem, Catonem, Laelium* . . . *cogitare*.

28,18 *quom stilus in manus venit*: 'whenever I am at work'. For drafts and notes the *stilus* and the *pugillares* were used; letters were written with the *calamus* on papyrus.

28,19 *hexametros*: if this letter was written during the last days of August, it is unlikely that these hexameters are the *versus* of 20,18, as Jüttner (see at 28,1) and P. von Rohden, RE I 2285,48 (1894), think. The only verse by Marcus we have is a fortuitous one: 30,10. On Fronto's attitude towards poetry see at 49,21.

28,20 *librarius*: private 'secretary' (Haines). He makes copies (76,13M), and Fronto's *librarius* writes his letters when he has an attack of gout (146,11; 187,15).

28,21 *meorum* . . . *mecum misit*: alliteration.

Ἀνίκητος is the name of several liberti; about this one nothing else is known.

28,22 *morbum*: 'mania', see e.g. Cato, Orat. frg. 81 Sblendorio *morbus* . . . *loquendi*.

28,25 *istic*: 'qui' (Portalupi), in Naples, not 'I pore over them' (Haines), nor = 'in ista re' (W. Ehlers, TLL s.v.). See at 1,11.

Noctibus: not *nocte* or *noctu*, because of the repetition. See at 52,7.

Confiteor: Marcus knows that Fronto does not like that: 52,12f.; 230,20–231,8. *Confiteor* in parenthesis several times in Ovid, in Calp. Buc. 4,29; Mart. 3,31,1; Quint. Decl. 309 p. 216,12; Iuv. 6,639. *Fateor* often since Paulus; see Kühner-Stegmann II 162.

Interdiu . . . *consumitur: interdiu* is not used here as a substantive, as G. Ustmul, TLL s.v., and Pepe suppose. *Consumitur* is impersonal like *vivitur*; Marcus uses it instead of *consumimus* with a certain disdain. It is quite untrue that 'Marc-Aurèle appréciait le théâtre' (J.M. André, Le De Otio 254); see at 66,17.

29,1 *vespera*: two MSS had *vespera*: m^2 and Charisius; see at 229,15f. This same ablative 8,6M; 8,14; 31,15M; 52,13M; 80,12M; 105,8M; *post vesperam* 80,22; *in vesperum* and *ad vesperum* 175,22 and 205,17 (marg. i); adverb *vesperi* 106,18 (= 268,11) and 235,9M. *Vespere* as adverb does not occur, but note *de Vespere* 231,22 (m^2 in marg.). See Neue-Wagener I^3 855f.

Dormitans: 'sleepy' (Haines), not 'dormire incipiens' (Bannier, TLL s.v.).

29,2 *excerpta*: though already Cicero made excerpts (Inv. 2,4), it was in

particular the elder Pliny who *adnotabat excerpebatque; nihil enim legit quod non excerperet* (Plin. Epist. 3,5,10); see also Plin. Epist. 6,16,22; 6,20,5. The substantive *excerpta* first in Sen. Epist. 33,3. For the excerpts made by Fronto and Marcus see p. 277 II 2 and at 14,10; 29,2; 42,16; 44,13; 45,12; 51,8; 62,11; 104,1; 104,6–12; 105,4; 105,17. Marcus, Medit. 3,14 τὰς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκλογάς, ἃς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἑαυτῷ ἀπετίθεσο. Haines I p. XXXIII considers it possible that the Exempla elocutionum is a work by Fronto, but hardly anyone will agree with him, see the preface by Adriana della Casa to the edition of Arusianus Messius, Exempla elocutionum, Milano 1977.

In quinque tomis: an average of twenty sheets of *charta* were glued together to a roll of papyrus. This roll was cut down (τόμος) to smaller rolls according to the writer's need. Marcus had his excerpts divided into five subjects and these *tomi* must have been rather small. *Tomus* we find in Mart. 1,66,3; Hieron. Epist. 82,7 speaks of *sex milia . . . Origenis tomos*. See Birt, Kritik und Hermeneutik 274ff.; Roller 353ff.; 378; L. Koepp, Buch I, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum II, 1954, 670f.

29,3 *cum*: m^2 writes *tum cum*, which we also find in Cic. Verr. II 4,22. More usual is *tunc cum*, e.g. Liv. 6,28,9; Ovid. Amor. 3,5,11; Pont. 1,5,85. See Hofmann-Szantyr 619.

Leges, if correct, is an epistolary future which does not occur elsewhere in our letters. Mai held *leges* for a substantive.

Inibi with numerals is colloquial: Bell. Afr. 23,1 *cum navuculis . . . XXX, inibi paucis rostratis*. Without numeral 55,3M and 86,14M. The reading of m^2 appears to be an explanation, see Proleg. XL.

The MS has *Novianae et Atellaniolae*. *Et* is kept by Mai (even though Mai^2 has his doubts); Naber; Droz 73; Eussner; Priebe I 7; Hofer; Otto, TLL s.v. Atellaniola; Marache, Critique 158; Pepe; and in my first edition. Klussmann, Emendationes 21 n. 1, also retains *et* and understands it as *Novianae et aliae Atellanionae*, referring to M. Haupt's edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses, Berolini ^{4}1867 at Met. 2,109; Schenkl agrees with him. *Et* was rightly deleted by Munk 51 and in the editions of Orelli, Brock, Haines, Portalupi and Cortassa, as well as by Teuffel 1,281; Sc. Mariotti, Atellana fabula, Kleine Pauly (1963); and Timpanaro, Contributi 355. There are two reasons for deleting *et*: firstly, we can hardly say *Novianae* for *Novianae fabulae* (*Novianus* is rare and is found only here and in Tertullian); secondly, Novius is, with Pomponius, the author par excellence of Atellanae, see at 57,2. With *Atellaniolae* (the word occurs only here), Marcus may mean the exordia, comic afterpieces, as Pepe suggests. Hertz's conjecture has been adopted by Malcovati, Per una nuova edizione 213; Rossi's conjecture is hardly tenable.

Scipionis: P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus, not Scipio Africanus maior (as Pepe, Le oratiunculae, thinks). See Cic. Off. 3,4; Teuffel 1,235; Schanz I^4 214; Paola Venini, Athenaeum 36, 1958, 166; R. Browning, Class. Rev. 9, 1959, 148; E. Malcovati, Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta 124; R. Marache, Lustrum 10, 1965, 223; Selvatico, Scambio 283.

29,5 *tui*: slightly contemptuous, see at 259,8.

Quom: 'now that', 'as' (Haines).

Horatii; Marcus disliked Horace even more than Fronto did, see at 20,10. Yet several scholars thought that they had found passages in Fronto which had been drawn from Horace: 42,19M *versus (e)tornare* was compared by Schwierczina, Frontoniana 31, with Hor. Ars 441 *male tornatos... versus*; 58,21 *liberis prognatus et equitum censum praetervehare* by Droz 71 with Ars 383f. *liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem summam numorum*; 67,2 *crassa Minerva* by Schwierczina l.l. with Sat. 2,2,3 *crassaque Minerva*, and 86,9f.M *die mihi sollemni natali tuo* with Carm. 4,11,17 by Felicita Portalupi, La presenza 100; 89,15 *naevolos saviatur* with Sat. 1,6,67 by Portalupi o.c. 99; 115,23 *quid me facere oportet* by Hertz, Analecta 4f., with Sat. 1,6,17f. *quid oportet nos facere*; 159,11 *signatus* with Ars 59 by Portalupi l.l.; 195,15f. *ad cetera* by Priebe I 18 with Epist. 1,10,3 *ad cetera paene gemelli*; 210,17 *post decisa negotia* by Mai, Hertz, Renaissance, Schwierczina l.l., Droz o.c., Priebe II 9, Schanz III[3] 100, Haines and Portalupi in her edition and in La presenza 100 with Epist. 1,7,59 *post dicisa negotia*; 217,3 *fanum avium* by Priebe l.l. with Carm. 1,23,2 *montibus aviis*; 217,9 *nebulas nubesque putari deas* by Hertz. o.c. with Carm. 1,2,31 *nube candentes uneros amictus augur Apollo*; 221,3 (marg. c) *si Marso quis patre natus... natrices timeret* by Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 72,5, with Epod. 5,75f. *nec vocata mens tua Marsis redibit vocibus*; 231,5 *parum cavisse videtur* by Heindorf, Mayor, Parum cavisse videtur, and Portalupi with Ars 353 *humana parum cavit natura*; 232,12f. *amnibus et paludibus et stagnis Stygiis* by Priebe l.l. with Carm. 4,8,25 *Stygiis fluctibus*. However, these passages are hardly convincing, and 67,2 and 210,17 are proverbs; 231,5 is a legal expression. When Marcus in a letter to Faustina (Vita Av. Cass. 11,8) quotes Hor. Carm. 1,17,3, we have one more reason to doubt the authenticity of this letter.

Memineris: *memini* with genitive also 88,11 and 113,6; with accusative 49,18. See Kühner I 471; Hofmann-Szantyr 81.

29,6 *Pollione*: though Philibert-Soupé 101 was the first to correct *Polione* here to *Pollione*, scholars since Mai[1] were already generally convinced that the *Polio* here is the same as the *Polio* in Vita Marci 2,3 *usus (Marcus)... grammaticis... Latinis Trosio Apro et Polione et Eutychio*. But *Polione* in the Vita Marci is only a conjecture, based upon this letter; the MSS have *polono*. Servius (Aen. 2,7; 6,554; 11,183) quotes a certain Asinius Pollio who wrote a rather miserable commentary on Vergil. The identitiy of this Asinius Pollio and our Pol(l)io is doubted by Th. Bergk, Anecdotum Parisinum, Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswiss. 3, 1845, 119 (= Kleine philologische Schriften I, Halle 1884, 600); O. Ribbeck, Prolegomena ad Vergilium, Lipsiae 1866, 114f.; and Teuffel 3,80. Others regard the passages in Servius as interpolations (J. André, La vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion, Paris 1949, 82, and Bardon, La littérature II 187), but that does not solve the problem. Apparently Marcus had very unpleasant memories of his lessons from Pollio, who was certainly not 'un commentateur apprécié' (Bardon). So the identity of our Pollio and the one of the Vita Marci (and perhaps the shadowy Asinius Pollio of Servius) is not impossible; it is accepted by Lambertz, Pollio 6, RE XXI 2 (1954), and Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 18. Birley, Marcus Aurelius, London 1966, 41, also accepts this view, but in his Some Teachers of M. Aurelius 30 (see also his Mark Aurel, München 1977, 65 n. 69) he

reads Vita Marci 2,3 *usus praeterea grammatico Graeco Alexandro Cotiaensi* (see at 7,19), *Latinis Trosio Apro Polensi* ('from Pola') *et Tuticio Proculo Siccensi* (that *Polono* in the Vita Marci refers to a place-name was already suggested by Salmasius). Birley further assumes that the Pollio in Marcus' letter is the famous C. Asinius Pollio, which seems very unlikely, even though his opinion is shared by Haines; Portalupi; Cortassa; Selvatico, Scambio 284; and L. Holtrop-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 78. See also Hertz, Analecta 5,2; Peter, Ueber einige Schriftsteller des Namens Pollio 423; Schanz III 174; A. Stein, PIR I^2 Annius 697; and III Pollio 416. I can hardly believe Dietz, Der Pollio, who sees in Pollio here and in the Vita Marci, as in inscriptions, 'eine Berufsbezeichnung. Es bezeichnet einen Sprachlehrer, der die Redeweise seiner Schüler... verfeinert. Im militärischen Bereich könnte man von polliones als von Bildungsoffizieren sprechen'.

Emortuus is not 'dubious' (against Fr. Krohn, TLL s.v.), cp. e.g. Gell. 1,22,19 *si respublica emoriatur et pereat.*

29,7 *Vale mi*: see at 2,13.

Amantissime: though Fr. Vollmer, TLL s.v. amo, thinks that this word has an active meaning (cp. Cic. Cat. 4,3 *fratris carissimi et amantissimi*), it seems here to be passive: 'most beloved' (Haines and Kühner I 10), like *desiderantissiumus*, see at 13,12f. On the other hand, *amantissimus* 167,10 seems to be active: 'a man whose love for me was no less than mine for him' (Haines). Certainly active it is 170,19 *patriae amantissimus.*

Amplissime: see at 25,22.

29,8–9 *duo menses*: see at 31,22.

29,9 *eritne quom: est cum* short for *est tempus cum* since the Rhetor ad Herennium and Livy.

29,10 Chronology: the ancient editor has put the letters II 9–14 together because they deal with anecdotes on the daily life of Marcus and Fronto. These letters seem to be earlier than II 8, which was written towards the end of Fronto's consulate, but we can only date them July–August 143. R. Hanslik, Pompeius 6, Kleine Pauly (1971), erroneously dates this letter 141. In II 10 and 11 the imperial family is staying in Naples, as they may be in the case of this letter. On the form of address see at 1,5 and 65,7. Usually Marcus puts his own name first, but here and 51,1 he puts it after *magistro* as a sign of reverence.

On *amplissimo* see at 25,22.

29,12 *anno abhinc tertio*: Plautus has *abhinc* with the acc. temporis, e.g. Stich. 137. Since Cicero the ablative is used as well. If a number is added, it is a cardinal number, but here Marcus is the first to use an ordinal number; after him Gellius, Apuleius and others, see H. Ploen, Abhinc, Archiv 4, 1887, 111; TLL s.v. abhinc.

Commemini: the compositum instead of the verbum simplex is colloquial.

Vindemia: Pius and Marcus used to take part in the vintage: 34,3; 62,17; 83,5; Vita Pii 11,2 *vindemias privati modo cum amicis agebat.* Marcus, Medit. 1,5 τὸ αὐτουργικόν may refer to the vintage.

Pompei Falconis: his full name was Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco, a man with a brilliant career behind him. As he was born c. 70, he must have

been about seventy years old when Pius visited him in October 141. Perhaps Pius wanted to discuss with him the situation in Britain. See PIR III Roscius 68; Wolf, Pompeius Falco, RE XXI 2 (1952); A.R. Birley, Epigr. Studien 4, 1967, 69, and The Origin and Career of Q. Pompeius Falco; and Mark Aurel 108; R. Hanslik l.l. We do not know where his *ager* was.

Devertere: for the inf. praes. see at 7,19.

29,13 *videre* depends on *commemini*; it is not an inf. hist. (against Pepe).

29,13–14 *multorum ramorum*: see at 32,7.

29,14 *quam... nominabat*: 'for which he used the specific (or typical) nomenclature *catachanna*'. The etymological figure *nomen nominare* also occurs in Plaut. Asin. 780; Trag. inc. inc. 97 Klotz; Ter. Phorm. 739 and CIL I 1007; see G. Landgraf, De figuris etymologicis 20. *Nominare* may have—besides *nomen*—another accusative, cp. Cato, Agr. 139 *te... bonas preces precor*, so it does not seem to be a Graecism like ὄνομα καλεῖν τινα, as assumed by the Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.- Zeitung 1817, 174, and Hofmann-Szantyr 45f. Nor is *suum nomen* a Graecism formed after τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, according to the same Anonymus.

Catachanna is a problem. The word occurs for the first time as the title of a poem by Hadrian; Vita Hadr. 16,2 *catachannas, libros obscurissimos, Antimachum imitando scripsit*, apparently a metaphor. 153,11 Fronto uses the same word again, and there too he is speaking of inocculation, or rather grafting; cp. Plin. Nat. 17,120 *tot modis insitam arborem vidimus iuxta Tiburtes tullios* (*villas* Anon. 1817; *tillias* Mai[3]) *omni genere pomorum onustam, alio ramo nucibus, alio bacis* etc.; Plut. Quaest. conv. 2,6,1 δένδρα παντοδαπῶς πεποικιλμένα τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐνοφθαλισμοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ σχίνων ἐλαίας ἀναβλαστανούσας ἑωρῶμεν καὶ ῥοιὰς ἐκ μυρρίνης· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δρύες ἀπίους ἀγαθὰς ἐκφέρουσαι καὶ πλατάνοι μηλεῶν δεδεγμέναι καὶ συκαῖ μορεῶν ἐμβολάδας ἄλλαι τε μίξεις φυτῶν. For further passages on grafting see the chapter 'De insitione, inocculatione, emplastratione' in the TLL s.v. arbor; Geoponica 10,76,1ff.; Friedländer I[10] 477. 153,11 Fronto shows his aversion to a style with heterogeneous elements: *confusam eam ego eloquentiam catachannae ritu partim pineis nucibus Catonis, partim Senecae mollibus et febriculosis prunuleis insitam subvertendam censeo radicitus*. He did not like such artificial trees (see at 4,15), no more than Plin. Nat. 15,41 *peculiaris impudentia est (prunorum) nucibus insitorum, quae faciem parentis sucumque adoptionis exhibent, appellata ab utroque nucipruna* (the tree meant 153,11). *Suum nomen* indicates that we are dealing with a specific and official horticultural term. According to Plin. Nat. 17,119, *emplastrum* was already known to the *veteres Graeci*, and so *catachanna* may be a Greek word that Marcus seems to have heard then for the first time. The variants in the MSS of the Vita Hadriani and Fronto are of no avail: *catacannas, catacannos, catacaymos, catacrianos, catachansam, catahannae*. Niebuhr thinks that it is a Punic word; he is followed by Mai, who refers to Isid. Etym. 17,7,57 *Latinum canna de lingua Hebraea sumpsit*, and already before them Orioli read in the Vita Hadriani *catacannas* (or *-os*) and derived it from κάννα. Naber, Haines and Pepe also assume that it is Punic; Klussmann, Emendationes 31f., thinks that it is Syrian like *cannabis* and *Cannae*. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 123,2, too, connects it with *canna, cannabis* and *Cannae*

but prudently calls it a 'Fremdwort'. Isaac Vossius was the first to read in the Vita Hadriani *catachenas*, from the Greek καταχήνη, 'mockery', and he refers to Hesych. καταχήνη· καταχάσμησις, καταχέλως. G. Bernhardy, Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswiss. 1, 1834, 1136, preferred the dialectic form *catachanas* (cp. Hesych. χανά χάσμησις and Anecd. Graeca Oxon. II 113,6 Cramer χηνή, ἔνθεν καὶ καταχήνη, τὸ γέλασμα). Since the discovery of the Fronto MS, the derivation from καταχήνη is almost generally accepted: the Anonymus of 1817; Th. Bergk, Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswiss. 2, 1835, 301 (against Osann, De Hadriani imperatoris libris Catacrinnis, ibid., 1834); Naber; R. Unger, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 119, 1879, 493; L. Cantarelli, Gli scritti latini di Adriano, in Studi e documenti di storia e diritto, 1898, 156; Elsperger, TLL s.v.; Persson, Beiträge 62f.; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Gesch. d. griech. Lit. II, München [6]1924, 688,6; Bardon, Les empereurs 414,f.; and Ernout-Meillet, Dict. étym., Paris [4]1959 s.v. On the other hand, Marache, Mots 95,3, has his doubts and Hauler l.l. denies that *catachanna* is the same as καταχήνη. Others see in *catachanna* a sort of contamination: with *ganna* (cp. *gannator, ingannare*) Lobeck, Aglaophamus 974; with κατάχασμα or *afannae*, Walde-Hofmann, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, while Henderson, Cato's Pine Cones 258,4, sees in *catachanna* an adaptation of καταχήνη, influenced by *cachinno* and *afannae*. *Catachena*, 'mockery', could be the *suum nomen*, 'the well-chosen name', of an engrafted tree, meaning 'res risu digna' (Elsperger), 'Lächerlichkeit', 'Gespott' (Walde-Hofmann), 'chose risible', 'parodie' (Ernout-Meillet), 'cosa bizzarra' (Portalupi). The title of Hadrian's work could mean Grotesque Miscellanies (though not of prose and poetry, as Pepe suggests) or Museum of Curiosities. Moreover, we have IG XIV 1097,8 the title of a play called καταχῆναι. Two more remarks: Bergk l.l. alters Etym. Magnum 46,6 Gaisford Ἀντίμαχος Ἰαχίνη to Ἀντίμαχος Καταχήνη, and Gerth, Katachannas, RE X 2 (1919), thinks that Catachannas was a freedman of Hadrian who published Hadrian's autobiography under his name. We have a similar difficulty with the word *chamaetorta* 143,11.

29,15 *nova*: Columella 5,11 says that he discovered it himself, but Plin. Nat. 17,119 criticizes him: *hoc genus non pridem repertum volunt qui novis moribus favent, sed iam et apud veteres Graecos invenitur et apud Catonem* (Agr. 42). However, as *emplastrum* and *emplastrare* in this sense occur first in Columella, he may have described a better technique.

Omnia omnium: polyptoton or traductio.

29,16 *germina*: 'off-shoots' (Haines), cp. Verg. Georg. 2,76 *huc aliena ex arbore germen includunt.*

29,17–18 Chronology: July–August 143, as II 11. The letter was written *proxime* before II 2, cp. 20,6 with 29,19, i.e. before the ides of August, see at 17,16f. II 10 and 11 were written in Naples (31,8), where Pius resided with the imperial family. Jüttner 32f. and W. Stegemann, Polemon, RE XXI 2 (1952), suppose that Marcus and Pius heard (*audivimus* 29,19) Polemo's speech about the nones of August. The form of address has been reconstructed after 30,14f., but see 29,10f. and 65,7.

29,19 The ancient testimonies concerning the sophist Polemo (c. 90–145) are on the whole very favourable, and Marcus is here an exception, probably

under the influence of Fronto, not of Favorinus, as Maria L. Astarita, Note 425, assumes, who refers to Philostr. V.S. p. 10,13ff. Kayser. Marache, Critique 130 (see also Jüttner l.l.), thinks that Marcus missed 'les fleurs du génie oratoire'. However, there are other things to take into consideration: firstly Marcus disliked *placentis illos sibi et provocantis Atticos* (249,11M, see also 106,13 [marg. c]), especially their fictitious ὑποθέσεις (76,1M; 77,10ff.), and secondly, more important, there were two currents in Atticism: some preferred Plato, others Demosthenes. Dionys. Hal. Demosth. 32 phrases this in terms similar to Marcus': καί μοι δοκεί τις οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτεῖν τὴν μὲν Πλάτωνος λέξιν εἴκασας ἀνθηρῷ χωρίῳ καταγωγὰς ἡδείας ἔχοντι καὶ τέρψεις ἐφημέρους, τὴν δὲ Δημοσθένους διάλεκτον εὐκάρπῳ καὶ παμφόρῳ γῇ καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς βίον οὔτε τῶν περιττῶν εἰς τέρψιν σπανιζούσῃ. Cp. Philostr. V.S. 52,25ff. K. ἐπιπρέπει δὲ αὐτῇ (Polemo's style) καὶ τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἡ σεμνολογία οὐχ ὑπτία. In a different metaphor Dionysius of Miletus characterizes Polemo thus (Philostr. V.S. 38,15f.): ἰσχὺν ὁ ἀθλητὴς ἔχει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παλαίστρας. Norden, Kunstprosa I^3 12 n. 2, assumes that Marcus had heard a different speech from the ones we have. According to Mai^2 and Baldwin, Aulus Gellius 105f., Marcus reconsidered his opinion on Polemo a few years later, see Philostr. V.S. 50,19ff. K., but there Philostratus only points out that the counsels of Smyrna were not at all on a level with Polemo. See the work of Jüttner and Norden, Kunstprosa I^3 368; 389; L. Wichert, Antonius Polemo, PIR I^2 (1933); W. Stegemann, Polemon, RE XXI 2 (1952). The fact that Pius was present at Polemo's declamation shows that he bore no hard feelings against the sophist who, in earlier days, had ill-treated him: Philostr. V.S. 44,27ff. K. The differences between them had been settled by Hadrian. It is uncertain, and not very likely, that Herodes Atticus attended Polemo's declamation together with Pius and Marcus (against Kaemmel, Herodes Atticus 16, and Ameling, Herodes Atticus I 59f.), but it does seem that Marcus, after having heard Polemo, asked Herodes' opinion on him: Philostr. V.S. 49,27ff.

29,20 *Quid*: the so-called enallage generis, cp. 48,5 *quidnam . . . tibi videtur . . . Socrates?*

30,1 *agricola*: the orator as an *agricola* is a not uncommon metaphor: Quint. Inst. 8,3,8; 12,10,60; Fronto 106,10f.; 153,11f.; 229,9ff. Cf. 119,5f.

30,2 *occupasse*: 'to use', 'to lay out' (Haines), cp. the expression *pecuniam occu-pare*. It is a perfectum praesens. *Occupare in* also 52,8M; 54,22M; 205,2; *occupare* with ablative 105,22; 187,5; 203,11; 210,21; cp. *versari* with ablative 49,18.

30,3–4 *ficus Pompeiana*: not the 'fig tree of Pompeii' (Haines and Grimal, Marc Aurèle 60) but 'of Pompeius', see Plin. Nat. 15,70 *sunt et auctorum nomina iis, Liviae, Pompei*. Cloatius ap. Macrob. Sat. 3,20,1 mentions the *ficus Pompeana praecox*. Apparently Marcus made the same mistake that Haines has made. *Holus Aricinum*: among the different sorts of cabbage Plin. Nat. 19,140 mentions the *genus Aricinum, altitudine non excelsius, folio numerosius quam tenerius; hoc utilissimum existimatur, quia sub omnibus paene foliis fruticat cauliculis*. However, cabbage beside *ficus, rosa, nemus* and *platanus* seems out of place. The argument, says Haines, requires that it should serve as a pleasure, and Aricia was known for its woods, e.g. for the *ulmus Aricina* (Plin. Nat. 14,12).

Is Marcus thinking of what we call the cabbage rose, the ῥόδον ἑκατοντάφυλλον of Theophr. Hist. plant. 6,6,4?

The *rosa Tarantina* is, as far as I know, not mentioned anywhere else.

30,5 *Platanus umbrosa*, also 249,15M, is often mentioned, especially by poets: Cic. Div. 2,63; Verg. Georg. 4,146; Nux 17; Plin. Nat. 16,131; Mart. 9,61,6; Plin. Epist. 5,6,22 and 32; Anthol. Lat. I 465,3; Claudian. 11,18.

30,6 *quaeque... libeat: magis* is deleted by Orelli, Schwierczina, Novák and Haines, but it seems to be a colloquial contamination of *quaeque laudare oporteat, amare non libeat* and *quaeque magis laudare oporteat quam amare libeat.* On *magis* = *potius* see at 35,1.

30,10 *Nos... aestuamus*: a chance verse as 165,2; there is no reason to compare it with verses by other poets, as does Beltrami, Le tendenze 72f. See at 201,10ff. Moreover, it should be taken literally, not 'on that point I am desperately doubtful' (Haines). *Istic* is 'here', in Naples, see at 1,11. Mart. Cap. 5,517 adduces such fortuitous verses in Cicero, and among others a phalecian hendecasyllabus like here: Verr. 3,43 *sūccēs|sīt tibi | Lūci|ūs Mē|tēllūs.* See Volkmann, Rhetorik 522.

Et: 'besides', 'into the bargain'. Heindorf; Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 309,7 and Il nuovo Frontone 378, and Nuovi contributi 345ff.; and Portalupi read *en*, which is most unlikely in this position.

Ingenuum: 'home-grown' (Haines), 'spontaneo' (Portalupi), not 'improvvisato' (Cortassa). See at 4,9.

30,11 *poetarei*: we have the deponens *poetor* Enn. Sat. 8 Vahlen and *poetasse* Lucif. Cal. De Athan. 2,9. As the following word begins with *i*, we must choose between *poetare* and *poetarei* rather than *poetari* (Heindorf and Haines). I have followed the Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817; E. Baehrens 1872; the Anonymus, Philol. Anzeiger 12, 1882; and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 53. See Proleg. XXXIII. Most scholars since Mai read *poetare*, so recently Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 371, and Nuovi contributi 352. We have the same problem with *modificare* 58,20: here, too, the next word begins with *i*. Cicero and others have *modificare*, 'to measure', 'to poise', but Fronto 110,4 has the deponens 110,4 *fac... modificeris desideriis* ('to moderate', 'to temper'), as Apul. Met. 11,21,3 *desideriis modificari* and Plat. 2,12 *si modificetur in sumptibus*. That it is not a question of meaning is proved by Gell. 1,1,3 *comprehensa autem mensura Herculani pedis... secundum naturalem membrorum omnium inter se competentiam (Plutarchus) modificatus est* ('to measure'). 58,20 I read *modificarei iure* with the Anonymus 1882; Schwierczina l.l.; H. Rubenbauer, TLL s.v.; and Marache, Mots 108, again contrary to most scholars since Mai. Orelli and Haines have here *modificari*. On the other hand, one could defend *poetare* and *modificare* by comparing *remunerare* 36,16M, *tuere* 44,18M and *promerere* 79,10M. See P. Flobert, Les verbes déponents latins, Paris 1975, 304.

Pausan: 236,16 we have *pausam*, see Neue-Wagener I3 87f. The word is found in archaic Latin (from Plautus to Lucretius) and then again in Fronto, Gellius, Apuleius and in some later authors, so it could be an archaism, though *pausam facere* seems to be a colloquialism. Παῦσα (so Heraeus and Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 309,8) does not exist.

Desiderantissime: see at 13,12f.

30,12 *Vero*: when Marcus received the toga virilis in 136, he was called M. Annius Verus (Vita Marci 1,10). Since his adoption by Pius in 138 his full name was M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar. The name Aelius does not occur in our correspondence, and Verus occurs only here: it seems to have a ring of intimacy. See A. Stein, PIR I[2] Annius 697, and at 36,28; 159,12f.; 269,25; 270,1.

30,13 *Vale semper*: see at 61,4.

Mi: see at 2,13.

30,14–15 Chronology: most scholars believe that this letter was written during the last days of August 143: Mommsen; Brakman; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Champlin. Jüttner (see at 29,17f.) dates it earlier: before Caes. II 10. It all depends on *proxime* (30,16): does it refer to the preceding letter? Marcus writes from Naples: 30,17f.; 31,8. On the form of address see at 1,5 and 65,7.

30,16 *postquam . . . postea* is a colloquial abundance; it occurs only here and Cod. Iustin. 2,29,2,1. *Postquam . . . post* Plaut. Trin. 417; 975; 998. See Hofmann-Szantyr 598.

Operae pretium sc. *fuit* or *factum est.*

30,17 *ad aliquem modum*: see at 38,8.

30,18 *tramisimus*: see at 236,19.

Theatrum: Naples had two theatres: Stat. Silv. 3,5,91 *geminam molem nudi* ('unroofed') *tectique theatri.* In both theatres, competitions were held, especially on the Augustalia (Sebasta). Declamations took place in the smaller *theatrum tectum*, no trace of which is left. See Strabo 5,4,7; Sen. Epist. 76,4; Lucian Salt. 32; Gell. 9,15,1f.; Friedländer II 167; M. Napoli, Napoli Greco-Romana, Napoli 1959, 184ff.; J.H. D'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 142ff. On Marcus' attitude towards the theatre see at 66,17.

Odium: the form *odium* (ᾠδεῖον) is more frequent than *odeum.* Obviously it is not 'dislike', as Haines and J.E.G. Zetzel, Class. Philol. 75, 1980, 53, think.

30,19 *Quid dico 'idem'?*: see at 27,15.

30,20 ἐπὶ ἰδίᾳ μούσῃ: 'avec le tour original de sa muse' (Cassan), 'in his own peculiar style' (Haines); cp. Galen. De usu part. 1,9 αὕτη ἡ Σωκράτους μοῦσα.

30,20–21 Again Marcus quotes freely, and therefore the reconstruction of Laberius' verses is difficult. Ribbeck writes *tuús amor | tám cito crescít quam porrus, tám quam palma fírmiter.* Fr. Bücheler (ap. Ribbeck, Com.[2]), Ehrenthal 37 n. 74 and E. Diehl, Poetarum Romanorum veterum reliquiae, Berlin 1935, 159, have *amor tuus tám cito | crescít quam porrus, tám quam palma fírmiter.* See at 15,7f. It is not certain that *crescere tam quam porrus* or *palma* is proverbial: there are no other testimonies for such an expression, but cp. our 'grow like scarlet runners' and 'pousser comme un champignon'.

31,1 *nihil suppetit*: a topos in epistolography, e.g. Cic. Att. 1,12,4 *quid praeterea ad te scribam non habeo* (see Sen. Epist. 118,1–2); Cic. Att. 7,19 *nihil habeo quod ad te scribam*; Plin. Epist. 1,11,1 *nihil est . . . quod scribam*; Fronto 3,19 *ut argumentum aliquod prolixiori epistulae reperiam.* See Cugusi, Evoluzione 75.

31,2 *encomiographos*, 'panegyrists' (Haines), occurs in Latin only here, in Greek IG VII 1773,11 and Artemid. 1,56. Kaemmel, Herodes Atticus 16, erroneously assumes that Polemo and Herodes Atticus are meant here:

Marcus heard Polemo on a different occasion and it was during this period that Herodes became his teacher, see at 13,14 and 17,10–15.

Audimus for *audiimus* is rare and only occurs with certainty CIL III 30 (65 AD) and 61,11M. 29,19 and 63,6 Marcus has *audivimus*. See at 60,10.

Istic: 'here', see at 1,11.

Miros mortales: 'wunderliche Käuze' (Kaemmel l.l.), 'wondrous creatures' (Haines). Note the alliteration. *Mirus* with deprecatory meaning also Cic. Att. 3,18,2 and 12,2,2 *mirus homo*. On *mortales* see at 261,24.

31,4 *mons Caelius*: where Marcus was born (Vita Marci 1,5) and lived until 138, when he moved to Hadrian's house.

Meus shows nostalgia: Vita Marci 5,3 *invitus de maternis hortis recessit*. See at 162,5.

31,5 *Theopompum*: it is remarkable that here Marcus calls the historian and rhetor of the fourth century BC the most eloquent Greek. P. Laqueur, Theopompos, RE V A 2 (1934), supposes that Marcus is alluding to a contemporary rhetor, but we do not know of any rhetor Theopompus of the second century. Or is it a downright error of Marcus or of the copyist? See at 50,16.

31,6 *natum esse* seems to be '*extitisse*' or '*esse*' (so Haines and Pepe), cp. Plaut. Rud. 970 *dominus huic ... nisi ego nemo natus est*. Portalupi[1]: 'fu, per dote naturale, il più eloquente', but in her second edition: 'fu l'uomo più eloquente nato'; Cortassa: 'fu ... l'uomo più eloquente che naque fra i Greci'. However, see at 56,20 and 222,3: *natum* may also be 'mortal man'.

Paene belongs to *perpulerunt*, not to *Opicum animantem* (so von Mess, TLL s.v. animans, Haines, Portalupi and Cortassa). The whole sentence is ironic.

Opicum: see at 21,15.

31,7 *scripturam* = *litteraturam* above, 'le lettere greche' (Della Corte and Pepe), not 'to write in Greek', as Haines and Portalupi have.

Homines: Marcus means the *encomiographi*. This word belongs to the quotation, as Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 128, has noticed rightly: *hómines íncolumi sciéntia*. Ribbeck, Haines and Warmington leave out *homines*. It is not clear whether m[1] or m[2] altered *inscientia* to *scientia*. Naber did not know this variant, so Ribbeck, Warmington and Haines still have *inscientia*; Cortassa and Selvatico, Scambio 265 n. 173, deliberately keep *inscientia*, though Caecilius means by 'men of unimpaired knowledge' those who have knowledge of both Greek and Latin, as opposed to the *Opici*. It is not clear whether in Caecilius it was also meant ironically.

31,8 *caelum* ('climate' [Haines]) *Neapolitanum*: Pius had a villa near Naples, cp. Vita Pii 7,11 *ad agros suos profectus est ad Campaniam*. See the praise of Campania in Plin. Nat. 3,40f. and Friedländer I 398f. Marcus refers here to the climate in the month of August.

Plane: the varia lectio *sane* is tempting, cp. *sane* with adjective 66,14.

Vehementer, 'terribilmente' (Portalupi), is colloquial; see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 76.

31,8–9 *in singulis scripulis horarum*: 'à la minute', a hypallage. A *scripulum* is the 24th part of an *uncia*; of an hour only here.

31,9 Baehrens, Cornelissen and Portalupi[2] have rightly altered *horridius*

to *torridius*: *frigidius*, *tepidius*, *torridius* is a climax and *horridius* fits the cold better than the heat: Verg. Georg. 3,442 *horrida cano bruma gelu*; Mart. 7,36,5 *horridus . . . December*. Earlier editors kept *horridius*, only Haines left the possibility open of *torridius*: 'more tropical'. Pepe translates *horridius* by 'sgradevole', Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 20, by 'boisterous' and Portalupi1 by 'più rigido'. W. Ehlers, TLL s.v. horridus, accepts the conjecture of Baehrens and Cornelissen, though Hauler, in a letter to the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, tried to defend *horridius* by referring to Sen. Dial. 12,7,1 *hominum ingenia ad similitudinem caeli sui horrentia* and to Ammian. 22,8,25, who speaks of the *horror caeli*. But these passages are different and here *horrens* is an indication of the roughness of the climate.

31,9–10 *iamprimum*: 'to begin with' (Haines). In the next line, *iam* is 'further'.

31,10–16 Marcus wants to show off his knowledge of the different parts of day and night as these were used particularly in the country. We find such lists also in Varro, L.L. 6,2,4–7 and ap. Serv. Aen. 2,268, in Serv. auct. Aen. 3,587, Macrob. Sat. 1,3,12–16, Isid. Orig. 5,31 and notably in Censorinus, De die natali 24,1ff., who distinguishes these parts: *media nox, de media nocte, gallicinium, conticinium, ante lucem, diluculum, mane, ad meridiem, meridies, de meridie, suprema or solis occasus, vespera, crepusculum, luminibus accensis or prima face, concubium, intempesta nox* or *ad mediam noctem, media nox*. See Dissen, De partibus noctis et diei ex divisionibus veterum, Kleine lateinische und deutsche Schriften, Göttingen 1839, 130–150; F.K. Ginzel, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie II, Leipzig 1911, 164f.; W. Sontheimer, Tageszeiten, RE IV A 2 (1941), and Kleine Pauly (1974). D.S. Robertson & P. Vallette, Apulée. Les Métamorphoses I, Paris 1940, 51 n. 1 'Les grammariens ont attribué aux termes . . . de la nuit une précision qu'ils n'ont d'ailleurs jamais eue, semble-t-il, dans l'usage courant.

31,10 *Laurentina*: in the imperial age, Laurentum is only mentioned by Strabo 5,229 and 232, and in the late Itineraria. It formed a unity with Lavinium, and Liv. 1,14,1 calls the inhabitants of Lavinium *Laurentes*. In late antiquity, we find the name *Laurolavinium*. Laurentum may be the present-day Torre di Paterno or Capocotto. Among others, Pliny junior and Commodus had a villa there. See Philipp, Lavinium, RE XII 1 (1924); R. Thomsen, The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion, København 1947, 62; G. Radke, Lavinium, Kleine Pauly (1968).

Gallicinium is not found before Petron. 62,3, but it may have been used already by Varro, since the chronologists mentioned above have it. Leumann, TLL s.v., is of a different opinion.

Frigidulum is not poetic (against Priebe I 18 and Marache, Mots 91 n. 9) but colloquial: 'a bit cool'.

31,11 On second thoughts, I now follow the reading of m^1 *Lanuinum*: *Lanuinus* also occurs in Naev. Com. 21 Ribbeck, Cic. Nat. deor. 1,82, CIL X 6681 and, as a variant, Cic. Fam. 9,22,4 and Catull. 39,12.

Conticinnum, 'the hush of night' (Haines), is also found in Plaut. Asin. 685 and Varro, L.L. 7,79. The usual form is *conticinium*, with the variants *conticinum, conticium* and *conticuum*, see TLL. This part of the night comes after

the *gallicinium* in Censorinus, Macrobius and Servius auctus, but Varro apud Servium and Isidorus put it before midnight.

Matutinum also in Isidorus between *gallicinium* and *diluculum.* Censorinus calls it *ante lucem,* Macrobius omits it and Varro apud Servium has between *gallicinium* and *mane* only *lucifer. Diluculum* is omitted by Varro and Servius auctus. Cp. 93,18 *iubes matutina dilucula lucere meridie?*

31,12 *usque ad solis ortum* is called *mane* by Varro, Censorinus and Macrobius. Isidor puts *mane* before *meridies.*

Ad Algidum: *ad* means 'in accordance with', 'like' (Haines), not *apud* with the elision of *ut* (!), as Pepe thinks. His mistake is repeated by Guarino, Divagazioni 370f.: 'come presso l'Algido', which contains another error: not the mons Algidus is meant but the town Algidum, which shared the coolness of the mountain, cp. Hor. Carm. 1,21,6 *gelidus Algidus*; see also Stat. Silv. 4,4,12ff.

Maxime: 'precisely', 'completely', cp. e.g. Varro, R.R. 1,2,3 *maxume secundum naturam*; Cic. Verr. II 3,192 *Henna mediterranea est maxime.*

Exin: in our correspondence only here and 149,19. In MSS *exin* and *exim* are often confused. *Exin* usually before consonants; see TLL s.v. exinde.

Antemeridie is only found in later texts: Cod. Theod. 15,5,2 pr. and Notae Tir. 44,74, and *postmeridie* in Notae Tir. 44,76 and perhaps already in the Lex XII Tab. 1,7 and 1,8. As a variant, we have *postmeridie* Cic. Tusc. 2,9; Mart. 3,20,13 and 4,61,12. In Fronto 61,12 I had to follow the reading of m^2 *post meridiem,* because the reading of m^1 is uncertain: Mai reads *postridie,* Naber *posteridie,* Brakman *postpridie* and Hauler *posttridie.* See TLL s.v. posterus and postridie. 188,2 Fronto has *promeridie,* a form which does not occur elsewhere.

31,13 *meridies* is masculine except here and Ammian. 26,1,9 and in a few late authors. See J.B. Hofmann, Philol. 93, 1938, 270.

31,14 *lautum*: see at 58,6–17. *Lautum* is the lectio difficilior but it presents a small problem: the usual version is that Helios bathes his team of horses (e.g. Verg. Georg. 3,359; Ovid. Met. 15,419; Sil. 17,638f.). That he takes a bath himself we find in Augustin. Gen. ad litt. 1,10 *ut credamus solem mari se immergere atque inde lotum . . . surgere.* Therefore, it seems, Mai; Naber; Birley, Mark Aurel 152; Portalupi[1]; and my first edition prefer m^1's reading *latum.* Haines; Pepe; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 21; Timpanaro, Contributi 378f.; Cortassa; and Portalupi[2] have *lautum.*

Profectus: on the ellipsis of *est* see at 61,12f. *Profectust* with Schopen, also Orelli.

Demum: 'at last' (Haines), not = 'rursus' (Bögel, TLL s.v.).

Modestius for natural phenomena is used here in the sense of 'moderate' (Haines), 'mite' (Portalupi). Before Marcus only Stat. Silv. 2,2,29 *stagna modesta iacent,* and after him only Claud. Don. Aen. 1,45 *modesto fluctu iactatus.*

31,14–15 *quod genus*: 'such as we get at Tibur' (Haines), 'com' è quella' (Portalupi), not 'specie di clima' (Pepe); see at 57,2.

31,15 *Tiburtinum*: Hor. Carm. 1,18,2 *mite solum Tiburis*; Mart. 4,64,32 *gelidum . . . Tibur.* Hadrian had a villa there.

Vespera is not an adjective, as Hofer thinks: *vespera nocte* is not possible

and cannot be compared with expressions such as *vesperum tempus* and *vespera hora*. See at 29,1.

After *vespera*, Censorinus and Serv. Aen. 3,587 have two more parts: *crepusculum* and *prima fax* (*luminibus accensis*). Cp. Apul. Met. 2,25,2 *cum ecce crepusculum et nox provecta et nox altior et dein concubia altiora et iam nox intempesta*; 2,10,6 *prima face*.

Concubia nocte: Varro, Censorinus, Macrobius and Serv. Aen. 3,587 have *concubium* or *concubia*; 'the first sleep of night' (Haines), not 'a notte inoltrate' (Pepe).

Dum may not belong to the quotation.

31,15–16 According to Censorinus, Macrobius and Servius, *intempesta nox*, 'the dead of night' (Haines), comes after the *concubium*, in Isidor after the *conticinium*. Varro, L.L. 6,7 *inter vesperuginem et iubar dicta nox intempesta* . . ., *intempestam* . . . *alii concubium appellarunt*. P. Courcelle, Intempesta nocte, Mélanges Seston, Paris 1974, 127ff., has overlooked the passages of Cato and Marcus. R. Till, Die Sprache Catos, Leipzig 1935, 43f. (followed by Selvatico, Scambio 235; 246 n. 93), supposes that Cato borrowed the phrase *se intempesta nox praecipitat* from Ennius, cp. Verg. Aen. 2,8f. *iam nox umida caelo praecipitat*. For *praecipitat* see at 56,8.

31,16 *M. Porcius*: formerly the quotation was supposed to come from Cato's Carmen de moribus, but that has been rejected by Jordan p. 31.

31,17 *promisi*: 'I started with saying' (Haines) or 'I had in prospect'.

Deliramenta Masuriana: 'follies à la Masurius'. On the face of it, Marcus seems to be the only one who speaks of the famous lawyer Masurius Sabinus without appreciation, but appearances are deceptive: Marcus has given a minute description of the various parts of day and night; now that it's done, he regards it as mere padding (*volo ad te plura scribere, sed nihil suppetit*), even as *deliramenta*, and he compares it with the detailed legal distinctions which Masurius used to make, not because they were *deliramenta* but because they were so detailed. Gell. 14,2,1 is here instructive: *in DIERUM quidem DIFFISSIONIBUS conperendinationibusque et aliis quibusdam legitimis ritibus . . . ex Sabini Masurii . . . commentariis commoniti et adminiculati sumus*. According to Quint. Inst. 12,3,11, Masurius was one of those jurisprudents who *se ad album ac rubricas transtulerunt et formularii vel, ut Cicero* (De orat. 1,236) *ait, legulei quidam esse maluerunt*, and Cicero l.l. speaks of a *cantor formularum*. Dirksen, Beitrag 244–246, does not believe that Marcus could depreciate such a famous lawyer as Masurius Sabinus and he thinks that a poet Sabinus of the gens Masuria is meant here. (There was a poet Sabinus, a contemporary of Ovid, who wrote Dies, a work like Ovid's Fasti, but no one calls him Masurius. See Schanz II 271.) Guarino, Divagazioni Massuriane, seeks a different solution: Marcus means Masurius Sabinus; however, we should not translate *deliramenta* by the pejorative 'deliri' or 'vaneggiamenti', but by 'divagazioni' or 'deviazioni'. Modern translations of *deliramenta Masuriana* are crippled: 'Masurian banalities' (Haines), 'vaneggiamenti Masuriani' (Portalupi[1]), 'divagazioni Masuriane' (Portalupi[2]), 'stravaganze degne di Masurio' (Pepe), 'diesen Masurianischen Unsinn' (Birley, Mark Aurel 153). Like *Novianus* 29,3M, *Masurianus* is a new word. Heraeus' conjecture is based upon Hor.

Sat. 2,3,287 *fecunda in gente Meneni.* On *deliramenta* see at 15,7f. See also at 125,10 and 272,7.

31,19 *me... desidera*: cp. Cic. Fam. 16,1,3 *ita te desideramus ut amemus* (should it not be *amamus*?).

31,20 Chronology: the last days of August 143, see at 27,21; 29,10. On the form of address see at 1,5; it is unusual that the writer does not put his name here; the same 32,15. See Roller, Formular 430 Anm. 242. This letter does not seem to be the answer to Caes. II 6, as Klussmann thinks; see at 27,21.

31,21 *fratrem*: Q. Cornelius Quadratus, see at 238,12.

Isto: see at 11,18.

Romae is locative, not dative, as Priebe I 18 assumes; cp. Plin. Epist. Epist. 1,22,1 *diu iam in urbe haereo.*

31,22 *compedibus aureis*: in the literal sense also Curt. 5,12,20 *aureis compedibus Dareum vinciunt,* and Iust. 5,11,4; 11,15,1; Oros. Hist. 3,17,6. As a metaphorical proverb also Sen. Rem. fort. 16,2 *stulti est compedes suas quamvis aureas amare* (of his wife). The Nachträge zu Otto give only Greek parallels, but Cic. Att. 8,3,5 calls the *fasces laureatas* also *compedes.*

Kal. Sept.: from this passage we know that 31 August was the last day of Fronto's consulate; that it lasted two months we know from 29,8f. and 269,17.

31,23 *superstitiosi*: the Jews. Cic. Flacc. 67 speaks of their *barbara superstitio* and Tac. Hist. 5,4,3 and 5,8,2 of their *crebra ieiunia* and their *superstitio.* See also Fronto's attitude towards the Christians at 259,8. Apart from special occasions, pious Jews fasted every Monday and Tuesday, ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας ἕως ἑσπέρας (Levit. 23,32). Tert. Ieiun. 16,6 *Iudaicum certe ieiunium ubique celebratur* and ibid. *stellae auctoritatem demorantis suspirant.* See also Suet. Aug. 76,2; Mart. 4,4,7; Tert. Nat. 1,13,4; Hieron. Adv. Iov. 2,5; Athen. IV 156 a–b ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ νηστείαν ἄγοντας καὶ περιμένοντας τὸ ἀνατέλλον ἄστρον, οὗ φασι μὴ φανέντος οἱ τὴν χρηστὴν ταύτην φιλοσοφίαν εὑρόντες νόμιμον εἶναι μηδενὸς γεύεσθαι, but these εὑρόντες may be the Pythagoreans. Hor. Sat. 2,3,291 *die quo tu (Iuppiter) indicis ieiunia* may refer to oriental cults in general. Fronto does not mean the adepts of the Eleusinian mysteries of which Ovid. Fast. 4,535f. says *quae (Ceres) quia principio posuit ieiunia noctis, tempus habent mystae sidera visa cibi,* for these *ieiunia* were held only once every five years: Liv. 36,37,4. See J. Heinemann, Antisemitismus, RE Suppl. V (1931); H.J. Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome, Philadelphia 1960, 13f.; 244f.; R. Arbesmann, Fasten und Fastentage, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1967); M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism II, Jerusalem 1980, 37; 176.

Polluant: 'break their fast' (Haines). In this sense, *polluere* is only used by Nigid. 109 (ap. Isid. Orig. 20,2,10) *ieiunia iantaculis levibus polluimus.* Usually we find *ieiunium finire* or *solvere* (hence Schopen's conjecture).

31,23–24 *decus patriae* is also used by Cic. Flacc. 75; Val. Max. 5,8,4; Lucan. 7,597; Stat. Silv. 5,3,124.

32,1 Chronology of this letter and Marcus' answer II 14: the last days of August 143. Fronto says that he will come to Naples immediately after his consulate, and his wife Cratia has already been sent ahead; she will

stay with Marcus' mother Domitia Lucilla. In Caes. V 20 Marcus is going to ask his mother to send Cratia to him. Are these remarks synchronous? 71,16 Fronto has made a stop at Caieta, and Marcus writes him 71,20 to stay there: he and the imperial family will pass by *in biduo*. According to Brakman, this means that Marcus sent Caes. V 20 to Caieta in the first days of September 143. Brakman's thesis is hard to prove but not impossible, which is the opinion of Hanslik, Anordnung, and Portalupi. See at 71,15.

32,2 *Cratiam*: Fronto's wife, see at 113,4.

Matris tuae: Domitia Lucilla; she was born c. 106, see at 21,15 and 82,7. She was a Graecophile, hence probably her friendship with Cratia, who seems to have been from Greek origin.

32,3 *istic*: at Naples.

Autem: see at 40,6f.

32,4 *consulatum eiuravero*: the abdicating consul had to swear an oath on the rostra: Plin. Pan. 65,2 *abiturus consulatu iurasti te nihil contra leges fecisse*. It was an old ceremony (Cic. In Pis. 6–7; Republ. 1,7), but the term *eiurare* was first introduced by Tacitus: absolutely Hist. 3,37,2 and 4,39,2; Ann. 13,14,1; *eiurare magistratum* Ann. 12,4,5; Plin. Epist. 1,23,3; Fronto 32,4 and 32,11; Ammian. 12,4; Macrob. Sat. 2,3,6; *eiurare imperium* Tac. Hist. 3,69,1. The Greek term is ἐξόμνυσθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν (Plut. Marcell. 4,3) or ἀπόμνυσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν (Plut. Cic. 19,2; Herodian. 4,2,4). See Mommsen, Staatsrecht I[3] 625; B. Kübler, Magistratus, RE XIV (1928) and TLL s.v. eiuro.

Vos: the imperial family. It does not seem likely that *ad vos pervolabo* is the *iter* 71,20, as Brakman II 30 supposes.

32,5 *a fame periculum*: *ab* indicates the origin or the cause. *Periculum a fame* also Ter. Haut. 980; cp. Ter. Hec. 736 *a me*; Rhet. Her. 2,25 *ab eo*; Quint. Inst. 9,3,11 *a securi*, etc. Therefore, it is not a quotation from Terence, as Selvatico, Scambio 294, assumes.

Fide mea: 'upon my word of honour'; cp. Plaut. Men. 894 *mea ego id promitto fide*; Plin. Epist. 1,14,10 *ego fide mea spondeo.*

32,6 *particulas*: it was not unusual to send *partes cenae* to friends as a token of friendship: Suet. Cal. 18; Apul. Met. 2,24,5; 10,14,2; 11,20,1; 11,20,3; Vita Carac. 3,6. We should not regard them as 'Überreste der Mahlzeit' (J. van der Vliet, Archiv 10, 1898, 388), certainly not when they were sent as a birthday gift: Apul. Met. 10,13,6 *post opiparas cenas . . . multas numero partes in cellulam suam mei solebant reportare domini*, and one of these *domini* was a *pistor dulciarius qui panes et mellita concinnabat edulia* (10,13,3). So Fronto means 'tit-bits' (Haines), perhaps fancy pastry. See at 228,2.

Clienta: metaphorically the 'protégée' (Haines) of Domitia Lucilla. Cp. Auson. 183,12 *adfectans esse clienta tibi.* It is not an archaism (against Priebe I 15, see at 31,21).

32,7 *causidicorum*: they did not enjoy a good reputation, see 35,5M; 61,22–24M; 168,16. Cic. De orat. 1,202; Sen. Apocol. 12; and Tac. Ann. 11,5,2 call them a *venale genus*, Quint. Inst. 12,1,25 speaks of their *mercenaria vox*, and Ammian. 30,4,13 of a *professio turbulenta* and of *viles latratus.* See also Cic. Parad. 46; Quint. Inst. 12,7,12; Decl. 334; Iuv. 7,149; Suet Iul. 29; Tac. Ann. 11,7,2; 13,5,1; Ulpian. Dig. 50,13,1,13; Apul. Apol. 3,6.

The lex Cincia of 204 BC *qua cavetur antiquitus ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat* (Tac. Ann. 11,5,3) had become obsolete; in spite of the attempts of Augustus (Cass. Dio 54,18,2), modern *causidici* took over the roles of the ancient *advocati* and *patroni*, and these lawyers had to live by their wits. According to Tac. Ann. 11,7,8, the emperor Claudius *capiendis pecuniis posuit modum usque ad dena sestertia.* See also Cic. Sen. 10; De orat. 2,86; Att. 1,20,7; Liv. 34,4,9; Ulp. Dig. 50,13,1,5; Arnob. 2,67; and the interesting letter of Pliny 5,9, as well as the historical development of the legal profession given by Ammian. 30,4. High-ranking men, however, like Fronto's son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus, did not take money when defending a client: 178,12–14. See A.S. Wilkins, M. Tulli Ciceronis De Oratore, Oxford 1892 p. 181 n. 5; H. Furneaux, The Annals of Tacitus II, Oxford 1907, at 12,5,3 and 13,5,1; Friedländer I 183ff.; Klingmüller, Honorarium, RE VIII 2 (1912); Kierdorf, Honorarium, Kleine Pauly (1967).

Multi cibi: this gen. qualitatis also Plaut. Vid. 42 *sit... cibique minimi maxumaque industria*; cp. Men. 100 *escae maxumae*; Cic. Fam. 9,26,4 *non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci*; Suet. Aug. 76 *cibi... minimi erat*; Galba 22 *cibi plurimi traditur*; Donat. Vita Verg. 8 *cibi vinique minimi* (sc. *erat*); cp. Hor. Carm. 1,36,13 *multi Damalis meri*; 85,14M *sum multi somni*; see also 8,19; 13,15M; 30,7M; 95,8; 167,18; 226,3; 228,2; and G. Edwards & Ed. Wölfflin, Von dem sogen. Genetivus und Ablativus qualitatis, Archiv 11, 1900, 207; E. Löfstedt, Syntactica I^2, Lund 1942, 153.

32,8 *vixerit*: see at 1,10f.

Quid me fiet?: 'what will become of me?' The same expression Ter. Andr. 709; 749; Lucil. 749M; Apul. Met. 1,14,3. *Me* is ablative: Plaut. Epid. 151 *quid illa fiet fidicina?*; Cic. Fam. 14,4,3 *quid Tulliola mea fiet?*; Att. 6,1,14 *quid illo fiet?* See Hofmann-Szantyr 121 and TLL s.v. facio 103.

32,8–9 *ne... ullum*: a studied abundance.

32,9–10 *omnes... gaudia*: antimetabole. *Gaudia*: see at 9,15. The plural also 79,11M and 118,7.

32,10–14 On the attitude towards public functions in the imperial age see Norden, Kunstprosa I 240ff.

32,10 *quis*: see at 162,23. Contrary to Hofer, it must be stated that *quis* does not introduce here a dependent question.

32,11 *magistratus*: Klussmann, Emendationes 31, reads with m^2 *magistratum* and regards this as a gen. plur. because Fronto means all sorts of offices. But *magistratus* is here 'magistracy'. See Neue-Wagener I^3 548 and at 90,4 and 185,11. Klussmann sees in *profectum* 20,1 also a gen. plur.

quid quod is a brachylogy for *quid dicam de eo quod*; see Kühner II 277 and 499.

Dum = *dummodo*, as 85,18M; 108,18M; 179,8; 215,28. *Dummodo* only occurs 9,13.

32,11–12 *dies... deos* and *eiurare... iurare*: a double pun. *Plures deos* implies that one used to swear by Iove only.

32,12 *iuraturus sum*: 'I am willing to swear'.

32,13 *iuravero*: see at 1,10f.

Olim: 'long before', as *olim iam* 14,3.

32,15 Chronology: see at 32,1. The form of address without Marcus' name is unusual; Marcus follows Fronto's example in the preceding letter.

32,16 *sane supererat ut super*: an unintentional and clumsy alliteration. *Super* . . . *etiam* is fairly abundant: it occurs quite often in Livy, e.g. 21,46,1 *supra cetera recentibus etiam prodigiis*; Hor. Epist. 2,2,165; Tac. Hist. 2,30,2; Ann. 13,8,4.

Insigniter (= *egregie, praeclare*) *facere* is also found in Plin. Epist. 9,29,1 and Gell. 20,10,4. *Facere aliquid erga aliquem* seems to be colloquial: it is found only in Plaut. Cas. 617 and a few late authors.

32,17 *huc*: Naples.

32,18 Chronology: this letter was written in the last days of August 143 (32,23 ὀλίγαι . . . ἡμέραι) and Cratia may have handed it personally to Domitia Lucilla when visiting her in Naples (32,2). On the form of address see Proleg. LX.

32,21 Κρατείαν: see at 113,4.

Συνεορτάζουσαν: this verb occurs for the first time in Diod. Sic. 4,4; Plato, Alc. 121 c and Inscr. sel. 493,26 Dittenberger we find ἑορτάζειν τὰ γενέθλια.

32,22–23 πρὸς . . . οὖσα: somehow Fronto provides a pun with ἐνποδών. The following ὀλίγαι γὰρ ἡμέραι etc. shows that it must mean 'coming to its end', 'being on its last legs' (see Niebuhr's conjecture), not 'close at hand', as in the plural πρὸς ποσί without article. Mai, De editione Mediolanensi 28, tried to defend the reading γῦρος against Niebuhr, but γῦρος is not the same as *compes*, cp. 31,22.

32,23 λοιπαί . . . περιλείπονται: an abundance for the sake of an etymological figure.

Καὶ μᾶλλον τε: 'and even more', but perhaps we should read γε.

33,1 λειτουργίας: 'public duties'.

Ἔοικα δραμεῖσθαι: 'methinks I shall run' (Haines).

33,2 τὸν στάδιον should not be altered. According to Liddell & Scott, only the plural can be masculine, but we have to do here with the 200 metres, not the stadium. Cp. the Latin *stadius*. For the accusative, cp. δρόμον τρέχειν, *stadium currere* (Cic. Off. 3,42).

33,3 ἐπὶ τῆς ὕσπληγος: 'at the starting-place' (Haines), cp. Ios. Bell. Iud. 3,5,4 ἑστᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐφ' ὕσπληγος ἐξορμᾶν ἕτοιμοι. The ὕσπληξ is a rope or a wooden barrier which was let down at the starting signal, see Reisch, Balbis, RE (1896), Jüttner, Dromos, RE (1905) and Liddell & Scott.

ἀφεῖνται with infinitive: 'they are allowed', not 'despatched on their race' (Haines) or 'si slanciano per correre' (Portalupi).

33,7–12 Fronto may be flattering, but there is no reason to speak of Domitia Lucilla as 'une mère dominatrice, figure autoritaire, ambitieuse, d'un amour jaloux' (R. Dailly & H. van Effenterre, Domitia Lucilla). A better judgement in Leschi, Domitia Lucilla; A. Stein, PIR III^2 p. 60 no. 183; Birley, Mark Aurel 55f.; Champlin, Fronto 108f. Marcus remembered her with great piety (Medit. 1,3; 1,17). See at 82,7.

33,7 φιλάνδρους in the sense of 'loving their husband' occurs for the first time in Paulus, Tit. 2,4. Plut. Praec. coni. 28 combines the word also with σώφρονες. Domitia's husband, Annius Verus, was dead already for a considerable time when this letter was written.

33,8 ἑορτάζειν sc. ἐχρῆν.
Εὐγνώμονας: 'considerate'.
33,9 εὐπροσίτους, 'accessible', 'affable' (Haines), is used of persons since Galen. Anim. pass. 8.
33,11 μέν: 'indeed', as 252,20; 253,2.
πρεπούσας with dative and a personal subject is rare: Plut. Pomp. 72,1.
33,12 ἐπιστήμας ἐπισταμένης: etymological figure.
33,13 ἐπί with genitive, not with accusative, means 'in the matter of', not 'una parte di virtù' (Portalupi). Haines follows Heindorf and Jacobs, who read ἕν τι.
33,16 ἦν combined with πρὸ θύρας. Θύραι with preposition is often used without article.
Λαχών: 'having obtained the office of an introducer'. It is a legal term of Attic institutions, where we find e.g. βουλευτὴς λάχων or βουλεύειν λάχων. Fronto combines these two expressions. Strictly speaking, the εἰσαγωγεύς is also a legal term: he is the Athenian official who had to decide whether or not a case was brought before the court.
33,17 Hom. Il. IX 313 ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ. This verse is also quoted by Plato, Hipp. min. 365 a; Ps. Plut. Vita Hom. II 186; and Polemo ap. Philostr. II 53,8 Kayser.
33,20 Note the use of πεφυκώς with the infinitive εἶναι. Πέφυκα, 'to be formed by nature', also with infinitive 250,21 and 254,4. See at 171,14 and P. Chantraine, Histoire du parfait grec, Paris 1927, 81.
33,20 and 33,22 ὡς = ὥστε, as 265,30. The subject of ἐπιδεικνύειν and κρύπτειν is ὁ γέλως.
33,20–22 τοὺς ὀδόντας ... τὰ χείλη: cp. Plaut. Epid. 429 *me albis dentibus meus derideret filius* ('so that the white of his teeth was shown'): Capt. 486 *saltem si non adriderent, dentes ut restringerent*; Publil. M 33 *malevolus animus abditos dentes habet*; Eurip. Bacch. 621 χείλεσιν διδοὺς ὀδόντας. With τὰ χείλη κρύπτειν Fronto surpasses the Homeric γέλασσεν χείλεσιν (Il. XV 102).
33,21 κακομηχανίας occurs before Fronto only in Lucian. Phal. 1,12, but Homer already has κακομήχανος.
33,23 γυναικεία δή τις: 'true woman that she is' (Haines). Cp. Hesiod. Theog. 590, of the δόλος αἰπυς Pandora, ἐκ τῆς γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων.
33,24–25 τίς and τόκος and κατασκευασαμένης cause problems: Apate is not the daughter of Aphrodite but of the Night (Hesiod. Theog. 224; Cic. Nat. deor. 3,44), hence Jacobs' conjecture ὁ πόσις: Hephaistos creates Apate and Pandora (see Wernicke, Apate, RE I 1894). Jacobs, who with Niebuhr reads τῆς γοῦν, bases his conjecture upon Fab. Aesop. 320. According to Naber, the codex has κατασκευασαμένης, but Mai printed -μενος and he is followed by Niebuhr, Jacobs and Haines. Fronto does not seem to mention Eros here, and in the lost part he may have narrated a fable, perhaps of Apate, see 53,10–21.
Γοῦν: 'of a truth' (Haines), 'dunque' (Portalupi).
Θηλειῶν is kept by Haines: 'traits of womankind', 'molte femminili' (Portalupi).
34,1 Chronology: though the letters Caes. II 16–19 belong to book II

(see Proleg. XLIX), their terms of address show that they are not addressed to Fronto consul, therefore not written in July–August 143 (against Naber and Pepe). Obviously they are early letters: Marcus lives happily with his mother and Antoninus Pius; he is very affectionate towards Fronto and enthusiastic about ancient authors. Haines, Chronology; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Portalupi date the letters after the consulate and Champlin even September 143. Mommsen, who a priori decides on a chronological order, dates them between September 143 and spring 145 (Marcus' marriage). Watson; Lacour-Gayet, Antonin le Pieux 186; Haines in his edition; and Grimal, Marc Aurèle 73, date them 143; Cortassa before 146–147. If *a vineis* 34,3 refers to the vintage, this letter was written in October, probably 143. The mention of *Gratia minor* (34,17) and *Gratia minuscula* (63,2) also seems to point to 143, see at 61,5.

34,2 *et . . . urgebat* seems to be used metaphorically, cp. Sall. Cat. 52,35 *Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget (nos)* and Plaut. Cas. 941 *faucibus teneor*; cp. Cic. Cluent. 84 *cum faucibus premeretur* and Val. Max. 5,3,2 *faucibus oppressam rempublicam. Faucibus* is an abl. respectus or limitationis and cannot be compared with *fauces urgere* in Cels. 7,13,2, as Wulff, TLL s.v. faux, does. The expression is proverbial rather than an adoption from Sall. Cat. 52,35.

Alipta is found only here; the usual form is *aliptes* (ἀλείπτης), 'trainer' or 'masseur'. In his younger years, Marcus *amavit pugillatum, luctamina et cursum* (Vita Marci 4,9). Implausible translations: 'my masseur is calling me with all his lungs' (Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 18f.); 'il mio bagnino, urlando, mi faceva fretta' (Della Corte). Pepe takes *faucibus* to be an instrumental ablative, thinking that Marcus measured his strength with his trainer's.

Sed . . . fabula?: 'Die stereotypen aus dem Gespräch herübergenommenen Frage- und Ausrufformeln atmen den Geist der Umgangssprache' (Hofmann, Umgangssprache 3f.). See also 34,12.

On *inquis* see at 36,15.

34,3 *a vineis*: see at 29,12.

Domum se recepit: in his carriage. Marcus liked riding on horseback: 51,25; 62,5M.

34,4 *profectus . . . provectus*: as this letter contains several colloquial elements, Marcus seems to be unaware of the alliteration, the homoioteleuton and the pun. Wölfflin, Der Reim 368, has found no parallel.

Ibi in via: abundance, see at 60,10.

Sic relates to *ut*, not to *multae*, as Ebert, Synt. 27, thinks.

34,5 *locis solet artis*: with Haines, I have now adopted Fröhner's conjecture, cp. Sall. Epist. Mithr. 15 *multitudinem artis locis pugna prohibuere*, and so often in passages of combat.

34,7 *plusculos*, 'a goodish many', is colloquial, not an archaism (against Priebe I 7 and Hofer). *Plusculum* adverb 63,8M 'a goodish more' (Haines).

Vide tibi: 'marry, keep an eye on those mounted fellows' (Haines). *Tibi* is a dat. ethicus as in *ecce tibi*, *en tibi*, colloquial expressions found in Plautus, Terence, Cicero's letters and Petronius. See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 38; Hofmann-Szantyr 93.

34,8 *rapinationes facere: rapinatio* occurs only here, as do several other

stantives ending in *-tio: equitatio* and *sternutatio* 62,5M, *relevatio* 66,2, *rescriptio* 114,11V, *causidicatio* 189,19. Colloquial Latin has a tendency to use such nouns in a periphrasis with *facere: commemorationem facere* (Cic. Fam. 13,29,2), *salutationem facere* (Bell. Afr. 85,5), *cohortationem facere* (Nepos, Hann. 11,1), *confessionem facere* (Liv. 2,7,7) etc. It appears that, even under Pius, cattle-lifting was not uncommon, cp. also Ulp. Dig. 19,5,20,1 *mulae a grassatoribus... ablatae*, and already Varro, R.R. 2,10,3 *qui... pecus... possint... a bestiis ac praedonibus defendere.* See P. von Rohden, RE II (1896) 2506; Friedländer I 354ff.; and at 167,11.

34,8–9 *calcar... subpingo* is stronger than *subdere calcaria equo* or *concitare equum calcaribus*: 'I dug the spurs into my horse' (Haines). The singular *calcar* is often used instead of the plural; it may have its origin in the language of horsemen and soldiers, cp. the use of *telum, vallum, aries* etc. Before Marcus *suppingere* is found only in Plaut. Bacch. 332 and Trin. 720, though in a different context. It does not seem to be an archaism, as Hofer and Marache, Mots 31, assume, but a term of horsemanship. After Marcus the word is found in Symm. Epist. 1,62 and Mutian. Chrysost. hom. 2,1 p. 213.

Ecum: is it a vulgarism of Marcus himself or is it due to the scribe? *Ecus* appears several times in inscriptions. Cp. Proleg. XXXV *obsecuntur* 110,17 and add *oblicum* 48,8, *aecum* 55,24M, *anticum* 60,6M.

34,9–10 *aliae alibi*: traductio.

34,10 *palantes balantesque*: a pun with rhyme, cp. Plaut. Bacch. 1136f. *non vides, ut palantes... grassentur?... ne balant quidem* and Fronto 236,13 *neque mensum neque pensum.* See Wölfflin, Der Reim 360; Pohlheim, Reimprosa 205.

Furcam: 'crook' (Haines).

Intorquet is quasi-poetical: *hastam, telum intorquere* is particularly found in poets: Vergil, Ovid, Silius, Statius.

34,14 *honestissime*: 'most noble', rather than 'most honoured' (Haines) and 'il più honesto' (Portalupi). 176,8 is different.

34,15 *rarissime*, 'most unique' (Haines), also 34,23M.

34,16 Chronology: see at 34,1.

34,17 Fronto's wife apparently visited with her little daughter Domitia Lucilla (in Naples? in Lorium?), and that charming little girl did what her mother used to do: she helped solve problems in the imperial family (*nostram*). On Cratia maior see at 113,4; on Cratia minor see at 61,5.

Fecit is often synonymous with *effecit.*

34,18 *iam*: 'even', not 'at once' (Haines) or 'ormai' (Portalupi). For *vel... vel iam* see Plaut. Truc. 678; Augustin. Civ. 3,30 p. 142,46 Dombart.

34,18–19 *de*: 'riguardo al' (Portalupi), not 'on behalf of' (Haines). For *gratias agere de*, cp. Cic. Att. 9,11a,3 *tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, cum* etc.; Brut. Cic. Brut. 1,16,1; Cic. Sest. 146; Liv. 28,35,8.

34,20 *me dedicavi: se dedicare* is used since Sen. Dial. 11,7,2 and Epist. 53,8. *Se despondere* is found only in Apul. Met. 3,12,2. *Se delegare* only here. Note the alliteration.

34,20–21 *atque*: Cato's frequent use of *atque* in his speeches also struck Charis. Gramm. p. 297, 11ff.B. Gell 10,29,2 *atque articula... si gemina fiat, auget incenditque rem de qua agitur.* See H.C. Elmer, Que, et, atque in the

Inscriptions of the Republic, in Terence and in Cato, Amer. Journ. of Philol. 8, 1887, 292ff.; Maria T. Sblendorio, Note, and her M. Porci Catonis orationum fragmenta 136f. On *atque* in Fronto see Schwierczina, Frontoniana 12ff.; J.F. Westermann, Woordkunst 112ff., and at 43,11 and 134,3.

34,21 There is no reason to doubt the reading *etiam* with W.H. Friedrich, TLL s.v.

34,21–22 *ex ipso furore*: 'from my very enthusiasm' (Haines), not 'proprio dal suo ardore' (Portalupi). All conjectures are false: Mai is followed by Berger, L'éducation 587; Hertz, Vindiciae 23 n. 53; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 11; and Warren, On a Literary Judgement XLIIf. Novák's conjecture (1886) was adopted by Vretska. Della Corte's *ex ipso furari* is without any foundation. *Ex furore* is an expression like *ex dementia, ex amore, ex fiducia*, and the ellipsis of a verb is not uncommon in epistolary Latin, see TLL s.v. ex 1126,76ff.

34,22 *si certe*, 'if in any case', 'if only', is later Latin; before Marcus it only occurs in Quint. Decl. 286 p. 151,20; later e.g. Hieron. Epist. 54,15.

Venis: present instead of future is colloquial, see at 54,18.

35,1 *senatus huius*: 'the next session of the senate'. See at 92,16. For *hic* indicating the future see TLL s.v. 2721,30ff. The *legitimi senatus* were on the kalendae and the idus, but in September and October the senate had *feriae*.

Magis = *potius*, as 2,2M; 30,6M; 35,1M; 36,24M; 205,17 (marg. g).

Hic may be Lorium, *illuc* is Rome.

Volt: our codex always has *volt*, never *vult*. See Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

35,3 *semper vale*: see at 61,4.

Mi: see at 2,13.

Animus meus: see at 42,20.

Tuosque: the masculine is also used when female persons are meant; *liberos* 235,13 are daughters. Here Cratia maior and Cratia minor and, perhaps, Fronto's younger brother Q. Cornelius Quadratus, see at 238,12. See Kühner I 61.

35,4 Chronology: see at 34,1. The ancient editor put this letter after II 17 because both letters deal with Cato, and because of Fronto's visit to Marcus' villa and the prospect of seeing each other again. 34,22 we have *perendinus dies* and 35,6 *istam noctem quae sequitur*: therefore Hanslik, Anordnung, and Cortassa believe that II 18 was written the day after II 17. But we must be careful: in II 17 Fronto is reading Sallust, in II 18 Cato. Naber dates II 18 to 143, P. von Rohden, RE I (1894) 2285,39, c. 143, Haines and Hanslik after August 143, Mommsen between 1 September 143 and 145, Champlin cannot decide: 139–161.

35,5–6 *causidicos audio*: Marcus as a *iudex*, see at 231,2–5. The *causidici* (see at 32,7) are, of course, 'lawyers' (Haines), not 'declamatores', as Mai thinks, or 'improvisatori' (Pepe). Probably Marcus acts here as an assessor (see at 67,16) or as Pius' substitute, not as an independent judge (against Schwendermann 197f.). In this way, emperors used to prepare their successors for their tasks; see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II^3 988ff., and at 67,17. The sessions of the imperial court were often held in a villa outside Rome: Suet. Aug. 72,3; Sen. Apocol. 7,4; Cass. Dio 69,7,1; so here perhaps in Lorium. Sessions began at 8 a.m. (Mart. 4,8,2) and ended after 4 p.m., see at 231,4.

35,6 *equidem*, especially in combination with *velle*, is *ego quidem*; so 73,8.

35,7 *tanti est* etc.: 'so important it is to burn less night oil that' (final *ut*). When Marcus is asleep, the night is shorter. *Minus* cannot belong to *tanti est* (against Pepe). The *lucubratio* took place from 2 or 3 a.m. until sunrise, except during the summer months. As Marcus was in court until 4 p.m., this letter was written either before or after the cena. See at 52,7. For *tanti est* see at 50,17f.

35,8–9 *spiritum vix habeo*: 'I can scarcely breathe' (Haines), see at 63,15.

35,10 Chronology: see at 34,1. Mommsen dates this letter between 1 September 143 and 145; others 143 after 1 September. There is no proof that the letter has anything to do with the three preceding ones: Fronto visits Marcus daily in Lorium, twelve miles from Rome, but the situations in II 7 and 8 are different; therefore Champlin dates the letter 139–161.

On the form of address see at 1,5.

35,11 *Proficio ista* seems to be certain, though Naber, Haines and Cortassa adopt Mai's conjecture; on *sta* for *ista* see Proleg. XXXIV. *Proficio*, 'faccio progressi' (Portalupi), does not refer to some illness but to the fact that Marcus succeeded in relieving Fronto's efforts; Della Corte: 'ho fatto un bel guadagno'.

Negotium peperisti: 'mi hai procurato un gran da fare' (Portalupi) or 'tu mi hai posto in grande imbarazzo' (Della Corte), not 'you have done me a great service' (Haines).

35,12 *cottidie . . . expectatio*: adverbs combined with verbal nouns, as e.g. Cic. Pis. 21 *discessu tum meo* and Tac. Hist. 5,14,1 *prosperarum illic rerum*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 171. *Cottidie* refers to the daily salutatio of Pius, see at 3,25f.

Lorium ventio: the accusative of direction with verbal nouns is very common, e.g. Caes. Civ. 1,53,2 *magni domum concursus*; Cic. Phil. 2,108 *reditus Romam*. So there is no reason to see here a quotation from Plaut. Truc. 622 *quid tibi huc ventio est?* (against Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1; Priebe II 2 n. 11; Hofer; G. Landgraf, Der Accusativ der Richtung. Archiv 10, 1898, 402; Marache, Mots 37). See Hofmann-Szantyr 34. In Lorium, Pius had a large villa built (Vita Pii 1,8; 12,6; Marcus, Medit. 1,16; CIG II 3176). If Fronto could visit Lorium daily, he must have had a villa nearby, see at 5,21; 51,20.

In (= *usque ad*) *serum expectatio*: nouns with *in* and accusative are exceptional; this one is not found elsewhere. Cp. Hor. Epist. 1,17,6 *primam somnus in horam*.

35,18 Chronology: Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 38 n. 1, thinks that this is the oldest letter of our collection, and Naber assigns it to the last months of 139. Mommsen thinks that the letters were edited in chronological order and therefore dates it between September 143 and 145 (Marcus' wedding). Brakman dates it before 146. Haines, Chronology, points to 35,20 *quom in senatu vel in contione populi dicendum fuit*, dating it 140–142, in his edition 140–143 or rather later. Hanslik, Anordnung, dates it before Caes. III 9, where Marcus' *Caesaris oratio* is mentioned (see at 42,18); he states that Marcus became a member of the senate in 139, when he was adopted by Pius and designated as quaestor (this should be 138). Because of 35,20, he

dates it 140–143, or rather 141–142. According to Champlin, Chronology, our letter is not datable: 139–161 (in his Fronto 132 he dates it 139). It is an early letter, for Marcus is still engaged in eloquence and has spoken several times in the senate; therefore, I date the letter 140–145. See also at 44,17.

35,19 The best supplement seems to be *oratio* (or *elocutio*) *nisi exornatione verborum honestatur*, cp. Rhet. Her. 2,28 *exornatio est qua utimur rei honestandae et conlocupletandae causa*; Cic. Inv. 2,112 *(beneficia) vera an falsa quadam exornatione honestentur.* See at 56,15.

Inpudens atque inpudica: see at 21,2.

Denique: according to Gudeman, TLL s.v., Fronto is the first to use it in the sense of 'for instance'; see at 10,6.

35,20 *contione*: see at 138,5. In such speeches *auribus serviendum* (18,4) and in the senate there is no place for a *verbum insolens aut intempestivum* (132,7f.). See also 58,4ff.; 90,5ff.; 159,1ff. Fronto attaches great value to a Caesar's correct language and style (see at 122,11), and there is still an echo of Fronto's teaching in Marcus, Medit. 8,30 λαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν κοσμίως, μὴ περιτράνως (Cortassa: 'senza ricercatezza').

35,21 *verbo remotiore*: 'far-fetched' (Haines), 'obscure', rather than 'un po'insolito' (Portalupi). There is a subtle though clear difference between *remotiora verba* and *insperata atque inopinata verba* (57,16), popular language and archaisms, a difference not yet existent in Quint. Inst. 8 praef. 31 *cum optima sunt reperta, quaerunt aliquid quod sit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum* and 8,2,12 *obscuritas fit verbis iam ab usu remotis.* See also 4,2,36 and 10,1,31. Pennacini, La funzione 104, erroneously identifies *verba remortiora* with *verba prisca* and *verba nova.* See at 57,16.

Figura: sc. *sententiae*, σχῆμα διανοίας, 'wording', 'phrase'; see Quint. Inst. 9,2 and at 177,22.

Ut qui always with subjunctive: 57,12; 119,14; 151,6; 185,20; 189,13; 213,11; 214,12. See Kühner II 293f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 560. *Utpote qui* is not found. On *quippe qui* see at 111,17.

35,22 *Caesaris*: appellativum.

Tubae: metaphor for the *genus sublime, grandiloquum.* 49,20 *praeter Catonem et Gracchum nemo tubam inflat*; 148,11 *ubi Catonis et Sallustii et Tulli tuba exaudita est*; cp. Cic. Leg. 1,6 *paulo inflavit vehementius*; Hieron. Adv. Pelag. 1,33 *apostolum evangelica clangentem tuba*; Epist. 146,1 *clangat tuba evangelica*; Mart. Cap. 5,566 *rhetorum . . . tuba*; Prud. C. Symm. 2,68 *magnisque tubam concentibus inflat*; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 4,3,10 *tuam tubam . . . orbis iure venerabitur.* Cp. Fronto 141,14 *murmurare potius et friguttire quam clangere.* See at 159,14 and Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 39 and 52.

Similem here seems to have a dative, as 91,16; 114,9V; 157,13; 212,2 (marg. a); 217,9. With pronouns, *simile* has the genitive: 84,2M; 178,11; 236,6, and also with *veri* 237,25. *Similis atque* 18,5; *similis qui* 46,26.

36,1–39,20 Chronology of Caes. III 2–6: apparently Fronto did not know that Marcus would stand up for Herodes Atticus. He would have known if Herodes had been Marcus' teacher (Testim. 47 p. 271) at the time these letters were written. When Marcus became Herodes' pupil is

not known, but at 13,14 and 17,10–15 I have suggested that it was late 143 or early 144 (not 140–145, as Grimal, Marc Aurèle 67). This teachership seems to have been no great matter. As the letters Ad M. Caesarem are not in chronological order there is no reason to date book III after Fronto's consulate (Mommsen: 143–144). In fact, all datable letters of this book are of 139 or of the first half of the 140s. Since Bowersock, Greek Sophists 92ff., and Champlin, Chronology 142, have dated these letters to the (late) 150s, all data which—as I see it—prove that the letters are of an early date must be re-examined. Most important is 37,9–11 *(Heroden) tu dignum tutela tua iudicas, quod si umquam scissem, tum me di omnes male adflixint, si ego verbo laedere ausus fuissem quemquam amicum tibi.* There are only two possibilities to avoid the consequences of such a statement: Fronto was either a fool or a liar. Bowersock opts for the first: 'It is easy to overestimate just how much the fastidious Fronto knew about the personal affairs of the boy he tutored.' This would mean that Fronto had not learned from the fact that Herodes was appointed consul in 143 and that he was offered a second consulate by Pius (Philostr. V.S. p. 64,11 K.). It would also mean that Fronto, whose wife was an intimate friend of Marcus' mother, did not know what everyone in senatorial circles could ascertain. Champlin (see also Maria Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 454) opts for the liar: 'Fronto must have known of Marcus' relationship with Herodes . . . what surprises him is that Marcus will *actively* intervene for Herodes.' The simple truth is that Fronto, of whom Marcus states that he learned from him to tell the truth (44,24), did not know that Marcus was going to intervene on behalf of Herodes, because Herodes had not yet, or only recently, come to Rome. What he did know was that, in the early 130s, there had been a quarrel between Pius and Herodes on the Mount Ida (Philostr. V.S. 63,7ff. K.). Besides, there are further indications for an early date of these letters: 36,12 *puerulus*: it certainly is ironic (so Champlin), but it can hardly be said of a man of 35–40 years old. 39,14–19: Fronto's case was based on two major facts: Herodes had ignored the wishes his father had laid down in his will, and he had brought criminal actions against the Athenians when executing that will. This can only refer to the initial phase of the long-lasting disagreement between Herodes and the Athenians, as reported by Philostr. V.S. p. 58,3–26 K. As Herodes senior died in 137 or 138, these events must have taken place in 138–139, prior to the actions the Quinctilii and Demostratus brought against Herodes (see Philostr. V.S. 67,12f.; 67,16; 67,19; this last passage must be combined with 63,11 K). The Athenian Demostratus has nothing to do with the Demostratus in Fronto 102,11; see at 113,8–14, and the reference to Marcianus 38,10 is not proof of a late date, see at 38,10. Herodes came to Rome to marry Regilla and, probably, to discuss the problems he had in Athens. He arrived in 139 (Fülles 15; Watson; Graindor, Un milliardaire 67) or in 140 (Kaemmel, Herodes; Münscher, Herodes) or perhaps in 140–141 (Ameling I 78ff.). If Fronto did not know that Marcus was going to intervene in favour of Herodes, Herodes' trial and the letters Caes. III 2–6 must be dated before 143, when Herodes was appointed consul: he could not have been elected with such charges hanging over his

head; since his consulate, everyone knew that he stood in the emperor's favour. Therefore Mommsen's arbitrary dating of 143–144 is unlikely (he is followed by Brzoska; Schultess, Herodes 12; Münscher l.l.; Schanz III[3] 96; Graindor l.l. 77). Mommsen's dating implies that Caes. I 6 (see 13,15) and II 1 were written before III 2–6, and so Münscher comes to the conclusion that at first (13,15) Fronto and Herodes were friends, but that the trial disrupted their friendship. We know from Philostratus that the negotiations in Athens between Herodes and the Athenians lasted for a considerable time; therefore the letters should be dated 140–142, for the legal proceedings were still in an early stage: 38,6–8. Naber and Watson date them 139, but that is too early because *saepe* 36,2 implies that Fronto's tutorship was already going on for some time. Stanton, Marcus Aurelius 387, dates them 139–143; Ameling o.c. c. 140; Groag, Herodes; Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes 26ff.; and Portalupi: all date them 140–141. Haines; Stein, Claudius 802; M. Griffin, Journ. of Roman Stud. 61, 1971, 280; and Birley, Mark Aurel 139f., date them between 140 and July 143; Brakman c. 141; Brock 332f. 141–142; Marache, Critique 119 n. 2, before 1 July 143; Frassinetti, L'orazione 239, 142; A. Stein, Marcianus, RE IV 2 (1930) and Capreolus 416, PIR II[2] (1936), c. 143, which is too late. Cortassa was not convinced by Bowersock's rather superficial remark, dating them 139–161. The thesis of Bowersock and Champlin that Herodes is the prosecuting party and that Fronto defends the Athenian Demostratus is untenable: 36,9 *si te ab accusatione eius abducant*; 37,19 *crimina quibus causa nititur*; see also at 38,15. Herodes is the defendant and Fronto takes action on behalf of the Athenians. Fülles; Watson; Brock; Frassinetti; H. Gärtner, Herodes 16, Kleine Pauly (1967); Birley, Mark Aurel 139; Ameling; and—against Bowersock—Stanton o.c. and Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 2, Berlin/New York 1975, 482 n. 10; Steinmetz o.c. 173; and Grimal, Marc-Aurèle 67, have rightly seen this (though Grimal's dating to 140–145 is wrong). Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric 597, shares Bowersock's view. See also Pflaum, La valeur 208. Portalupi erroneously sees in Demostratus the prosecuting party, see at 113,8–14.

We have no information about the issue of the trial; it is generally accepted that Herodes was acquitted: otherwise he could not have been appointed consul shortly after the trial. This means, however, that Fronto lost his case or at least reached a settlement with Herodes which hardly tallied with his original intentions. Fronto's consulate was a salve for his wounded feelings. A man like Fronto who began his career as *tresvir capitalis* and who filled no prefecture could hardly hope for a consulate, see at 3,23; 259,5; 269,16. Pius attempted to reconcile both men by giving them a consulate in the same year, which was in fact a greater honour for the homo novus than for Herodes, who was the son of a consul, see Birley, Mark Aurel 146f. Champlin, Fronto 64, who dates the trial to the 150s, supposes that Fronto won the case; otherwise he would not have published his speech (113,14), but that is a weak argument, cp. e.g. Cicero's speech pro Milone. The trial came up in the court of justice, nominally presided by the emperor (who will not have been present in this case, see at 10,16); not in the

ate, as Champlin thinks, see 36,4f.; 38,7ff. Summa summarum: in 140–142 Fronto brought an action against Herodes on behalf of the Athenians, but did not win the suit. The enmity between the two men lasted for a considerable time. In 143 Marcus tried to reconcile them and asked Fronto (13,15) to write a letter of condolence to Herodes, which Fronto did, though reluctantly (Caes. II 1). About 144 a kind of friendship sprang up between the two rivals (55,15f.), which means that Fronto had no part in the actions Demostratus brought against Herodes in the 150s or later. In 165 they were good friends: 113,14. No further testimonies of Fronto's speech have come down to us; Testim. 51 has nothing to do with it, in spite of Westermann, Geschichte der Beredtsamkeit II 311. Pepe, Catone Maggiore e la scuola di Frontone, assumes that Fronto was inspired by Cato's speech contra Thermum. The form of address with *Frontoni suo* indicates that Marcus has Fronto's welfare at heart, see at 1,5.

36,2ff. It is remarkable, and not unintentional, that Marcus does not call Herodes by name.

36,2–3 *quid . . . mihi*: cp. Cic. Fam. 6,9,2 *hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes*; it is an epistolary phrase: Cic. Fam. 11,16,3; Quint. fr. 1,2,14; Att. 2,1,12; 5,14,3; 7,17,3; cp. Fam. 3,6,3; Att. 2,9,1; 9,9,1. On *maxime gratum* see at 108,4.

36,5 *benigne audituri . . . maligne spectaturi*: homoioteleuton.

Indignationem is almost a rhetorical term (δείνωσις), found especially in the peroratio (see Cic. Inv. 1,98; 1,100) or in general, e.g. Cic. Inv. 2,77 *facti . . . turpitudinem cum indignatione proferre*; Quint. Inst. 4,3,15.

Maligne: 'with a malicious pleasure', not 'turn a grudging eye upon your angry animosity' (Haines).

36,7 *minus amici*: Fronto had ennemies among his fellow senators, see at 180,9.

inspectare: 'see' (Haines), cp. Plaut. Mil. 174 *inspectavit . . . Philocasium atque hospitem osculantis*.

Inconstantius: 'inconsistently' (Haines), 'acting without constant pressure upon the opponent'; cp. Rhet. Her. 2,8 *accusator dicet . . . adversarium . . . titubasse, inconstanter locutum esse*; together with *titubare* also 4,53 and Cic. Part. 114. See also Cic. Acad. 2,53; Fin. 2,88; 5,79; Part. 51.

Agentem: see at 82,14.

36,9 *propria tua*: 'as you are entitled to do' (Haines).

36,11 *dictionem*: 'phrasing', 'wording'; see at 70,5.

Non sustinent: 'they cannot bring themselves to deprive you'. Negative *sustineo* with active infinitive is used since Ovid and Livy.

Adeo: 'so'. In late Latin *adeo* sometimes has the same meaning as *ideo* or *propterea*: Hofmann-Szantyr 220. The first example presented by the TLL is taken from Tertullian.

36,13 *non* belongs to *propterea* (and refers to *sive . . . sive*), not to *pedetemptius* (so Haines). *Pedetemptius*: 'with some reservation'; the comparative is found only here.

36,14 *quid dixi 'consulam'?*: see at 27,15.

A te with emphasis.

36,15 *et*: on first thoughts, *set* (m^2, Lucian Müller and Haines) seems

to be better, but *et* can also introduce an objection and have adversative meaning, see TLL s.v. and Proleg. XL.

Dices introduces an occupatio since Ter. Haut. 72. In Fronto 5,18; 65,13 *dicas licet*; 157,6 *dicas fortasse*; 176,6 *quod tu dicas*; cp. 44,21M and 150,21 *dicet aliquis*. Marcus also uses *inquis*: 6,5; 34,2; 85,13; 234,8; *inquies* only 107,15V. Cp. *quod tu . . . putes* 49,2. See at 63,15; 63,18f.; 139,13; and Hofmann, Umgangssprache 3.

Quid si: see at 9,8.

36,16 *fuero*: see at 11,24.

Non: see at 42,20.

36,17 *quaeris*: see at 54,18.

Responderis: see at 1,10f.

36,18 *utcumque* belongs to *respondenti*, cp. Plaut. Poen. 144 *mihi amanti ignoscito*.

Ut: not *ne*, because *non* only refers to *inciperet*.

36,19–20 *utrumque . . . quemque*: *quemque* is abundant but brought about by *pro suis*. See at 231,9f.

36,20–21 *in . . . Calvisii domo*: *in domo* instead of *domi* is often used when a genitive is added. In 108 Herodes senior was appointed consul and took his son, who was about six years old, with him to Rome. After his departure he left him there with P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso, Marcus' grandfather on the mother's side, probably to learn Latin. Like his daughter, Calvisius was a philhellene. If Herodes junior was already Marcus' teacher, Marcus would certainly have brought it up here, see at 36,1–39,20. On Calvisius see E. Groag, Calvisius 357, PIR II[2] (1936); R. Hanslik, Calvisius 6, Kleine Pauly (1964); and Ameling, Herodes I 37. See also at 254,13. Marcus' mother, Domitia Lucilla, may have used her influence on Marcus in order to keep the conflict between Fronto and Herodes within bounds.

36,21 *eruditum*[1] should not be altered: it may refer to the Latin education of the young Herodes. Besides, we also have twice *conprobare* in lines 23f.

Apud te: cp. *apud magistrum* 7,19.

36,24–25 'I would rather fail in judgment by writing than fail in friendship by keeping silence' (Haines). For *scripsero* and *tacuero* see at 1,10f. On *magis* see at 35,1.

36,26 Chronology: see at 36,1.

36,28 *parente*: Fronto realizes that Pius has been prompting Marcus to write this letter.

On the epanaphora of *quid* see at 97,4.

Verius: Haines; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 48; and Birley, Mark Aurel 141, think that Fronto here puns on Marcus' original name Annius Verus (30,12) and on the nickname Verissimus which Hadrian gave him (Cass. Dio 69,21,2; Vita Marci 1,10 and 4,1). Cp. also Vita Av. Cass. 9,7 *Verus mihi de Avidio verum scripserat* and E. Hohl, Über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Historia Augusta, Sitz. Ber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Kl. für Gesch. 1953, 37; Baldwin, The Vita Avidii Cassii 107. See at 37,6 and 112,21.

36,29 *aufer*: cp. Ter. Phorm. 223 *aufer mihi 'oportet'*.

Puerulum . . . consultorem: Fronto puts Marcus' words (36,11f.) in chiastic form.

37,1 *periculum est plane*: irony.

37,2 *mihi crede* is colloquial; it is often found in letters: 89,16; Cic. Fam. 10,6,2; 11,20,2; 11,26; 12,12,4; Att. 8,15 A 1; Sen. Epist. 20,9; Plin. Epist. 7,31,7. See Cugusi, Evoluzione 80.

37,3 *exsuperare* is high-flown.

Denique: 'therefore'; see at 10,6.

Consilium canum is poetical; note the alliteration.

37,4–5 *aequis et iniquis* has almost degenerated into 'Tom, Dick and Harry': Cic. Fam. 3,6,6 *ut . . . aequi et iniqui intellegant*; Sall. Rep. 2,8,6 *omnes aequi atque iniqui memorant*; Liv. 5,45,1 *aequis iniquisque persuasum erat*; 22,26,5 *omnes . . . aequi et iniqui . . . acceperunt*; Plin. Epist. 9,1,3 *si notum aequis iniquisque fuerit.*

37,5–7 *sive sit . . . sive . . . est*: the change of mood is striking. Fronto has *sive . . . sive* with potential subjunctive 9,13; 11,29; 19,13f.; 231,4. The distinction here is clear: 'possibly' against 'really', cp. Prop. 2,1,51ff. *seu . . . sunt . . . seu pereundum est . . . sive . . . urat.* With indicative only Marcus 36,11. An irrealis we find 91,18f. *vidi te . . . sive me ad dexteram sive ad sinistram convertissem. Si . . . sive* occurs only once and is regarded as archaic: 111,21f. *si . . . amasti sive amaturus umquam es.* Also archaic is *si . . . si* 238,7 *si noctis, si lucis id tempus erit.* A special case is 105,23ff. *quodsive . . . delectaris* and then, after a long interval, *sive ita censes.* See Kühner II 434ff.; Hofmann-Szantyr 670ff.; and at 40,13f. and 238,7.

37,5 *frugi et pudicus*: 'honest and moral', cp. Hor. Sat. 2,5,77 of Penelope: *tam frugi tamque pudica.*

37,6 *protelarei*, 'to chase away' 'to drive off', is an archaic military term (Turpil. Com. 91 Ribbeck; Sisenna, frg. 27 and 69 Peter). Metaphorically it means 'to drive to the wall', 'assail' (Haines): Ter. Phorm. 213 *ne te iratus suis saevidicis dictis protelet* and Plaut. Merc. arg. II 12 *protelat virum.* Here, too, it has this meaning, but it is not poetical, as Priebe I 18 and B. Kübler, Archiv 8, 1893, 136, think, and it does not necessarily have to be a quotation from Terence, as Selvatico, Scambio 294 n. 275, supposes.

Virum . . . verum: note the paronomasia: 'such a wight it is not right' (Haines).

37,7 *aequa* ('equal') *certatio*: this military term is used in court, too, by Cic. Quinct. 68 *non fuisse Naevio parem certationem cum Alfeno*; 73 *haec est iniqua certatio.* Fronto means that he has more to lose than his opponent.

Idem detrimenti: see at 8,13. Cic. Fam. 9,2,2 *idem consilii*; Liv. 25,22,4 *idem negoti.* There is no reason to alter the text with Hildebrand, Schopen and H. Ammann, TLL s.v. detrimentum: the harm will be greater for Fronto than for Herodes.

37,8 *omnis* etc.: 'he who touches pitch will be defiled'. From the many examples of this proverb in Otto and in Nachträge zu Otto 111 and 240, I choose Hieron. In Galat. 3 *unius pecudis scabies totum commaculat gregem*, and Menander, frg. 218 Kock φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί. Translators have 'any contact with what is unclean' (Haines) but *polluto* is masculine: *tametsi superes* (from *superare*) means 'even if you would come off best', not 'even though you come off best' (Haines). On *tametsi* with subjunctive see at 87,4.

37,10 *si . . . tum* is used in legal formulas (Cic. De orat. 2,141) and in

oaths, e.g. Liv. 22,53,11 *si sciens fallo, tum me Iuppiter... leto adficiat*; cp. Plaut. Rud. 753ff. *ni offerumentas habebis...*, *tum ego ero mendacissimus*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 659.

Adflixint is an optative with sigmatic ending; though it does not occur elsewhere, this form can be compared with *ausim, faxim* and the like. It has present meaning as *Diespiter vos perduit* (Plaut. Poen. 740) and *di te perduint* (Cic. Deiot. 21). *Me di male adflixint* is an ancient sacral formula used in execrations, not an epistolary formula (so Cugusi, Evoluzione 81). See H. Blase, Tempora und modi, in Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache III 1, Leipzig 1903, 179; Hofmann-Szantyr 330. Similar forms in Fronto are *noxsit* 47,6 and *faxit* 189,22. See at 96,13f.; 170,14; 182,5.

37,11 *verbo*: 'by a single word', as Ter. Phorm. 197 *id, si potes, verbo expedi*; Cic. Tusc. 2,28 *verbo de sententia destitisti*; Verr. 4,35; Pomp. 11; and Fronto 112,1.

Ausus fuissem instead of *essem*, the so-called shifted ('verschobene') pluperfect. Cp. 174,23 *si nati fuissent*; 52,8M *occupatus fueram*; 80,12M *fuerat allatus*; 241,21 *cognitus acceptusque diu fuerat*. The same shifting of tense we have 170,14 *ne existimasses*; 191,19 *ne succidisset*. See also at 182,18; 210,6; and Blase, Geschichte des Plusquamperfektes 59 and 90; idem, Tempora und modi 228; Kühner I 140f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 320f. *Debuerat* 11,12 is not a shifted pluperfect (against Blase, Tempora und modi 224). For *dixerat* see at 182,18.

Velim... iuves: volo with subjunctive also 79,18M; 92,25; 106,9; 107,13V; 189,7; 195,1. So *nolo* 21,14M; 144,3; *malo* 102,3M; *censeo*: see at 153,10; *cupio* 5,24M; 38,4; 63,23M; 173,25; 185,9; *cupiam* 38,4; *curo* 140,8 (marg. b); *opto* 82,17M; 83,2M; *oro* 115,3; *peto* 79,21M; 92,7M; 111,23; 177,7; 264,32; *quaeso* 43,17M; 55,24; 91,22; 107,10V; *mando* 108,14V; *sino* 5,13; 5,24M?; 7,5M; *fac*: see at 60,17; *faxo* 153,4; *necesse est* 58,23; *licet* 236,24; *precibus fatigo* 241,8; *litteras dare* 212,4f. For *velim ut* see at 176,10.

37,12 *in hac parte*: 'on the following point'.

37,13 *extra causam... in causa*: the same opposition Quint. Inst. 3,9,4.

37,14 The repetition of *sunt* misled the copyist. *Autem* at the head of a sentence is called a soloecism by Quint. Inst. 1,5,39; he is followed by all grammarians (see TLL s.v.). W.A. Baehrens, Beiträge 391, tries to defend the MS reading *sunt autem sunt* by referring to Sen. Contr. 2,4,12 and Sen. Epist. 103,5, and Puccioni, Petronio, by referring to Petron. 61,9: in all these passages, *autem* is at the head of a sentence, but only a few editors left them unchanged. For examples from later authors, see Hofmann-Szantyr 491. *Autem* at the beginning can sometimes have the meaning of *nam*, but this is not the case here. Niebuhr's emendation (followed by Klussmann, Novák, Della Corte and Portalupi) is preferable to Cornelissen's (followed by K. Münscher, TLL s.v.). See also Kühner II 92.

37,15 *quod: addubito* is mostly used with accusative: Cic. Div. 1,105; Off. 1,83; Fam. 6,6,12; Tac. Ann. 4,55,5; Apul. Socr. 166; Auson. In tog. cand. p. 85. With dative only Fronto 241,22 and Macrob. Sat. 7,12,10 *si dicto meo addubitaveris*. Unusual is that *quod* also refers to *consilium posco*; we should expect *et ad quod consilium posco*, but cp. 40,11 *imaginem quam te quaerere ais*

meque tibi socium ad quaerendum... sumis (*ad quam* is here almost impossible because of *ad quaerendum*). Cp. Plaut. Amph. 425 *quod egomet solus feci nec quisquam alius adfuit.* It seems to be a brachylogy rather than a colloquial slovenliness, cp. Verg. Georg. 3,283 *quod saepe malae legere novercae miscueruntque* (= *et cui miscuerunt*) *herbas.* See Kühner II 324; Hofmann-Szantyr 565.

37,16–18 *hominibus... exprobranda*: apparently the two main points of the accusation; the *saevitia* was the most important, but the *avaritia* was the real cause of the conflict between Herodes and the Athenians: according to Philostr. V.S. p. 57,26ff. K., Herodes' father had left a will in which τῷ Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ κατέλειπε καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος μνᾶν καθ' ἕνα, a stipulation which would force Herodes junior to invest an enormous fund. The freedmen of Herodes senior had brought about this stipulation χαλεπὴν ὁρῶντες τὴν Ἡτώδου (junior) φύσιν ἀπελευθέροις τε καὶ δούλοις (p. 58,7ff.). After his father's death, Herodes came into action and wrote a κατηγορία against those freedmen. The wish of Herodes senior being not more than a fideicommissum (*precum paternarum inmemore*), the Athenians were forced to come to an agreement with Herodes: each Athenian would get a single payment of five minae. But when it came to paying, Herodes deducted from those five minae all arrears the Athenians still owed to Herodes' father and grandfather. So some got little, some got nothing and some were even arrested by the police for being in debt (συνείχοντο ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ὡς ἀποδώσοντες). Philostratus does not mention beating, robbing and slaying, but then, in this passage, he is only interested in the will. See Graindor, Un milliardaire 71ff.; J. Day, An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination, New York 1942, 245f.; Ameling, Herodes I.

37,16 *hominibus liberis*: Schultess, Herodes 9 n. 23, and Münscher 928 assume that the liberti of Herodes senior are meant, but that seems unlikely in the light of Philostratus' account. The Athenians were *homines liberi*, not *cives Romani*, see Graindor o.c. 75. So we may assume that Fronto was the counsellor of all free Athenians, not only of the liberti of Herodes senior, as Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes 26ff., supposes.

37,17 *precum paternarum*: such *commendationes morientium* (Cic. Fin. 3,64) regarding peregrini involved only moral, not legal, obligations for the heir: Iustinian. Inst. 2,23,1 *nullo vinculo iuris, sed tantum pudore eorum qui rogabantur, continebantur.* See R. Leonhard, Fideicommissum, RE VI (1907); Graindor 72ff. ; Day 246; Ameling I 62ff.

Filius is, of course, Herodes junior, not his son Bradua, as Mai, Naber and H. Dessau, PIR I p. 349, think.

37,18 *carnifex quidam*: 'in a way, Herodes must be made out a murderer'. *Quidam* (see Kühner I 643) shows that we cannot dismiss the subject *Herodes*, as Naber wants.

37,19 *quibus causa nititur* is not taken from Cic. Cael. 24, as Stanton, Marcus Aurelius 482 n. 10, supposes: it also occurs Cic. Inv. 2,143 *id quo nititur adversariorum causa*, and Verr. 2,175, apparently a legal term.

37,21 *consilii tui*: usual is *aliquem certiorem facere de aliqua re*, but in his letters Cicero often has the genitive, especially *consilii.* See at 21,8.

37,22 *aliquid* is adverbial: 'somewhat'. See at 65,22.

Optimum factu is used since Plaut. Aul. 582, where the MSS also have *factum*; in Ammian. 20,4,9 one MS has *factum*. See at 152,5.

37,23 *firmum et ratum habeto*, 'to be firmly assured'. *Firmus et ratus* is a legal term: Edict. Aug. CIL X 4842 *firmam ratamque esse placet*; Cic. Caecin. 96 *id iussum ratum atque firmum futurum*; Plin. Epist. 5,7,1 *ratum et firmum est*. The imperative future, too, is often used in laws and expresses a solemn assurance; see at 107,5–8; 233,5.

37,24 *tibi videtur*, 'you think', with acc. cum inf. is relatively rare: Varro, L.L. 6,89; Cic. Tusc. 5,12; Orat. 67; Att. 4,2,3. 225,4 it is 'it seems to me' (Haines), and 109,12f.M 'I can imagine'. See Kühner I 625; 709; 719; II 572f.

37,24–25 *servire . . . causae*: 'to do what is conductive to the case'; cp. Curt. 8,8,5 *cum . . . Philotam laudat, suae servit causae.*

37,25 *ne . . . quidem*: Fronto wants to stress all the words in between. An acc. cum inf. also Cic. Quint. fr. 1,4,1 *ne id expedire quidem arbitrabatur.* Three words: Cic. Caecin. 73 *ne cuius rei argueretur quidem.* See Kühner II 54f. The style here is somewhat heated, as is also shown by the following *enim*, which refers to *ne inmoderate quidem.* Brakman, Timpanaro, and Maria Astarita, Boll. di studi lat. 19, 1989, 179, fail to see that Fronto does not want to make any concession on this point.

38,1–2 *fel et bilem sapiant*: 'as to smack of gall and spleen' (Haines). The combination of *fel* and *bilis* is not found anywhere else. Cp. Verg. Aen. 8,220 *Alcidae furiis exarserat atro felle dolor*; Pers. 3,8 *turgescit vitrea bilis*; Tert. Pudic. 14,4 *epistulam . . . non atramento sed felle conscriptam.*

38,2 *Graeculum*: the Romans had several proverbs on the *calliditas*, *fides* and *levitas* of the Greeks. Cic. De orat. 1,48 *Graeculos homines contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis*; 1,102 *tamquam alicui Graeculo otioso et loquaci et fortasse docto atque erudito*; 1,221 *illum ineptum aut Graeculum putent*; Tusc. 1,86 *ineptum . . . negotium et Graeculum*; Sest. 110 *Graeculum . . . atque otiosum*; Plut. Cic. 5,2 Γραικὸς καὶ σχολαστικός (= *otiosus*). See at 106,13 (marg. c).

Dixero: see at 1,10f.

38,3 *vale . . . ama*: an epistolary formula: Cass. Cic. Fam. 15,19,4 *vale; me ut facis ama*; it is not borrowed from Cicero, as Babl, De epistularum formulis 33, thinks; see Cic. Fam. 5,21,5; 7,5,3; 12,12,5; Ambros. Epist. 2,31; 5,24; 6,19; 8,15; Vita Clod. Alb. 4,6 and Fronto 21,10f.; 92,3M.

Litterulas: 'the dear characters of your writing', but because of δίς *amo*, it may be a pun, meaning at the same time 'the dear little letters of yours'.

38,4 δίς *amo*: in the MS there is a dot between *dis* and *amo*. Such dots were used by the copyist to separate Greek from Latin words, see Proleg. XXVIII. As he did not know Greek, he often wrote Greek words in Latin characters, see Proleg. XXIX. The reading *disamo* (Mai; Novák; E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v.; and Haines) is not supported by other writers, and we cannot explain it by assuming that here *dis*- is the equivalent of *de*, as in *discupio*, *dispereo*, *dispudet* and *distaedet*, for such a *dis*- is found only before consonants, see H. Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata, Marburg 1875[2], 463. *Desavio* and *dissavio* (Haupt and Klussmann) do not occur elsewhere.

Cupiam with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Tua manu: which Marcus obviously had not done. This does not prove that the correspondence had just begun (Naber), nor is it a sign of regal displeasure (Champlin, Fronto 105; Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 453; Ameling, Herodes II 31). To what extent the letters are autographic is hard to say: 28,3M is autographic (of the year 143) and so is 64,1M (of 145–156), but the letter 83,4M was dictated (before 161), and 225,21 (of 161) Fronto refers to a letter *tua manu* written by Marcus. 234,6M (of 161) was dictated. Verus' letter 109,16 (of 162) is autographic. There are several passages where the writer apologizes for not writing himself due to illness: 64,20; 85,3; 146,11; 180,24f.; 187,15f.; 225,20; 235,9M. We get the impression that Fronto wrote more often *sua manu* than Marcus, but see 276,2f. The passages cited above do not give cause for the assumption that Fronto and Marcus started their correspondence with autographic letters but gave it up in later years (so Roller, Formular 294). In our MS the postscripts are often written in smaller characters, which gave Mai[3] n. 1 the idea that this might go back to the original letters, for *observabant veteres carissimis sua manu scribere vel plurimum subscribere* (Iul. Vict. Rhet. Lat. min. p. 448,27f. Halm). See Roller o.c. 291ff.; Millar, The Emperor 214f.; Cugusi, Evoluzione 69ff. See also *dictare* at 63,14; Table of Matters s.v. Autographs and Dictating.

38,5 Chronology: see at 36,1.

On the form of address see at 42,4 and 189,1.

38,6 *clausa . . . epistula: obsignata iam epistula* is a formula which either introduces a postscript (Cic. Att. 12,11; 13,46,5; 15,6,4; 16,15,4) or refers to a preceding letter (Cic. Att. 8,6,1 referring to a lost letter; 10,11,1 referring to 10,10,5; ad Brut. 1,2[9,7],1; cp. Att. 5,19,1 *obsignatam iam epistulam* referring to 5,18). See Cugusi, Evoluzione 74.

Claudere epistulam usually means 'to finish a letter', but *claudere tabulas, scrinium, testamentum* means 'to close', cp. e.g. Lact. Inst. 4,20,2 *(testamentum) clausum et obsignatum est.* O. Hey, TLL s.v. claudo; Haines; Della Corte; and Portalupi correctly translate 'to close'. On the sealing of letters see at 20,19.

Fore uti also 63,24M; *futurum ut* 168,15.

38,8 *inclementius* is adverb, not adjective, as Portalupi assumes.

38,8–9 *quemadmodum . . . prospice* should not be altered; the difficulty lies in *quemadmodum*, which means the same as *quatenus*, 'as far as', from *modus* = 'measure', not 'how' (Haines), from *modus* = 'manner': 'with this fact you will have to reckon, as far as you think that I alone am involved'. For this restrictive *quemadmodum* cp. Vitruv. 3,3,11 *quemadmodum enim crescunt spatia inter columnas, proportionibus adaugendae sunt crassitudines scaporum* ('in the measure by which' [F. Granger]). In the same way, Cicero uses *quomodo* Att. 9,7,3 *misi . . . (litteras) Caesaris ad eos sana mente scriptas, quomodo in tanta insania* (see Hofmann-Szantyr 650). Cp. Fronto 30,17 *ad aliquem modum*, 'in some measure', not 'in qualche modo' (Portalupi), and 4,10 *ad eundem modo*, 'to the same degree', not 'in the same way' (Haines and Portalupi). According to the TLL, Fronto is the first to use *ad aliquem modum* and *ad eundem modum* in this sense. G. Pfligersdorfer, TLL VIII 1285,37, erroneously interprets *quemadmodum* here as 'since' ('usu causali'). Mai and Cassan have *prospicere* with m^2: 'comment crois-tu que je puisse tout seul l'empêcher?' Haines

keeps *prospice* and reads *putes*: 'take care how you think that I alone am concerned in this affair'; in her first edition, Portalupi followed Mariotti. 'It is, of course, with that fact you will have to reckon.'

38,9 *vale . . . vive* is a colloquial and epistolographic expression: Plaut. Bacch. 246; Mil. 1340; Stich. 31; Trin. 52; 773; 1075; Ter. Andr. 889; Haut. 430; Lucr. 5,961; Hor. Epist. 1,6,67; 1,7,3; Sat. 2,5,110; Auson. Epist. 16 vers. 66; 20,13; Alcuin. Epist. 65; 74. See Wölfflin, Über die allitterierenden Verbindungen 87; Babl, De epistularum formulis 33f.

38,10 Apparently three junior lawyers who represented individual Athenians in their action against Herodes. *Capreolus* is unknown, and it is more than hazardous to suppose that Capreolus is an error for Capella (Vita Comm. 1,6), as Champlin, Chronology, does.

Marcianus: Mai; Philibert-Soupé 46 n. 4; and Naber think that it is the lawyer Aelius Marcianus; however, he lived in the third century. E. Hohl, RE X (1919), was the first to identify our *Marcianus* with P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus, a native of Cirta (hence *noster*) with a brilliant military record. This identification has been adopted by Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 28; Lambrechts, La composition 125f.; PIR IV 3^2 Iulius 340; R. Hanslik, Iulius 46, Kleine Pauly (1967); Champlin, Chronology, and in his Fronto 15. Birley, Mark Aurel 142, is not certain. The identification has been rejected by K. Münscher, Herodes 13, RE VIII (1912); A. Stein, Marcianus, RE XIV 2 (1930); and Ameling II 32 n. 15. Iulius Geminius Marcianus' career is known from CIL VIII 7050: c. 149 he was tribunus militum in Syria (Hüttl II 161), next in Palestine. Then he returned to Rome and became quaestor and praetor: he resumed his military career until he became cos. suff. shortly after 167. From his record it seems unlikely that he ever appeared in court as a lawyer, and, if we have dated this letter correctly to 140–142, he could hardly have been more than twenty years old. Ameling sees in our Marcianus the shadowy philosopher Μαρκιανός of Marcus' Medit. 1,6 and rightly rejects Baldwin's opinion (Studies in Aulus Gellius 98) that Fronto's Marcianus is identical with the sophist Marcianus of Philostr. V.S. p. 113,5 K.

Noster means either 'our mutual friend' (which is not the case here) or 'my dear friend' or 'my fellow countryman' (see at 90,2 and 108,9). It seems probable that he was a fellow countryman of Fronto, possibly a relative of Iulius Geminius Marcianus.

Iulianus: Villianus of m^1 is a non-existent name and Birley's efforts (Mark Aurel 142) to establish a connection with the Vilii of Patara in Lycia is not very convincing, as Ameling II 32 has justly stated. The lawyer Vivianus (Vibianus) known from the Digesta lived under Trajan. I have adopted the correction of Fülles 22 n. 3 but do not follow him and Monceaux, Les Africains 222, in identifying our Iulianus with the rhetor Antonius Iulianus, Gellius' teacher. It is certainly not the famous lawyer Iulianus Salvius who was almost of Fronto's age. M^2's reading *Lullianus* could lead to Lollianus, but he is not the Hedius Rufus Lollianus of 172,1. R. Hanslik, Iulius 46, Kleine Pauly (1967), sees in Iulianus the P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus of CIL VIII 7050 (!!).

38,11 Chronology: see at 36,1. On the form of address see at 2,13 and 42,4.

38,12 *iam hinc ... cum*: 'really for this reason ... that'. See at 237,20. For explicative *cum* with indicative after demonstrative pronouns and adverbs cp. e.g. Plaut. Capt. 217 *propter hanc rem, cum*; Ter. Haut. 297 *hoc quoque signum est ... cum*; Varro, L.L. 7,79 *ab eo cum.* This *cum* is also used after verba affectuum: Plaut. Capt. 923 *dis ... ago gratias ... quom te reducem ... reddiderunt*; Merc. 843 *spem ... quom obtulisti ... grates ago*; Ter. Andr. 771 *habeo gratias, cum ... adfuerunt.* See at 14,1. *Gratias ago habeoque* is a common expression: Cic. Phil. 1,15; 3,25; Nepos, Timol. 4,3; Vitruv. 6 pr. 4; Apul. Flor. 16,44; Phaedr. App. 26,13 *gratias habere atque agere.*

38,15 *causam tueri* is not a legal term and it does not mean that Fronto represents the defendant: Cic. De orat. 1,169; Fam. 13,19,2; Ovid. Pont. 2,2,56; Sen. Tro. 905.

38,16 *tuas proprias adfectationes* refers to the *mores et cetera Herodis vita* (37,24): the incompatability of character of the two men is evident, see 16,11ff. There is no reason at all to assume with Pepe that Fronto had been wronged by Herodes.

38,17–18 *neque ... laeseris: laeseris* is either a potential subjunctive or a fut. II instead of a fut. I, see at 1,10f., and the following *s. ...* may stand for *s<i>. ...* *Fides* is 'your trustworthiness', 'reliability', as a lawyer ('honour' [Haines] and 'sincerità' [Portalupi] are less correct): there were people who thought that Fronto would not attack his adversary with all his might (*inconstantius agentem* 36,7). To this *fides* Fronto responds 39,16.

Negotio pannychio cannot be taken literary, 'lasting all the night' (Della Corte: 'che si è svolto di notte', see at 231,2–5). Mai and P. Gatti, TLL s.v. pannychius, think that it is an exaggeration referring to *perpetuis orationibus* 39,10. It is a metaphor, meaning 'totally gloomy', 'wretched' rather than 'spinoso, che toglie il sonno' (Portalupi), and it seems to correspond to Marcus' *odiosissimus* 36,23. *Pannychius* does not occur elsewhere; Arnob. 5,24 has *pannychismus*, literally.

As the first *neque* refers to *quae ad causam quam tueris adtinent, plane proferunda*, so the second *neque* refers to *quae ad tuas proprias adfectationes adtinent, ... reticenda.* Therefore *modestiam in existimatione tua* must mean 'reserve, self-possession, in your criticism'. For *existimatio*, 'judgement', in malam partem, see e.g. Suet. Tib. 58: it was not allowed *dictum ullum (Tiberii) ... existimatione aliqua laesisse.* 'Your own standard of self-respect' (Haines) is not correct, and *tua* is not = *tui*, as Pepe supposes.

In the lacuna after *laeseris*, Marcus seems to have said that Fronto should not be put off the right track by others.

38,20 *at* seems to be a verbal ending: *atenim* in tmesis does not occur.

Me ... exercet: 'mi angustia' (Portalupi), cp. Sall. Hist. frg. 1,84; Verg. Georg. 2,415; Sil. 3,62; and others.

Ne depends on *cura*, cp. Plaut. Truc. 455 *quanta est cura ..., dolus ne occidat morte pueri.* See at 37,11 and 215,15 *curamus ut.*

38,21 *inutile* is Hauler's reading, but Mai's *invite* had already been corrected to *inutile* by Schopen. Allen and Klussmann read *invito.*

38,22 *reprehensibile* occurs here for the first time, later in Lactantius, Hieronymus and others.

Mihi: see at 2,13. *Iucundissime mihi* also 78,14M; 80,16M; 82,21M; 84,30M.

Iucundissime is a vocative used especially in letters, but nowhere as often as in Marcus' letters: more than twenty times. Also in Dolab. Cic. Fam. 9,9,3; Epist. Aug. imp. ap. Suet. Tib. 21,4; Catull. 14,2; Plin. Nat. praef. 1; Mart. 10,47,2; see also Epist. Aug. imp. ap. Gell. 15,7,3.

39,1 Chronology: see at 36,1.

39,2 *quaeso*: see at 37,11 and 43,17.

39,7 *singillatim*, 'point by point', as 55,3M, is the opposite of *perpetuis orationibus*. Cic. De orat. 3,201 *in perpetua oratione* opposed to *in singulis verbis*. Fronto argues that feelings will run less high if he groups his arguments in smaller units interrupted by hearing of witnesses and reading of documents. Uninterrupted speeches, on the other hand, ask for emotions. Cicero often uses this method (*modum*), see Verr. I 33 *fructum istum laudis, qui ex perpetua oratione percipi potuit, in alia tempora reservemus; nunc hominem tabulis, testibus, privatis publicisque litteris auctoritatibusque accusemus*. Att. 1,16,8 he calls his Pro Milone a *perpetua oratio*; Fin. 2,17 *perpetua oratio* is the opposite of *dialectice*. Liv. 4,6,1 and 8,33,10 it is opposed to *altercatio*, and Nepos, Epam. 5,1 to *brevitas respondendi*. See also Cic. Top. 97; Quint. Inst. 2,10,2; and Fronto 89,7 and 144,17. See Lausberg, Handbuch 456. *Singillatim* 210,4 and 213,15 means 'man by man'.

39,8 *cum . . . versum*: 'when they compress, for instance, a trend of mind into one little line'(?). Haines has not *versum* and reads *id* instead of *vel*: 'when they compress the decision into so little'; Della Corte: 'dato che mi constringono a ridurmi a così poco'; Portalupi: 'quando constringono così in breve anche un verso che è stato ponderato', but her reference to Tac. Dial. 19 does not seem to be correct. Haines' 'decision' does not make sense. We might compare Cic. Inv. 1,98 *enumeratio est per quam res dispersae et diffuse dictae unum in locum coguntur* and Sen. Epist. 39,1 *commentarios . . . in angustum coactos*. For *versus*, 'line', see at 42,19.

39,10 *extra causam* refers to 38,15f.; see 37,13.

39,11–12 *oculis . . . irato*: see at 14,11f. Rhet. Her. 3,27 *sin contendemus per continuationem (= orationem perpetuam), bracchio celeri, mobili vultu, acri aspectu utemur*; Cic. De orat. 1,18 *(actio) quae motu corporis, quae gestu, quae voltu, quae vocis conformatione ac varietate moderanda est*; Val. Max. 8,10 ext. 1 *acerrimum vigorem oculorum, terribile vultus pondus*; Plin. Pan. 67,1 *quae adseveratio in voce, quae adfirmatio in vultu, quanta in oculis, habitu, gestu, toto denique corpore fides*. See also Cic. Part. or. 25; Orat. 55; Brut. 239; De orat. 3,213.

Voce . . . verbis: a popular alliteration: Lucr. 4,533; Verg. Aen. 4,460; 12,912; Ovid. Ars 1,574; Amor. 3,14,25; Liv. 3,68,4; Gell. 2,9,5; Apul. Apol. 69,6; Salv. Gub. 6,17.

Digito (the index) *irato*: Cic. De orat. 2,188 *tanta vis animi . . . oculis, vultu, gestu, digito denique isto tuo significari solet*, a passage to which Quint. Inst. 11,3,94 refers: *is in exprobrando et indicando—unde ei nomen est—valet*.

39,12 *hominem tuum* shows Fronto's low opinion of Herodes, see at 259,8 p. 000.

39,13 *ut*: *facile (difficile) est ut* is only used by Cicero: Rep. 2,5, and then by Seneca, Quintilian, Pliny junior and others; in Fronto 54,4; 85,12f.M.

39,14 *nec . . . ne hoc quidem* strengthens the negation, cp. e.g. Cic. Verr. II 3,210 *non fugio ne hos quidem mores.* See Kühner I 827 and at 54,19f.M.

39,16 *suades*: see at 84,9.

Fidei: see at 38,17f.

Et si = *etiamsi.*

39,16–17 *armis . . . ludas: armis ludere* means *lusoriis armis uti*: Cic. De orat. 1,147 *ea quae agenda sunt in foro tamquam in acie, possunt etiam nunc exercitatione quasi ludicra praediscere ac meditari*; Ovid. Trist. 3,12,19 *levibus . . . luditur armis*; Laus Pisonis 87 *levibus . . . proludit in armis*; Sen. Epist. 117,25 *remove ista lusoria arma, decretoriis opus est*; Fronto 156,7 *hastulis histrionis ludere*; 210,11f. *sudorem in armis ut in ludicris insuper habere*; Claudian. Carm. min. 2,72 *telis . . . tremendis ludis*; Iustin. Inst. 4,3,4 *si quis, dum iaculis ludit vel exercitatur, transeuntem servum . . . traiecerit.* Cic. De orat. 3,200 compares the orator with those *qui utuntur armis aut palaestra*; 2,84 *ad ludendumne an ad pugnandum arma sint sumpturi. aliud enim pugna et acies, aliud ludus campusque noster desiderat. attamen ars ipsa ludicra armorum et gladiatori et militi prodest*; 3,206 *orationis . . . tamquam armorum est vel ad usum comminatio . . . vel ad venustatem . . . tractatio.* See also Orat. 228; Nat. deor. 1,102; and Fronto on the *oratorum arma* 142,3–7, and at 130,9–13.

Palaestrica with the ellipsis of *ars* also Quint. Inst. 2,21,11; Firm. Math. 4,7,1; see J.C. Rolfe, Die Ellips von ars, Archiv 10, 1898, 243. *Palaestrica ludere* is a zeugma, see at 232,19.

39,17–18 *contentione confici*: alliteration. There should not be a comma after *posse* because *exercitationes . . . confici posse* depends on *fac arbitreris.* On *fac* with subjunctive see at 37,11 and 60,17.

39,19 *Opicum*: see at 21,15. Here it seems to be the opposite of *facundior* and masculine, cp. *hominem tuum* in line 12, and by way of a joke Fronto may mean himself, as 21,15. Burger, TLL s.v. beatus, and Flury, TLL s.v. opicus, assume that Opicum here is neuter.

Laudavi is very uncertain.

40,1 Chronology of III 7 and 8: III 7 is the answer to a lost letter: 40,2–4. Fronto provides Marcus with a simile in order to use it in a speech of thanks to Pius. This speech still lies in the future (40,13; 41,2; 41,5; 41,13f.). In it, Marcus is the *socius dignitatis, gloriae honorumque omnium particeps* (40,22f.). Haines in his edition and Hanslik, Anordnung, connect our passage with the *Caesaris oratio* (42,18) and date III 7 and 8 to December 139, because on New Year's Day 140 Marcus became consul for the first time, together with Pius. Haines remarks that *socius dignitatis* could also refer to Marcus' second consulate in 145 or to the tribunicia potestas which he received on 1 December 147, but he rightly regards these dates as too late, because Marcus is still a diligent pupil of Fronto. Naber, Watson, Brakman and Grimal, Marc Aurèle 72, also date them 139, because III 7 and 8 are between the early letters III 2–6 and III 9 of 139 (I myself date III 2–6 to 140–142). Portalupi opts for early 140 and Champlin for the early 140s. In his Chronology Haines had dated them 140–143; Mommsen's 143–145 is certainly too late. In 139 Marcus received the title of Caesar and was

designated as consul for the year 140, so we should date these letters with Cortassa to the last days of 139 or the first days of 140. Because of *Aenaria* 40,7, Haines supposes that III 7 was written in Naples.

40,3 *me recreavi*: though Haines, Hanslik, Pepe and Portalupi1 follow Mai and Naber, Brakman's and Hauler's reading seems to point to *me recravi*, a perfectum praesens or empiricum, see Hofmann-Szantyr 318. Cp. Cic. Fam. 16,14,1 *tuis litteris nihilo sum factus certior, quomodo te haberes, sed tamen sum recreatus.*

Libenter ... age: 'live to your liking and at your leisure', 'humour yourself and be lazy' (Haines) seem to be better than 'vivi serenamente' (Portalupi); see at 28,3f. Does it mean that Fronto is staying in one of his villas?

Recte fecisti quod: the same use of *quod* 102,9 *pro ... benivolentia tua fecisti quod*; 188,7 *fecisti ... pro tua ... benignitate quod.*

40,4 *quoque* refers to *operam dedisti.*

A septima: 'since one o'clock' (Haines), during the siesta. The ellipsis of *hora* also 62,10M; cp. 61,7M.

In lectulo: the ancients did not have a writing-desk; they often wrote lying in bed or on a couch (*lectus, lectica, lectulus*, which is not necessarily a small couch). Suet. Aug. 78,2 speaks of a *lecticula lucubratoria*. Ovid. Trist. 1,11,38 *nec, consuete, meum, lectule, corpus habes*; 61,13M. *Lectus* 73,1M is a sleeping-bed. See Hübner, Bett, RE (1899).

Nonnihil: 'I achieved quite something', as Cic. Planc. 83. See Index s.v. litotes.

40,5 εἰκόνας: Fronto had put together a collection of images, e.g. *in insula Aenaria intus lacus est*; *in eo lacu alia insula est et ea quoque inhabitatur.* Now it was Marcus' task to find a person or a situation to fit such an image (not the other way round: he had not to find an image that suited a given person); see p. 277 II 3; Droz 51f.; Schanz III 98; Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 26. Not correct is Clarke, Rhetoric 134: 'later he preferred to leave his pupil to discover the image for himself': *imaginem* 40,11 stands for the working-out of the image. In the same way, Fronto gave Marcus ὑποθέσεις (49,10; 76,1; 77,13), γνῶμαι (85,11; 85,21) and *loci communes* (85,21) to work out.

Socium et optionem (also 40,11f.): *optio* (masculine) is originally a military term: 'adjutant' (Haines), 'assistent': Plaut. Asin. 101 *tibi optionem sumito Leonidam*; Varro, L.L. 5,91; Fest. p. 201 Lindsay; Tac. Hist. 1,25,1; Veget. Mil. 2,7.

40,6 *persequendo*: 'mandarla avanti' (Portalupi) rather than 'dealing with' (Haines). See at 164,27f.

40,6–7 *est ... quod*: 'the point is that', not 'il fatto è che' (Portalupi). In other passages *est quod* indicates the reason why, e.g. Plaut. Aul. 199; Ter. Hec. 273 and 44,23M *non hoc est quod me felicem nuncupo*, cp. Plaut. Stich. 127 *hoc est quod ad vos venio*; Cas. 531 *hoc erat ... quod me ... orabat.* See Hofmann-Szantyr 572. *Est quod* with subjunctive to indicate the reason why is quite common, see Kühner II 278; in Fronto 46,14; 74,5M; 114,15V.

Since Cicero, *autem* has the tendency to become the equivalent of *enim*, as 4,22 and 32,3; see Hofmann-Szantyr 490f.

40,7 *Aenaria*, present-day Ischia, has no lake with an island: Fronto

poses an imaginary case and for him it is not important whether or not it lies in the Tyrrhenian Sea (see 40,13f.), and so there is no reason to suppose with Mai[2] that Fronto here refers 'ad geographorum quandam de situ Aenariae discordiam' or to say with Naber that he did not know the island. See at 75,13. Was Fronto influenced by Pliny's description of Portus Traiani (Centum Cellae) Epist. 6,31,15–17 *(portus) sinistrum brachium firmissimo opere munitum est, dextrum elaboratur. in ore portus insula adsurgit, quae inlatum vento mare obiacens frangat tutumque ... decursum navibus praestet?* See Saylor, The Emperor as Insula. Our passage escaped Saylor, but Fronto knew Portus Traiani very well, see at 85,17. In working out such images, Marcus is apt to ask for more details, see at 75,13.

Intus was not borrowed from Plaut. Amph. 966 (against Priebe I 16), nor is it a Graecism (Pepe).

40,8 ποιοῦμεν: 'we have to make'; both in Greek and in Latin the present is used instead of the future; see at 54,18.

Anima: see at 1,13.

40,9 *domina*: Domitia Lucilla.

40,10 Chronology: see at 40,1. Perhaps Fronto is staying in one of his villas; see at 40,3.

40,11–20 An introduction groping for the right word, with anacoluthon and parenthesis. *Imaginem* is proleptic, resumed by *id.* The relative referring to *ad quaerendam* is omitted in order to avoid the ugly *ad quam quaerendam me ... sumis*, see at 37,15 and 164,4–6. *In tuo ... sinu* is, properly speaking, not exact (see 40,22), for it is Marcus who is safely stowed *in patris sinu*, but at the same time the isle in the lake experiences the same influences (*aeque* 40,19f.) as Aenaria itself. *Id futurum: id* is the effect of the simile; *futurum*: 'for the future', 'as a forthcoming fact', like *ages* 41,2 and *pertinebit* 41,5. Cp. Cic. Div. 2,18 *in qua rerum natura inest id futurum?*; Quint. Inst. 5,10,33 *ducuntur igitur argumenta ex causis factorum vel futurorum.* Haines reads *id fictum*: 'if I look for the clue to that fancy'; Della Corte keeps *futurum* but translates 'io cercherò di porre il mio avvenire in grembo tuo', which is certainly false. Portalupi, too, reads *futurum*, 'se io cercherò di collocarla nell'animo tuo'.

Quaeram is a potentialis rather than a futurum. For *optionem* see at 40,5.

40,13 *ut illa* is resumed by *igitur* (see at 46,7) and justly defended by Schenkl against Klussmann and Haines.

Sive vero potius: 'or, for my part, rather'. *Vero* indicates a climax; not 'maybe' (Haines). 45,4f.M and 214,15 we find *seu ... seu.*

40,14 *mare ... maris*: epanalepsis of a substantive is unusual when the relative clause precedes; also 43,4–7M *deos ... qui ... eorum deorum*; 118,9–11 *e quibus ego rebus, ... tam ex iis ego rebus.* Such a repetition is typical of colloquial and of legal language. The reverse, when the relative clause follows, is more frequent, see at 191,13. Hofmann, Umgangssprache 92, calls this phenomenon 'perseverierende Abundanz'. See Kühner II 283; 309f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 563f. Epanalepsis without relative clause occurs 122,12 *eloquentia*; 153,10 *neglegas*; 193,9 *creati ... creatus est*; 200,5f. *virum.*

40,15 *igitur* after a parenthesis also 52,2.

Aenaria has been deleted by Klussmann, Schenkl and Haines, but it seems to be indispensable for working out the simile: 'Aenaria, wherever it may be, with or without a lake, this isle of mine Aenaria'.

40,18 *tutam*: proleptic use of the adjective: *ut tuta sit*; see Kühner I 239.

40,20 *aeque*: symploce.

40,22f. *tutum . . . tutatur*: again prolepsis, this time with etymological figure. Note the alliteration in this line.

41,1 *multimodis* is an archaism. It is found notably in Plautus, Terence and Lucretius and e.g. in Symm. Epist. 3,23,1. In Fronto also 154,18, but 41,16 *multis modis*. Cic. Orat. 153 *(Naevius and Ennius) saepe brevitatis causa contrahebant, ut ita dicerent multi'modis, vas'argenteis, palm'et crinibus.*

41,2–3 *locupletissimum et cpiosissimum*: both words are often used since Cicero for the complete orator. *Copiosus* also 153,14.

41,6 *aeque . . . ut*: see at 4,14f.

41,8 *amen te*, 'please', is colloquial, though in Fronto it only occurs here (not 'te ne sarò grato' [Portalupi]). Haines follows Eussner. The usual expression for 'please' is *amabo (te)*, mostly with imperative. It is found several times in Plautus and Terence, then in Cicero (particularly in his letters) and occasionally in various writers. Fronto's *amem te* is a potential subjunctive instead of the future, cp. Plaut. Aul. 496 *ita me di amabunt* and Amph. 597 *ita me di ament.* See H. Blase, Amabo, Archiv 9, 1896, 485ff.; idem, Tempora und modi, Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache III, Leipzig 1903, 115f.; Hofmann, Umgangssprache 127; Hofmann-Szantyr 335. See at 51,21.

41,8–9 *in eandem rem . . . inveneris: in eandem rem* belongs to *quaesiveris et inveneris*, not to *demonstrata ratione*, as Haines thinks. *Demonstrata ratione*: 'by the method shown by me'.

41,9–10 *inveneris* and *fuerint*: see at 1,10f.

41,10 *scitae*: 'appropriate' (Haines).

Concinnae: 'neat', as 156,7 and 159,16f.

41,11 εἰκόνα: Cicero and Quintilian usually speak of *similitudo* or *simile*; Fronto only has *imago* and the Greek word as he heard it from Athenodotus (65,23–25) and Theodorus of Gadara (41,20; 65,24; 157,1). See at 22,2ff.; 88,12; 145,1.

41,11–13 *ut . . . efficiat*: Rhet. Her. 4,59 *(similitudo) sumitur aut ornandi causa aut probandi aut apertius dicendi aut ante oculos ponendi*; Quint. Inst. 8,3,72 *(similitudinum) aliae sunt quae probationis gratia . . . ponuntur, aliae ad exprimendam rerum imaginem compositae.* Apart from *ornet*, Fronto does not use technical terms. For *deturpet . . . deminuat* see Cic. Top. 11 *alia (argumenta) ex comparatione maiorum aut parium aut minorum*; Quint. Inst. 5,8,5 *nec ulla res probari nisi ex alia potest eaque sit oportet aut maior aut par aut minor.*

Ex minus credibili credibile efficiat is the *probatio.*

41,13 *nihil . . . erit*: though *usus est* can be used with a genitive, it seems that *nihil eorum* is here subject, cp. Plaut. Bacch. 705 *quantillum usus est auri tibi?*; Merc. 854 *egomet mihi fero quod usus est*; Apul. Met. 11,30,1 *quod usus foret pronuntiavit.* See Ebert, Synt. 15f.; Georges' review of Ebert 269; Kühner I 388;

W. Kroll, Die wissenschaftliche Syntax im lateinischen Unterricht, Berlin [2]1925, 39. Hofmann-Szantyr 123 see in these passages of Plautus and Fronto in *nihil* etc. an adverbial accusative of the neuter pronoun. See at 190,7.

41,13–14 *rei propositae*: 'for a subject you have in mind'; *rei* is genitive. Mai's *re proposita eimaginem* is impossible, because the *i* of *imago* is short. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 40, 1918, 173f., keeps *re* (m[1]) as an archaic form for *rei*; see Neue-Wagener I[3] 573.

41,14 *pingeres*: the writer compared to a painter also 16,1; 97,17; 133,6–11.

41,15–16 *facies* and *eliges*: see at 19,7.

41,16–18 Dialectical terms since Aristotle applied to rhetoric: τόποι τῶν ἐνθυμηματικῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων, *loci argumentorum*. There is some variety in the tradition of these τόποι, see Aristot. Rhet. 2,23–24; Minucius, Epich. 3 p. 343,24ff. Hammer; Cic. Top. 7–8; 11; 53; Quint. Inst. 5,10; Mart. Cap. 5,557; Isid. Orig. 2,30; 2,31,1 ἀντικείμενα, *id est opposita*. Theodorus of Gadara, whose terms are quoted here (perhaps from his Περὶ θεσέως), based his teaching on Aristotle, but he had more items, as we see here in Fronto. As far as τὰ ἀντικείμενα, Latin terminology is *genus* and *species, totum* and *partes, propria* and *differentia, contraria.* See G. Kowalski, Studia rhetorica I, Eos 31, 1928, 146ff.; Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 24.

41,17 τὰ παρακολουθοῦντα: Cic. Tusc. 5,50 *contrariorum* . . . *contraria sunt consequentia*; Quint. Inst. 5,10,75 *haec (argumenta) consequentia dico*, ἀκόλουθα, *est enim consequens sapientiae bonitas, illa insequentia*, παρεπόμενα, *quae postea facta sunt.* Minucianus only has the τόποι ἀπὸ τῶν παρεπομένων; Cic. Top. 11, Quint. Inst. 5,10,74 and Isidore only have the *consequentia*. In rhetoric, τὰ ἑπόμενα καὶ παρακολουθοῦντα seem to refer to the use of synonyms, see at 144,19f.; 152,1; 157,1.

41,18 τὰ ὀνόματα: Arist. Rhet. 2,23,28 and Minucianus l.l. τόπος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος: typical names such as Thrasymachus, Draco. Cic. De orat. 2,165 *si (argumentum quaeritur) ex vocabulo*: a *consul* must *consulere*. Quint. Inst. 5,10,59 *si per* ἐτυμολογίαν *dicatur.*

Τὰ ἐνούσια (or τὰ ἐν οὐσίᾳ?) is a guess: 'the essentials', the opposite of τὰ συμβεβηκότα. Quint. Inst. 3,6,36 *Theodorus qui de eo an sit et de accidentibus ei, quod esse constat, id est* περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότων *existimat quaeri.* See also Augustin. Prin. rhet. 7 p. 141 Halm.

Στοιχεῖα is not based on Arist. Rhet. 2,22,13 and 2,16,1 but on Theodore: Augustinus l.l. *partes circumstantiae* . . . *septem* (*quis, quid, quando* etc.), *quas* . . . *vocat* . . . *Theodorus* στοιχεῖα τοῦ πράγματος, *id est elementa, quod ex eorum coniunctione quaestiones fiant.* Quint. Inst. 3,6,23 *Aristoteles* (Categ. 2,7, but he does not use the word στοιχεῖα) *elementa decem constituit, circa quae versari videatur omnis quaestio* (οὐσίαν, *qualitatem, quantitatem* etc.). Empor. Rhet. p. 571 Halm *duodecim velut elementa, id est, ut Graeci appellant,* στοιχεῖα.

41,20 Theodorus of Gadara was the teacher of the rhetor Hermagoras junior and the later emperor Tiberius (between 6 BC and 2 AD). He taught on Rhodes. His treatise on argumentation was used by Fronto, see at 6,3; 157,1; 231,16f.

Locos: see at 156,17; they are the τόποι where to find arguments, see

Rhet. Her. 2,48ff.; Cic. Inv. 1,34ff.; Top. passim; De orat. 2,162 *sedes et quasi domicilia omnium argumentorum*; Quint. Inst. 5,10,20 *argumentorum locos*...; *locos appello*... *sedes argumentorum*; Fronto 135,11 *verborum loca* (not *loci*).

Επιχειρημάτων: see at 6,3.

41,21 *denuo retractare* is abundant, cp. Schol. Ter. p. 74,8 *refero denuo: 're' abundat aut denuo*. It is a colloquialism found in Plautus and elsewhere, e.g. Capt. 411; Poen. 79; Ulp. Dig. 28,5,35,3.

41,22 εἰκόνε: a hybrid form like Cicero's *facteon* (Att. 1,16,13) and the conjectures *Plautinotatus* 153,13, *xenodator* 173,27. See also at 48,14 πολιτία and 143,11 *chamaetorta*. The Latin form *icon* is only used in late grammars.

41,23 ἀσφαλείας: *tutam* 40,18.

41,24 ἀπολαύσεως: *deliciarum voluptatumque* 40,18.

41,25 *quaeres*: see at 19,7.

Aenariam: Cic. Att. 10,13,1 *in Aenariam transire*.

42,1 *cubiti*: see at 77,15; 265,29.

Cum ingenio eximio: cp. Lael. Or. frg. Schol. Bob. p. 118,14 Stangl *is cum illo animo atque ingenio*; Fronto 44,9; see at 199,12. On Marcus' *ingenium* see at 87,26.

42,3 *alias*: 'on another occasion' (Haines), but not in our letters.

Capita rerum also in Plaut. Merc. 609; Truc. 790; Cic. Brut. 164; Hor. Epist. 1,17,45; Quint. Inst. 3,11,27; Lact. Inst. 5,9,23.

42,4 Chronology: Mommsen and Monceaux, Les Africains 213, are the only ones to date this letter 143. The *Caesaris oratio* 42,18 (see at 40,1) points to December 139, which means that III 9 is one of the oldest letters of our collection; it is generally dated 139. Champlin dates it 139–140, but he leaves the possibility open that *Caesaris oratio* refers to a speech by Iulius Caesar, and so does Marchesi, Storia della letteratura latina I[8], Milano/ Messina 1973, 336. This is most unlikely: when Marcus speaks of his work as a pupil of Fronto he never uses expressions like *unceis unguibus adtinet*; it must refer to the problems he has in writing his official speech of thanks. Moreover, Caesar plays no part in Fronto's literary programme. *Anno priore* (42,21) Fronto was not yet Marcus' teacher.

To address a person with *(h)ave* is common use, though not in letters: before Fronto, we only find it in a letter of Augustus ap. Gell. 15,7,3 *ave, mi Gai, meus asellus iucundissimus*; Ovid. Pont. 4,13,2 *Care*,... *ave*; Mart. 1,68,6 *Naevia lumen, have*, and 9 praef. *have, mi Torani, frater carissime*. It is an expression of great cordiality. Fronto uses *have* in an appendix to a letter 38,5 and 189,10. In Marcus' letters we find it frequently: 38,11; 43,1; 50,8; (54,17?); 61,5; 62,8; 63,12; 85,4; 249,1—all letters which he wrote as Caesar. Philostr. V.S. II 70,10 K. was struck by this form of address used by Marcus: χαῖρέ μοι, φίλε Ἡρώδη. After Marcus, *have* is only used by Ps. Sen. Epist. ad Paulum. See Ziemann, De epistularum Graecarum formulis 295f.; Roller, Das Formular 425f.; Bastiaensen, Le cérémonial 10; Lanham, Salutatio Formulas 19. See Index s.v. Salutation Formula and Title of Address.

42,5 *somni*: on the gen. partitivus see at 104,11.

Redit is perfectum (so Portalupi), not praesens (Haines). So is *redimus* 62,19M (*rediimus* Haines), *redit* 181,8 (marg. a) (*rediit* Brakman and Haines), *redit* 111,13? The form *redii* is found 116,5 and *rediit* 186,6.

Vigilias: on Fronto's insomnia see also 187,9.

Quaestus es (and *ais* 42,9): not in the extant letters. It does not refer to 49,2.

Oro te: see at 3,1.

42,6 *securim Tenediam*: of an inexorable decision. For the Greek proverb see—apart from the Paroemiographi Graeci—Fiehn, Tenedos, RE V 1 (1934) and D.A. Tsirimbas, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei den Epistolographen der zweiten Sophistik, diss. München, Speyer 1936, 35; E. Meyer, Tenedos, Kleine Pauly (1974). In Latin literature also Cic. Quint. fr. 2,10,2 (not in Sen. Epist. 88,38, as Nachträge zu Otto 217 suggests).

42,7 *aliquo* is adverb., c.p. *abdere* with *quonam* Liv. 45,39,5, with *huc* Petron. 89 v. 9. It is not an ellipsis of *loco*, as Pepe thinks.

Consilium: 'idea', 'intention' (Haines). In his later letters, Fronto does not speak any more of giving up his work as a lawyer because of ill health.

42,7–8 *nec... dimiseris*: prohibitive subjunctive, as 59,6.

42,8 *taceant*: potential subjunctive rather than 'let all lips be dumb' (Haines).

42,9 *Graece*: it is generally accepted that this refers to the so-called Erotikos p. 250. Only Champlin, Chronology 156, is doubtful and Klebs, Cornelius Fronto, suggests that it concerns one of Fronto's lost speeches. The word *conpegisse* seems to indicate that Marcus is not only referring to the Erotikos but also to the three Greek letters which Fronto wrote, see at 250,8f.

Conpegisse: 'patch together', 'mettere insieme' (Portalupi) is better than 'to compose', as Simbeck, TLL s.v., interprets it with Haines. Apparently the word comes from Fronto himself. The same meaning Arnob. 1,57; 4,30; 7,33; Gennad. Vir. ill. 65.

Ut aeque: see at 4,14f.

42,10 *nuper*: not in our correspondence.

Concastigabas: 'you would rebuke me thoroughly'. *Congasticare* only occurs in three passages of Plautus, which does not necessarily mean, however, that it is a quotation, the less so because it concerns a letter of Marcus. See at 114,21. It is probably a colloquialism. Haines' *concastigaras* is not correct.

Quorsum is the lectio difficilior. Both *quorsum* and *cur* mean 'because', see at 46,14.

Graece scriberem: Fronto was not fond of Greek, see 106,13 (marg. c); cp. 249,11M; and see at 24,3. See Philostratus, Testim. 3 and 4 p. 276, and Marcus, Medit. 1,7.

42,12 *periculum facere*, 'make trial' (Haines), only here with *an*, analogous to *temptare an*; see at 138,3 and 175,7.

Quod non didici is to be taken cum grano salis: Marcus' Greek teachers are enumerated in Vita Marci 2,3–4. What he means is that his lessons in Greek literature have not been as profound as his Latin lessons. Medit. 1,17 Marcus states that he might have found pleasure in rhetoric εἰ ἠσθόμην ἐμαυτὸν εὐόδως προϊόντα.

Obsecundet: 'succeed', 'turn out well', as 79,10M.

42,13 *si me amares*: see at 86,22.

42,14 *mihi* and *mi*: see at 2,13.

42,14–15 *te . . . lego*: Hofmann, Umgangssprache 172, sees in *lego* a praesens pro futuro (see at 34,22), but it may be a general remark: 'I read you here (in Lorium?), whether you like it or not.' *Te*: the person stands for the work (*istud novicium*), as Cic. Att. 12,45,3 *tu . . . pervolga Hirtium*; 13,44,3 *Cottam* and *Libonem*; Fronto 51,25 *Galbam*; 56,2 *Gracchus*; 76,18M *quem* sc. *Acilium*. For *istic*, 'here', see at 1,11.

42,15 *vivo et resto*: a hendiadys: 'I remain alive'.

42,16 *materiam . . . excerptum*: Fronto had submitted a controversia which Marcus had to elaborate, as 67,24f.; 68,11f.; 75,13ff.; 77,3ff.; 77,10ff. Marcus calls it 'sanguinary' (Haines), because it was taken from the Second Punic War, but it is also possible that *cruentus* means 'awful', 'horrible', 'scottante' (Portalupi) and that it refers to the difficulty Marcus has in unriddling the theme (Cortassa: 'che costa sangue'), cp. Ascon. Tog. cand. p. 83 *cruentissimarum sententiarum*. Ehrenthal 36 n. 7 sees in *materia cruenta* a quotation. It cannot refer to the Greek letter p. 250, as Pepe thinks: see the irrealis *misisses* 42,14.

Necdum = *nondum*, see at 212,21. The excerpt from L. Coelius Antipater was made by Fronto himself; it is not the one made by Brutus (see Cic. Att. 13,8). Coelius Antipater is also quoted 56,23 and 134,3, and there is no reason to read *Caelianum* with Peter, Hist. Rom. reliquiae CCXXXI n. 2, because in Tac. Dial. 21,3 we also have the variant *Coelianis orationibus*, whereas M. Caelius Rufus is meant. Already before Peter, Mai[3] and Droz 78 referred to Tac. Dial. 21,3. On excerpts see at 29,2.

42,17 *priusquam . . . fuero*: 'until I have traced the train of thought of the theme'. Haines' translation 'until I have hunted up my wits' (Birley, Mark Aurel 129: 'bis ich meine Gedanken zusammen habe') is tempting at first sight, but *sensus venari* can hardly have that meaning, cp. e.g. Rhet. Her. 4,61 *ex his aliquam venari similitudinem*; Turpil. Com. 4 *verba venatur mea*. We must assume that Fronto sent Marcus, together with the theme, an example taken from Coelius to show how such a theme should be worked out, but Marcus refuses to read it until he himself has hunted up its *sensus et verba*, as the marginal note puts it. For *venari* in the same context see at 119,14.

Fuero: see at 1,10f.

42,18 *Caesaris oratio*: see at 35,18 and 42,4. Caesar is an appellativum.

Unceis unguibus: the alliterating paronomasia may point to an old source, e.g. Lucr. 5,1322 *(leae) morsibus adfixae validis atque unguibus uncis*; but it may also be a proverbial expression not testified elsewhere.

Nunc denique = *nunc demum*, see at 83,2.

42,18–19 *quantum operis*: see at 104,11.

42,19 *ternos vel quinos* should not be taken literally: 'a few lines', cp. Plaut. Trin. 963 *te tribus verbis volo*; Ter. Phorm. 638 *tria non commutabitis verba*; Hor. Epist. 1,7,1 and Sat. 1,3,16 *quinque dies*; Fronto 44,8 *bis et ter*; Vita Hadr. 9,7 *bis ac ter die*. *Quattuor* is not used in this way. Other symbolic numbers are ten (see at 60,21; 83,22) and two hundred (see at 211,10).

Versus are, of course, not 'verses' (so Pepe and I. Lana ap. Selvatico, Scambio 258,148; Lana sees in Coelius a poet!), but 'lines', as 39,8; 44,14; 49,22; 159,5.

In die: 'per day'.

Etornare: Buttman had already sensed that the reading *(ex)ornare* could not be right. *E(x)tornare* is 'to finish a piece of work with precision, with the turner's lathe'. *Etornare* occurs here for the first time; the TLL only has *extornare* in Boeth. Mus. 1,3 p. 190,16 *velut si conum . . . quis diligenter extornet.* The same metaphor Hor. Ars 441 *male tornatos incudi reddere versus* (see at 29,5); Prop. 2,34 b, 43 *angusto versus includere torno* (of short poems); Laus Pis. 96 *advolat excusso . . . sententia torno*; Gell. 9,8,4 *sententiam . . . detornatam.* It is an old simile: Plato, Phaedr. 234 e ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτετόρνευται. Aristoph. Them. 54 τὰ δὲ τορνεύει.

Aliquid diu scribere can hardly mean 'to take time over writing' (Haines) or 'scrivere qualcosa a lungo' (Portalupi). Della Corta has felt the difficulty and translates 'che cosa sia impiegare molto tempo a fare un solo componimento'. Better perhaps is 'to spend a long time on something of importance'. J.B. Hofmann, TTL s.v. diu, compares our passage with Plin. Epist. 2,3,1 and Cic. De orat. 1,152, where *diu scribere* means 'to spend time on writing'.

42,20 *spiritus meus* is not an exclamatory nominative (Pepe) but a vocative. *Meus* as vocative is found especially with nouns of the second declination, so *meus magister* 52,11M and *animus meus* 35,3M (Plautus and Terence often have *anime mi*). *Meus amor* 63,10M seems to be a nominative: *ubiubi es, mellitissime, (tu es) meus amor, mea voluptas.* See E. Löfstedt, Syntactica I 76; Hofmann-Szantyr 25; V. Bulhart, TLL s.v. meus.

Non for *nonne*, particularly in rhetoric questions: 11,11 (*nonne* m^2); 36,16M; 85,6M; 115,24?; 138,9; 140,14 (*num* Haines); 159,12; 184,3 (*nonne* m^2); 231,2.

Tuo amore: *tuus* for *tui* also 30,19M; 47,3; 51,16M; 61,3M; 63,25M; 83,12M; 93,6f.; 93,17; 106,8; 176,4; 250,3M; 250,5M. *Amor tui*: 8,5M; 54,15; 166,13. *Amor nostri*: 171,10.

For *qui* referring to *tuo* cp. Cic. Vat. 29 *nostra acta, quos tyrannos vocas.*

Hoc: in a lost letter. Klussmann, Curae Africanae 19f., and K. Sittl, Philol. Rundschau 3, 1883, 1104f., erroneously take *hoc* for *huc*, as 75,1.

42,21 *insistere* seems to be 'to go into it', 'to dwell upon it'; Cassan: 'insister'; Haines: 'cease'; Della Corte: 'restar qui fermo'; Pepe: 'fare si che cessi'; Portalupi: 'star qui fermo' (a Lorio); Cortassa: 'trattenermi'.

Datum fuit: datur and *datum est* usually mean 'it is given'; here, 'it befell me' (Haines).

42,22 *eodem loco*: perhaps Lorium. For the epanaphora see at 97,4.

42,23 *domina mea*: Domitia Lucilla. Haines and Pepe think that possibly Faustina Augusta maior, Pius' wife, is meant, but Fronto had no connections with her, see at 162,3.

43,1 Chronology of III 10 and the answer III 11: 43,11f. proves that these are early letters. Naber; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Portalupi date them 139; Mommsen makes the usual mistake: 143–145 (see at 1,5); Haines 140–143; Cortassa before 146–147. Champlin regards these letters as undatable: 139–161. To remain on the safe side, I date them 139–145. Marcus is not in Rome: 43,15 and 43,20. On the form of address see at 2,13 and 42,4. Suited to the occasion, III 10 is a solemn letter with poetical colour, but now and then Marcus forgets himself (*iuxta ut* 43,3; *commigret* 43,13).

43,2 *natali die*: Fronto's birthday was probably in October c. 95, see at 78,9; 84,14; 86,8. There is no reason to assume with Portalupi that Censorin. De die natali 2 alludes to this letter: in his time, Fronto's letters had not yet been edited, see Proleg. LXII n. 4.

Vota: we should not regard this letter as a token of Marcus' religiosity. As a matter of fact, we only have one significant passage: 82,20M *confidere dis debemus*. In his later years his religiosity is far more outspoken, see e.g. Medit. 1,17. Fronto does not show much religious feeling either: 76,9 *pro Faustina mane cotidie deos appello*; other passages are either trivial remarks or rhetorical exaggerations: 54,14; 72,10; 73,6; 73,9; 109,19f.; 164,24ff. In his letter on the death of his grandson (235,23ff.) Fronto's attitude is that of a sceptic intellectual. As a true conservative he repudiates the modern religiosity springing up in the second century, see at 183,2.

Quoiusque and *quoius*: the second hand does not alter these forms and, contrary to its usual practice, writes *Pergamei* in line 9. So we must assume that Marcus did write such solemn forms.

43,3 *iuxta ut* is the most plausible reading, though Naber, Haines, A. Klotz (TLL s.v. atque), Pepe and Cotassa follow Mai; cp. *aeque ut, similiter ut, pariter ut* etc. *Iuxta ut*, however, is found only in Greg. Tur. Franc. 6,40. According to H. von Kamptz, TLL s.v. iuxta, it was Fr. Bücheler, not R. Novák, who first corrected *aut* to *ut*. 189,14 we find *iuxta quam*.

Hac die: see on the gender of *dies* at 24,19–21.

43,4 *bene precari* is only found in later Latin: Petron. 78,2 *ut totus mihi populus bene imprecetur*; Fronto 216,14. On prayer see Marcus, Medit. 9,11; 27; 40; and Rutherford, The Meditations 200ff.

43,4–7 *deos ... eorum deorum: eorum deorum unumquemque* resumes *deos*, a usage found in sacral and legal language; see at 40,14 and 191,12f.; Kühner II 283f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 563.

43,5–6 *qui ... praebent*: because of the solemn ring of this passage, Ehrenthal 39 assumes that it was taken from a poetical source: –́⏑–́⏑–́⏑–́⏑–́⏑ *qui úsquam géntium vím suam praeséntem promptamque hóminibus praebént* <*piis*>. But Fronto and Marcus often lapse into alliterating and trochaic phrasing when praying to the gods, see at 61,10; 86,9–14; 91,22; 163,22f.

Usquam gentium is archaic; it occurs in Plautus and Terence, then here and Apul. Met. 2,20,1.

Praesentem: praesens is the epitheton of the helping god: Plaut. frg. inc. 38; Ter. Phorm. 345; Cic. Tusc. 1,28; Nat. deor. 2,6; Cat. 3,18; 3,21; Verg. Aen. 9,404; Hor. Carm. 1,35,2; 3,5,2; Sat. 2,3,68; Ovid. Her. 21,134.

Somniis: m[1]'s reading *somnis* may be correct, see at 233,12 and Proleg. XXXIV 1. In the second century in general and with Stoics in particular, belief in dreams was firm, see Vita Pii 3,5; Vita Marci 5,2; Testim. 13. In his Meditations 1,17,20, Marcus thanks the gods for τὸ δι' ὀνειράτων βοηθήματα δοθῆναι. 9,27 οἱ θεοὶ δὲ παντοίως αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦσι, δι' ὀνείρων, διὰ μαντειῶν, πρὸς ταῦτα μέντοι, πρὸς ἃ ἐκεῖνοι διαφέρονται. This διαφέρονται corresponds to *deus ei rei praeditus*. See 233,15 and Friedländer, Sittengeschichte III 168ff.; Rutherford o.c. 196ff.

43,6 *mysteriis*: in our letters the mysteries appear 116,19; 132,18.

Medicina: Aesculapius, see at 173,17.

Oraculis: see at 44,25.

43,7 *Votis advoco* is found only here. Sen. Herc. Oet. 539 *precibus advocare*; CIL VI 32326 *precatu advocare*. The usual expression is *votis optare*, hence *optas* 43,22M.

43,7–8 *pro genere cuiusque voti*: hypallage.

43,8 *ei rei praeditus*: Marcus is the first to use *praeditus* in the sense of *praefectus, praepositus*, and so Fronto 141,7 *Mercurius nuntiis praeditus*. The same sense in Apul. Socr. 6; 15; Dogm. Plat. 2,25; Zeno, Tract. 1,36,10; Augustin. Epist. 155,8.

43,11 *genibus nixus* seems to be poetical: Plaut. Rud. 695 (in a solemn passage, but Marcus does not quote him, as Selvatico, Scambio 250,115, thinks); Verg. Aen. 12,303; Ovid. Fast. 5,507. Since Livy, the expression is also found in prose writing.

Obsecro atque oro: the usual expression is *oro et obsecro* (Cic. Fam. 4,13,7; Att. 3,19,3; Fronto 110,3; as asyndeton in Plaut. Aul. 715; Caecil. Com. 212 Ribbeck; Plaut. Merc. 170 *obsecro hercle oroque*. Marcus' *atque* is archaic, see at 34,20f.

43,13 *commigret*: the metaphorical use of this verb is found only in Petron. 2,7 and some late authors. It seems to be colloquial.

deos . . . viales et promarinos: the Lares who protect travellers on land and at sea, cp. Curt. 9,9,27 *praesidibus et maris et locorum dis*. For *Lares viales* see Plaut. Merc. 865; CIL VI 36812; XI 3079; *dii viales* Serv. Aen. 3,168.

Dei promarini is not found elsewhere: Liv. 40,52,4 speaks of an *aedes Larium permarinum in campo*; also 40,52,6 (see Macrob. 1,10,10); CIL I^2 p. 338; XIV 4547. So Hudemann's conjecture is tempting and accepted by Klussmann, Schenkl, Haines and St. Weinstock, Viales, RE VIII 2 (1958).

43,14 *comitatum*: the passive sense of this verb since Cicero.

43,15 *tam . . . saevo*: alliteration.

Omnis omnium: traductio.

43,16 *Iovem . . . montem*: *Iovem* is an aurea lamella found in the cloaca of Cornelissen's conjectures. After all the gods mentioned, Marcus now comes to the climax; moreover, *tribuat* requires the name of a god. *Locum* is not possible and *lucum* merely a desperate guess of an ancient reader: *Capitolium montem* shows that it cannot be the temple of Veiovis *inter duos lucus*. *Capitolium* is not an adjective, as Reisch, TLL s.v., states but a substantive, cp. *in Palatio monte* Liv. 1,5,1.

43,17 *strepit* may not have been appreciated but must be defended as a poetical turn. Liv. 2,45,5 *haec cum sub ipso vallo . . . streperent* does not suffice to defend Marcus' reading, because a pronominal accusative is easier to explain. However, we have Prud. Perist. 10,993 *quem porca grunnitum strepat*, and Boeth. Cons. 3,6 *quid genus et proavos strepitis* ('brag of'). Uncertain is Apul. Flor. 18,37 *(Aesculapius) arcem nostrae Carthaginis indubitabili numine propitius strepit* (*respicit* edd.): though the resemblance is striking, I fail to see how Aesculapius can act like the Iuppiter tonans of our passage; nevertheless R. Klussmann, Philol. Rundschau 1, 1881, 1367, defends *strepit* in Apuleius. Intransitive verbs expressing a noise can have an accusative in

two cases: firstly, 'to make something sound', as in our passage (Della Corte: 'fa stormire il Campidoglio'; Pepe: 'far risonare con strepito'; less correct Portalupi: 'sormisce sul colle Capitolino'). So *tonare*: Verg. Ecl. 5,64 *carmina rupes, ipsa tonant arbusta*; Prop. 4,1,134 *verba tonare foro*; Mart. 7,23,1 and 8,3,14 *bella tonare*. *Sonare*: Ovid. Met. 4,523 and 6,597 *euhoe sonat*; Pers. 3,21 *(fidelia) sonat vitium percussa*. Even the accusative of a person (see *te constrepi* 214,6): Verg. Aen. 1,328 *vox hominem sonat*; 6,50 *nec mortale sonans*. *Fremere*: Verg. Aen. 7,389 *euhoe Bacchae fremens*. *Crepare*: Hor. Carm. 1,18,5 *quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?* ('talks big about'); 2,17,26 *populus frequens laetum . . . crepuit sonum*; Epist. 1,7,84 *sulcos et vineta crepat mera* ('boast about'); Prop. 3,10,4 *faustos ter crepuere sonos*. A second possibility is that the verb stands for a compositum, meaning 'to cry for something'; so Nazar. Pan. Const. 18 *bellicum strepunt nomina (Bructerorum)*. So *tonare*: Verg. Aen. 4,510 *sacerdos . . . tonat ore deos* ('calls upon'). *Fremere*: Acc. Trag. 287 *fremere bellum*; Verg. Aen. 7,460 *arma amens fremit (Turnus)*. *Clamare*: Plaut. Aul. 300 *hominum clamat . . . fidem*; Asin. 391 *ianua . . . ianitorem clamat*. *Latrare* (= *illatrare*): Plaut. Poen. 1234; Hor. Epod. 5,58; Sat. 2,1,85; Epist. 1,2,66; Gell. 6,1,6.

Quaeso tribuat: according to Caesar, *quaeso* was in his time εὐπινές *et urbanum* (Cic. Att. 12,6,4), and Quint. Inst. 8,3,25 calls it archaic. As a formula, however, it maintained its position throughout Latinity. Here and 91,22 (also with subjunctive) it is sacral; in a solemn request 55,24 and 107,10V. With *ut* or *ne* 39,3; 70,4; 166,11 (*tecum quaeso*); 177,19; 257,10, all solemn passages. In parenthesis 5,12; 54,13 (alongside of a subjunctive); 92,23 and 93,18 with an imperative. See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 128f., and at 3,1 and 37,11.

43,17–18 *tecum firmo te*: see at 50,2f.

43,19 *rogo*: Marcus abandons his solemn tone; in later Latin, this *rogo* is the colloquial equivalent to *quaeso*. In our correspondence it is only used here. See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 129f., and at 3,1.

Corpus cura: probably a fortuitous alliteration.

43,20 *domina*: Domitia Lucilla, as always in book III with its early letters. Champlin, who dates the letter 139–161, thinks that it may be Marcus' wife Faustina.

43,21 Chronology: see at 43,1.

43,25 *dominam*: see at 3,4.

44,1 Chronology of III 12 and 13: *postulabo* (44,6) and *concupisti* (44,10) show that Fronto's teaching has just started; see also 45,16M *quantum te invenisse gaudeo*. These are two of the oldest letters, if not the oldest. Haines, edition, and Birley, Mark Aurel 128, date them 139 (Grimal, Marc Aurèle 59, 'peut-être vers 139', is not correct); Naber dates them 140; Haines, Chronology, 140–143; Mommsen (on false grounds) 143–145; Champlin 140s. Marcus is staying in the country (Lorium or Lanuvium?): 44,14.

44,2 *Cratia* (see at 71,15; 113,4; and 235,11) has visited Domitia Lucilla, as she does 32,2; 32,21; 72,3; 73,12.

Gnomas: this Latin form of γνῶμαι (*sententiae*, 'maxims') occurs only here and in line 8. Marcus has γνῶμαι 44,22; 85,11–13; 85,21; *sententia* is used by Marcus 44,18 and by Fronto 88,8–18; 106,13 (marg. d); 174,13; 215,12–16. Quint. Inst. 8,5,3 *sententiae vocantur quas Graeci* γνώμας *appellant*. Succinctness

is essential for a maxim: Rhet. Her. 4,24 *sententia est oratio sumpta de vita, quae quid sit aut quid esse oporteat in vita, breviter ostendit*; Fronto 215,14 does not refer to a maxim. His maxims have been collected by Schwierczina, Frontoniana 15 n. 2. Apparently Cratia had brought Marcus' maxims along with her.

44,3 *convertisti* (also in line 8): 'turned' (Haines), 'transformato' (Portalupi), not 'translated' from the Greek (so Cassan; Brakman, Het onderwijs van Fronto 62; E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v.; Della Corte; and J. Dalfsen, Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Selbstbetrachtungen Marc Aurels, München 1967, 232). *Convertere* has the same meaning 144,20; 152,2; 154,18. It is a rhetorical term, instead of which Cicero and Quintilian use *versare*: Orat. 137; Inst. 10,5,9 *sententias ... versemus quam numerosissime*. In Greek παραφράζειν: Hermog. Prog. 4 also with γνώμην. Cp. Quint. Inst. 1,9,2 *paraphrasi audacius vertere*.

44,3–4 *prope ... possit*: on the alliteration see at 61,10.

44,4 *Sallustii*: some examples taken from Sallust Fronto presents 96,22ff. See at 134,2.

Decedat, 'to drop behind', 'to be inferior'; cp. Hor. Carm. 2,6,15 *non Hymetto mella decedunt*; Iust. 6,3,8 *ne a rebus gestis eius ... decederet*.

44,6 *et*: 'also'. I do not see why Mai, Naber, Haines and Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 378, want to read *mihimet*.

Profuisse: see at 7,19.

Non potest quin with 'ellipsis' of *fieri* occurs in the comical poets and may be colloquial. Cp. the ellipsis of *facere* 249,12M *nequeo quin dicam*, which is also found in the comici and e.g. Apul. Apol. 48,5; Flor. 17,22; see at 5,3. Without *quin* we have the ellipsis of *fieri* 14,7 and 117,3. See at 61,12f.

44,7–8 *convertito ... converte*: see at 107,5–8.

44,8 *gnome* as ablative is not unusual, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 66f.

Brevicula is not archaic, though it is found only in Plaut. Merc. 639; Fronto 141,18 and Apul. Met. 1,11,8; 6,25,4. See Index s.v. Diminutives.

44,9 *audacter*: see at 122,15.

Fueris: see at 1,10f.

Cum: see at 42,1.

On Marcus' *ingenium* see at 87,26.

44,11 *paucis*: on this dative see at 47,1.

44,13 *excerpere*: see at 29,2.

Diis propitiis: gods are often called *propitii*, but the abl. absol. is found only here and Naev. Com. 70.

44,14 *reverteris*; see at 63,7.

Denuo: the first time is not mentioned in our letters.

Versus: 'lines', not 'verses' (Haines), see at 42,19.

44,16 Chronology: see at 44,1.

44,17 *duas*: the second one is the preceding letter, the first one is lost. Haines, Pepe, Portalupi and Cortassa suppose that it is Caes. IV 3 p. 56, but there Fronto only speaks of an inaccurate use of words. According to Hanslik, Anordnung, it is Caes. III 1 p. 35, but there the situation is different and Marcus is not blamed.

Per id tempus: Orelli's conjecture (accepted by Haines) is very tempting,

but for two reasons I have kept *id*: firstly, *id* can have the same meaning as *hoc*: 'in questo momento' (Portalupi); secondly, Hofmann-Szantyr 187 present some instances—be it from the fourth century onwards—where it is the same as *idem*.

Sententiam: see at 44,2.

44,18 *tuere*: active *tuere* is found in Cic. Leg. 3,7; Vitruv. 8 praef. 2; Vita Hadr. 5,3; and in the Digests and inscriptions. Elsewhere in our correspondence we always find *tueri*: 38,15M; 43,10M; 68,12M; 111,23; 180,4; 204,5 (marg. c). See at 30,11 and 218,14.

44,19–20 *adiuro* etc. is a sacred formula. *Adiurare* with accusative instead of *per* we have Verg. Aen. 12,816 *caput* (and so Catull. 66,40 and Apul. Met. 3,14,3); Apul. Met. 2,27,7 *numina*; 9,36,1 *salutem*; 9,41,6 *genium*; Auson. 405,2 *benevolentiam*; cp. Cic. Fam. 7,12,2 *Iovem lapidem iurare*; Verg. Aen. 12,197 *terram, mare, sidera iuro*; Iuv. 3,144f. *iures*... *aras*. The addition *tibi* is not unusual, cp. Plaut. Cist. 569 *se*... *eam peperisse sancte adiurabat mihi*; Capt. 892 *quom ego iurem tibi*. *Adiurare aliquid* means 'solemnly assure' 88,2.

44,21 *itane*: see at 154,3. *Ita*... *si* also 216,5.

Dicet aliquis: see at 36,15.

44,22 *felicem te ais*: O. Hey, TLL s.v. aio, does not recognize aio with double accusative and states that we are always dealing with the ellipsis of *esse*; however, see Sall. Iug. 85,39 *sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt*; Sen. Contr. 1,3,2 *ait se innocentem*; Suet. Dom. 21 *condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat*; Pompon. Dig. 1,2,2,40 *hunc Cicero ait iurisconsultorem disertissimum*.

44,23 *Politius*: see at 107,22.

Non hoc est quod: 'that is not my reason for' (Haines); see at 40,6f.

44,24 *verum dicere*: veracity was Fronto's outstanding quality, see 33,8; 50,14; 51,9; 107,21f.V; 168,22; 238,19; and at 265,23f. Pennacini, La funzione 147, erroneously assumes that in 44,24 Marcus means the choice of the right word. On Marcus' veracity see 28,14–16; 47,20f.; Medit. 1,14; 1,16; 6,21; 6,47; 7,63; 9,18; 12,1; 12,3; 12,29; and Cova, Lo stoico 124ff. Hadrian called Marcus *Verisissimus*: Vita Marci 1,10 (see also 4,1) *post excessum*... *patris* (sc. *Annii Veri*) *ab Hadriano Annius Verissimus vocatus est, post virilem autem togam Annius Verus*. According to Cass. Dio 69,21,2, he gave this name κομψευόμενος because of Marcus' strong character. Marcus was then about three years old. As Caesar, he is still called *Verissimus* (Βηρίσσιμος or Οὐηρίσσιμος) by Iustin. Apol. 1,1,1 and Hieron. Chron., as well as on coins and in inscriptions; and even Marcus' eldest son, T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, is called Βηρίσσιμος by Herodian. 1,2,1. What had begun as a joke ('truth-fanatic') may have turned into a real cognomen. Improbable is the suggestion of F. Carrato Thomes, Il regno di Marco Aurelio, Torino 1953, 48, and Dailly & van Effenterre 23 that Hadrian called him Versissimus because he was the most Verus of the gens Annia. See at 36,28 and A. Stein, Annius 697, PIR I²; A. Stein & W. Reidinger, Verissimus, RE VIII 2 (1958), and Portalupi, Umgangssprache 152.

44,25 *denique*: 'consequently', see at 10,6.

Veriloquum occurs here for the first time, later Hieron. Adv. Ruf. 3,42, but Cic. Top. 35 had already coined *veriloquium* as a translation of ἐτυμολογία.

45,1 *quin*: see at 5,2f.

Aliquid ancipitis: the gen. partitivus of adjectives of the third declination is only used in combination with adjectives of the second declination: see 260,26; Cic. Nat. deor. 1,75; Liv. 5,3,9; Kühner I 431; Hofmann-Szantyr 58. Cicero's criticism of the Stoic belief in oracles is much harsher: Div. 115 *tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen inplevit partim falsis, . . . partim casu veris, . . . partim flexiloquis et obscuris, . . . partim ambiguis.*

Inpediti: 'intricate' (Haines).

Quo has sometimes a consecutive meaning: Hirt. Gall. 8,48,2 *Volusenus . . . magnum odium Commii adiungebat, quo libentius id faceret quod imperabatur.* See Hofmann-Szantyr 680.

45,1–2 *inprudentior inretiatur*: alliteration.

45,3 *post . . . negotium*: 'only when the time is past and the business done' (Haines), not 'appena passato il momento della necessità' (Portalupi) or 'after all his time and trouble' (P. Browning, Class. Rev. 9, 1958, 148). It reminds one of the saying 'what is done cannot be undone' and the proverb *omnia tempus revelat*, cp. *post decisa negotia* 210,17.

sed: Marache, Mots 48, has difficulties with this *sed*, which may have both adversative and causal meanings, like *sedenim*: 'but it is understandable because'. See Hofmann-Szantyr 488.

Lucrosa: the variants *ludiosus* (from *ludius* = *ludio*) and *lugiosus* (from *lugium*) are non-existent. See at 128,5.

45,4 *pio . . . vanitate* seems to refer to the dupes: 'come un pio errore e leggerezza' (Portalupi), rather than 'as pious fraud and delusion' (Haines) or 'par de pieux détours et mensonges' (Marache, Mots 48).

45,4–5 *accusationes seu lora* refers to *increpabas* and *tuere studium meum* (44,17f.). *Seu . . . seu* proves that *lora* means 'guiding reins' (Haines), not 'sferzate' (Portalupi).

45,6 *haberem* is the lectio difficilior, see Proleg. XXXIX, meaning 'to have to'. It is a colloquialism used since August. ap. Suet. Aug. 58,2 and Sen. Contr. 1,1,19.

Vel si: 'even if'.

45,6–7 *verum . . . doces*: those who have changed the text have missed the point: in the preceding letter Fronto did not teach Marcus to speak the truth but criticized Marcus' formulation of a maxim (44,17f.). And now Marcus presents a pun: Fronto taught him to improve his formulation of a maxim and to listen to the truth at the same time. *Verum dicere satius* is 'to say better the correct word', not 'to speak the truth', as the translators (Haines among them) have. Haines reads *tibi* instead of *vel*; for the rest, he follows the MS reading, although he should read *doceres*. Hauler, Mélanges Boissier, Paris 1903, 248, correctly states that *satius*, 'better', is used here ἀπὸ κοινοῦ and that it refers to *verum dicere* and *audire verum.*

45,8 *par pari*: see at 21,4.

45,9 *inpius* should not be connected with *mihi* ('disloyal to myself' [Haines and Pepe]) but with *malui*: 'I should be disloyal if I preferred . . .'

45,11 *acuit*: cp. Plin. Epist. 2,7,5 *acuent ad bonas artes iuventutem . . . praemia.*

45,12 *excerpendo*: see at 29,2.

45,15 *vale mi*: see at 2,13.

45,16 *domina mea*: Domitia Lucilla.

45,18 Chronology: apparently this letter is later than the two preceding ones: Marcus has his share in the imperial administration and there is no trace of his being a pupil of Fronto. Therefore, it seems out of the question that this letter was written in 140 (so Niebuhr and Naber), in 140–143 (Haines, Chronology), in 143–145 (Mommsen) or towards 144 (Grimal, Marc Aurèle 243). In his edition, Haines dates the letter 145–147: from *necessario munere* (47,11f.) he deduces that Marcus had the tribunicia potestas and the imperium proconsulare. Hanslik, Anordnung, has resumed this argument, pointing to 46,5 *negotia, officia* and the *rescribendae litterae*. According to him, Marcus received the tribunicia potestas and the imperium proconsulare in December 146 (see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II[3] 1153), and therefore he dates this letter early 147 (so, too, Portalupi in her editions and in Un mimo 86f.). But according to Birley, Mark Aurel 78 and 188, Marcus received the tribunicia potestas and the imperium proconsulare a year later, in December 147. Champlin, Chronology, is not impressed by Hanslik's arguments: he sees—correctly—no necessary connection between Marcus writing official letters and the tribunicia potestas or the imperium proconsulare. At the age of eighteen, in 140, Marcus became consul for the first time, and since then he must have played a part in the imperial administration. Champlin dates the letter 139–161, but in this letter Marcus is Fronto's friend rather than his pupil, so I date it 146–161, or rather 146–147, for it was not long ago (*proxime* 46,18) that he used to write daily to Fronto (46,25). The words *proxime cum proficiscerere* (46,18) have nothing to do with an imperium extra urbem: Marcus is going on holiday with Pius.

45,19 *concessum: concedo* with infinitive see at 68,9.

Ὀνοματοποιεῖν and 46,11 ὀνοματοποιία: Cic. Part. 16 and De orat. 3,154, speaks of *verba novare*, Orat. 81 of *verba facere*, Quintilian usually of *verba fingere*, and so does Sen. Epist. 114,10. But Quint. Inst. 1,5,72 and 9,1,3 ὀνοματοποιία and 8,6,32 *verba* πεποιημένα, 8,6,31 *onomatopoeia. Verba fingere* also Fronto 159,15. On the poetical licence to create new words, see Cic. Orat. 202 *liberius novis (verbis utuntur poetae)*; Hor. Ars 50ff. *fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis . . . nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta . . . nova rerum nomina protulerint*; cp. Cic. Orat. 81 *nec in faciendis verbis erit audax (orator)*. See also Varro, L.L. 5,7; 5,9; 10,35; Cic. Tusc. 3,20; Quint. Inst. 8,3,35; Gell. 16,7; 18,11 and at 159,15. See also at 136,9 (marg. b).

46,1 *solitis et usitatis*: see at 57,26f.

46,2 *laetius gaudeo*; cp. Gell. 3,15,2 *cum . . . laetissime gaudereat.*

46,3–5 *tot . . . compositas*: acc. exclamationis, see st 107,20. It is not an acc. cum inf. dependent on *laetitiam*, as Haines and Portalupi suppose. These letters are lost. Note the *t* alliteration.

46,4 epanaphora of *tam*: see at 97,4.

Effuse: 'exuberantly'.

Fraglanter: this adverb occurs here for the first time, but *fraglantius* already Sil. 16,595 and *fraglantissime* Tac. Ann. 1,3,2. See at 3,2.

46,5 *tot... quot... quot* = *tot... et tot... et tot.*

46,7 *ita* here has the same function as *igitur* after a parenthesis: 40,15; 52,2; 66,19.

46,8 *desidiae... subire*: 'andare incontro ad un'accusa di pigrizia da parte tua' (Portalupi). Cp. Plaut. Curc. 405 *inibis a me... gratiam.*

46,10 and 25 adversative *quom* with indicative: 'whereas' (Haines), 'allorché' (Portalupi), as 60,19M (not 'for' or 'perché' [same]); 84,20 ('while', 'mentre') and 192,10. Causal *cum* never has the indicative in Fronto.

46,11 *iam hic*: see at 18,11; 118,13.

Opus est always with ablative; here he is forced to use the genitive because of the Greek word. A pseudo-ablative such as εἰκόνε 41,22 is here impossible.

46,12–13 *plures... dies*: during a certain period, Marcus wrote three letters a day to Herodes Atticus (Philostr. V.S. p. 70,2f. K.).

46,14 *quod... cur*: Eussner, Cornelissen and Haines transpose these two words, but *non est quod* with subjunctive is a common construction, see at 40,6f. The difficulty lies in *cur*. Passages like this and Plin. Epist. 3,5,16 *me correptum ab eo, cur ambularem*; Tac. Ann. 6,4,2 *consules... invasit, cur... silerent*; and the variant *cur* 42,10M show that *cur* means 'because'. So with *accusare* Cic. Verr. II 3,16 *accuso, cur... quicquam novi feceris*, and—always with subjunctive—Cic. Att. 3,13,2; Hor. Epist. 1,8,10 with *irasci*; Catull. 69,10 with *admirari*; Quint. Inst. 1,3,15 with *punire*; Declam. 299 p. 182,10 Ritter with *queri*; Verus 114,19 with *obiurgare*, who is the first to use the indicative. With indicative also Ulp. Dig. 3,5,7 pr. with *imputare* etc. *Obiurgare cur* also Avell. 539,15. See Hofmann-Szantyr 541.

Tristior with dative: 'vexed with' (Haines), cp. Plaut. Cas. 282 *stultitia est ei te esse tristem*; Afran. Com. 120 *mihi erit tristior.* It seems to be a colloquialism, not an archaism, as Priebe I 15 thinks. *Tristis* has the same meaning 68,5M. See also at 88,5.

Omnino: 'veramente' (Portalupi).

46,15 *oneris essent*: *oneris* is correct, though Cornelissen, Novák and all editors since Haines have adopted Eussner's conjecture. It is a gen. proprietatis: 'to be a question of trouble'; Cic. Or. frg. B 1 *custodiam sacrorum non honoris sed oneris esse*; Colum. 8,13,3; Ap. Sid. Epist. 9,11,2; Sacr. Leon. 1005; Petrus Chrysol. Sermo 9 p. 214 A. *Oneris est* should be compared with expressions such as *moris est, consuetudinus est, iuris est.* Cp. 113,20V *acerbitatis* (a gen. qualitatis), altered by Heindorf to *acerbitati.*

Mei amantior: amans with genitive since Plaut. Asin. 857; often in Cicero.

46,16 *parciorem... modestiorem: parcus* is often used with the gen. relationis or respectus since Hor. Sat. 2,2,62; *modestus* only here. See Ed. Wölfflin, Die Adjectiva relativa, Archiv 13, 1904, 408, and at 21,8.

46,17 *odor*: cp. Ovid. Ars 3,277 *gravis oris odor.* Having kissed Jacob, Isaac says, Genesis 27,27, *ecce odor filii mei.* On *osculum* see at 21,15.

46,18 *fructus*: 'delight' (Haines), see 47,13 and 185,21.

Collo: see at 67,14.

46,19 *conscendisset*: apparently Pius and Marcus drove in one car, see at 60,3f. Does this mean that Lucius Verus did not accompany Pius on his journey to one of his estates? In December 147 Lucius had become

seventeen years old. Or should we believe Vita Veri 3,4–5 *diu... ea honorificentia caruit, qua Marcus ornabatur; nam... neque in itinere cum patre, sed cum praefecto praetorio* (sc. Gavio Maximo) *vectus est*? Fronto was an 'amicus' of Marcus and perhaps of Pius, but not a 'comes' in the technical sense of the word, see at 3,26 and 184,1. M. Bang in Friedländer's Sittengeschichte IV[3] 56ff. enumerates the amici and comites of the Antonines. See at 96,3 and Mommsen, Staatsrecht II[3] 834ff.

46,19–20 *salutantium... turba*: friends and senators had the privilege to kiss the emperor when he left Rome or returned there: Plin. Pan. 23f.; Heliod. 10,6 p. 277,20ff.; Hug, Salutatio, RE I 2 (1920).

46,20 *profuit ut*: impersonal *prodest* is followed by *ut*, like *convenit, in rem est, satius est*. Cp. 238,20 *potius duxi neglegi quam blandiri*.

Solus ex since Plaut. Most. 879; Lucil. 1013; Cic. S. Rosc. 15; 87; but *solus hominum* Fronto 206,2.

46,21 *ceteris aliis omnibus*: Fronto is the first to use this abundant expression; cp. Arnob. Nat. 7,33 *ceteri... omnes alii* and Fronto 87,12 *quod ad ceteras res alioqui adtinet*. Eurip. Suppl. 573 χἀτέρους ἄλλους.

46,25 *parcius*: 'more sparingly' (Haines), 'less frequently'. Cp. Hor. Carm. 1,25,1 *parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras... iuvenes*.

Appellare: 'to address' (Haines), here by letter, as Cic. Fam. 15,20,2 *crebris nos litteris appellato*. See at 81,26.

Quom: see at 46,10.

46,26 *simile... quod*: for *similis qui* see at 35,22 and 241,2.

46,28 *gaudet*: apart from *id gaudeo* and the like, *gaudeo* and *laetor* sometimes have the accusative of a substantive: *dolorem, fata, proelia* and once *adventum* (Carm. Epigr. II 760,7). Fronto is the first to use *gaudeo* with the accusative of a person (the conjecture *advenientiam* was also proposed by Popma in Sisenn. Hist. 25). Most examples of this accusative have a participle: Iust. 13,1,7 *hostem amissum gaudebant*, 'the loss of an enemy'; Quodv. Augustin. Epist. 221,4 *gaudere distantem*; Drac. Romul. 8,561 *subolem gaudet... colla gravantem*.

47,1 *histrionibus*: 'the story so popular with pantomimes'. *Histrionibus* is not a dat. Graecus or auctoris (against Tillmann, De dativo graeco 94, and Ebert, Synt. 7), but the dative of the person involved, especially with a part. perf. pass., see Kühner I 324f. So the dative with *acceptus* (81,18; 87,14; 218,21; 236,22), *probatus* (81,18; 218,22), *impetratus* (44,11), *indomitus* and *conciliatus* (48,22), *excusatus* (212,15), *compertus* (92,23), *expolitus et exploratus* (150,12), *partus* (138,15 [marg. h]). Cp. Sen. Thy. 409 *celebrata iuveni stadia*; Mart. 12,52,2 *attonitis vox celebrata reis*. A dat. auctoris we find 158,2 in a quotation.

From the second century onwards, *histriones* are always pantomimes, see at 154,15, not 'actors' (against E. Kroecker, TLL s.v.). In Fronto's time, the ancient Roman tragedy was not played any longer, and the art of the histrio consisted in gesticulating (*gestu* 123,12; Quint. Inst. 11,3,89; Apul. Flor. 18,4; χειρόσοφος Lucian. Salt. 69), dancing (*saltant* 154,16) and singing. 154,15f. shows that for a real appreciation of these dances knowledge of mythology was a prerequisite. The texts of the pantomime's songs and of

the choir were often of a low standard (Lucanus and Statius were the last poets to write a libretto for a pantomime), dealing mostly with amorous escapades which hit the fancy of soldiers, 128,8. See Lucianus, De saltatione; Apul. Met. 10,29–34; J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung VI^2, Leipzig 1885, 551; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 125ff.; Furneaux at Tac. Ann. 1,54,3; E. Wüst, Pantomimus, RE XVIII 3 (1949); Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 344ff.

47,1–6 *amans . . . noxsit*: there is no other passage in Fronto where we find such an accumulation of archaic words and poetical expressions. This means that Fronto's quotation cannot have been taken from the coarse language of the mime or the insignificant libretto of the pantomime, as assumed by Knaack, Hero und Leander; Sittig, Hero, RE VIII I (1912); Traversari, Tetimimo; Bonari; Portalupi, Un mimo; Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 351f.; and Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni. All these philologists failed to take into account the poetical and archaic elements of Fronto's words. And we cannot assume either that these elements are Fronto's own words, as Ribbeck LXX and K. Sittl, Jahresb. ü. d. Fort. d. class. Alterthumswiss. 55, XVI 1888, 240, suppose; Fronto's being an archaist does not mean that he writes archaic Latin. It is typical of Fronto that, when he is dealing with contemporary problems, he resorts to ancient authors: when reorganizing his army, Verus should think of what Cato did (128,17ff.); when Marcus is desperate about the military situation in the East, Fronto quotes Ennius and Cicero to console him (220,9ff.; 225,3ff.), and when speaking of the Atellanae (106,13 [marg. d]), he means Pomponius and Novius. Likewise in our passage: the pantomime of his time gave rise to his remark, but he quotes a literary source (so already Mai, C.F.W. Müller, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 93, 1866, 487f., and A. Ludwig, ibid., 1886, 243). This source is unknown: Ehrenthal 48ff. thinks that it was a Latin tragedy of the second century BC. The story of Hero and Leander was widespread: we find it in a Greek papyrus (L. Robert, Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library III, Manchester 1938, n. 486, p. 98; T.E. Page, Select Papyri III, London 1962, 512–515), then in Verg. Georg. 3,258–263; Ovid. Heroid. 18 and 19, and in the epyllion of Musaeus (fifth century AD). See H. von Geisau, Hero und Leander, Kleine Pauly (1967) with further literature. Ehrenthal has tried to reconstruct the original iambic senarii (according to C.F.W. Müller it should be septenarii):

amáns amantem púella iuvenem nócte lumine <écce>
accéenso stans in túrri luctantem ín mari opperitur
(or *accénso stans in túrri nantem pér mare opperitur*)

and then:

<non> téd hoc noctis <ádulescens> natáre <ego>
(or *potiús quam ted hoc nóctis <nunc> natáre <ego>*)
tantúm profundi pátiar. Ne luna óccidat,
ventús lucernam ne ínterimat, ne quíd tibi
e frígore implicíscat, ne fluctús, vadus
ne píscis aliqua nóxsit.

I do not regard the first two lines as a quotation: *luctantem* resists iambic metre, and the repetition of *potius* seems to indicate that the quotation begins with *te*; besides, the first two lines are in the third person, the others in the first person. Ehrenthal suggests that in the first two lines Hero's nurse is speaking.

47,1 *amans amantem*: this polyptoton is not necessarily poetical (Plaut. Persa 776 *amantem amanti decet*): Fronto often has a polyptoton, see Index s.v. traductio. On the word order *amans amantem puella iuvenem* see Kühner II 618.

47,2 *in mare*: the ablative *mare* points to archaic and poetical language: Priscian. II 331,12 *vetustissimi tamen solebant huiuscemodi nominum ablativum etiam in -e proferre*, and he quotes Varro and Plautus. See also Neue-Wagener I[3] 353f. and TLL s.v. mare with examples chiefly from poets. Fronto himself always has *mari*. Ribbeck and Knaack write *marei*, see Proleg. XXXIII.

47,3 The repetition of *potius* also occurs in Epiphan. In evang. 56 p. 151,17 and is justly defended by Löfstedt, Philologischer Kommentar 63, and Vermischte Studien 65, as well as by Hofmann-Szantyr 803. A similar repetition of words after a long parenthesis 58,3–5 *te*; 88,29–89,2 *quisquam.*

Caruero: see at 1,10f.

Amore tuo: see at 42,20.

47,4 *ad hoc*: 'at this moment of the night'. See for this gen. partitivus at 190,1. If we read *ted* (archaic accusative), *hoc noctis* is an adverbial accusative of time, as *hoc aetatis, id aetatis, id temporis* etc., cp. Plaut. Curc. 1 *quo ted hoc noctis dicam proficisci?* Amph. 154; 164; 292; 310; Liv. 40,9,12; Apul. Met. 1,15,2. Ehrenthal and W. Ehlers, TLL s.v. hic, do not accept *te ad.*

Natare with accusative is poetical: Verg. Georg. 3,260; Ovid. Ars 1,48; Trist. 5,2,25; Mart. 14,196; Stat. Silv. 5,2,133; Theb. 4,239. Also poetical is *profundum* for sea, cp. e.g. Ovid. Heroid. 18,89. *Profundi patiar*: alliteration. Knaack and Haines assume that in the original there still followed several words after *patiar.*

Ne: 'for fear that'; according to Hofmann, Umgangssprache 51, it is typical of archaic Latin.

47,5 *lucernam*: metonymy for the light of the lantern.

Interematis is the orthography of older poets. See K.E. Georges, Archiv 4, 1887, 315. *Interimere* with an object such as *lucernam* only occurs here.

Ne . . . inpliciscare: 'to get entangled there somehow, because of the cold'. *Quid* is an adverbial accusative. The only passage where *implicisci* occurs is Plaut. Amph. 729 *ubi primum tibi sensisti, mulier, impliciscier?*, 'to be deranged' (*tibi* belongs to *sensisti*). Fronto's text has been much disputed: Mai printed *tibi* instead of *ibi*, without comment; it was adopted by C.F.W. Müller, Ribbeck 1871 and Ehrenthal. *Ibi* was first introduced as the correct reading by Naber.

Ex frigore is the correct reading by Mai, C.F.W. Müller, Ribbeck 1897, Knaack, Brakman and modern editors; Naber had, without comment, *e frigore*, which we find again in Fr. Bücheler, Ehrenthal and B. Rehm, TLL s.v. impliciscor. The MS reading *inpliciscar* was kept by Mai and Naber, but the first person is untenable. Fr. Jacobs 1838 altered it to *impliciscaris*, but Bücheler's *inpliciscare* is better and was adopted by Brakman, Rehm and

modern editors. C.F.W. Müller introduced the reading *inpliciscat*, 'befalls'; he was followed by Ribbeck, Ehrenthal and Knaack (they all have *tibi*). Both in Plautus and here *implicisci* is a deponens, not used with passive sense, as Ebert, Synt. 30, and Hofer assume, see Georges, Jahresbericht über lateinische Lexikographie für 1880 und 1881, 269. Marache, Mots 61, keeps *impliciscar* and translates 'perdre la tête'. Jacobs interprets *implicisci* as 'to contract'; in this case, *quid* is object. Other translations: 'the cold benumb your senses there' (Haines); 'che laggiù tu ti trovi in difficoltà per il freddo' (Portalupi); 'che tu laggiù non ti lasci cogliere dai crampli per il freddo' (Della Corte).

47,5–6 *fluctus . . . piscis*: the singular is poetical. *Vadus* of the fourth declination is archaic: Varro ap. Serv. auct. Aen. 1,111; Sall. Hist. 1,68M; Priscian. 6,15,79 (I 264,4); and Neue-Wagener I[3] 787. It is not 'reef' (Haines) but a 'shallow' where it is difficult to swim and difficult to walk.

47,6 *aliquo* is defended by Haines as *aliquo modo*, which is unlikely. If correct, it must be a metaphorical use of the adverb *aliquo*: 'to some extent', 'somehow', a meaning not found anywhere else. The corrections *aliqua* (C.F.W. Müller; Ribbeck; Ehrenthal; Georges, Wörterbuch s.v. noceo) and *aliquod* (Ebert) are very tempting.

Noxsit: the same sigmate form Lucil. 1195 Marx *ne boa noxit*, but here *boa* is not a water-snake but a dilatation of the veins of a blister or eczema (see Plin. Nat. 24,53; 26,120). See at 37,10. For K.E. Georges, Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen, Leipzig 1890, and Blase, Geschichte des Irrealis 36, this *noxsit* proves that it must be a quotation.

Ratio: 'thought', 'consideration'. If we read *oratio, haec* refers to the preceding and contradicts Fronto's own statement. *Haec* refers to what follows: *non alieno* etc. MSS often confuse *ratio* and *oratio*.

Decuit and *fuit*: a perfectum praesens or empiricum, see Hofmann-Szantyr 318. *Decet* with dative is archaic. It occurs particularly in Plautus and Terence, then in Sall. Hist. frg. 1,140; Sen. Herc. O. 869; Fronto 110,4; Gell. 14,2,15; Apul. Flor. 16; and in a few later writers. See Kühner I 259; Hofmann-Szantyr 88.

47,7 Before Fronto, *capitale periculum* is found only in Plaut. Rud. 349 and Trin. 1088, after him in Edict. imp. Dioclet. 2,19; Cod. Theod. 8,5,41; Cod. Iustin. 1,27,1,20; and in Ps. Apul. Asclep. 25. It is not drawn from Plautus.

47,9 *a fabula ad verum*: Cic. Rep. 2,4 *ut iam a fabulis ad facta veniamus*; Petron. 76,4 *factum, non fabula.*

Id: adverbial accusative of a pronoun, as 55,11 *quod*; 59,1 *quod*?; 110,16 *ea*; 238,8 *quae*. So *quantum* 86,17M; *paululum* 60,4M.

Non mediocriter: the same litotes 88,9 and 187,16.

Anxius with *ne*: Sall. Iug. 6,3 *ne qua seditio . . . oriretur, anxius erat*; Val. Max. 9,3 pr.; Ammian. 19,6,4; Dict. 2,33.

47,10–11 *insuper . . . inponerem*: alliteration.

47,10 *aliquod* instead of *aliquid* with partitive genitive occurs several times in the expression *post aliquod temporis*. Without genitive in Varro, L.L. 5,28 *amnis id flumen quod circuit aliquod.* In Cic. Att. 15,4,3 and Liv. 41,19,7 most editors read *aliquid.*

47,12 *ad . . . fatigarem*: 'to weary you out by urging you to reply' (Haines).

For this *ad* cp. Tac. Hist. 4,73,2 *discordiae usque ad exitium fatigabant.* In the same sense *fatigare ut*: Verg. Aen. 6,533; Sall Iug. 11,4; and with nude subjunctive Fronto 241,8, see at 37,11.

47,13 *fructu amoris*: Prop. 3,20,30 *semper amet, fructu semper amoris egens.*

47,13–14 *ne... incommodi*: a colloquial double negation; strictly speaking, *ne quidem* is superfluous. See on this pleonasm Hofmann-Szantyr 803.

47,15 Chronology: this letter is usually regarded as an early one, which may be true: Naber dates it 140; Mommsen 143–145; Haines, Chronology, 140–143 (p. 115), 144–147 (p. 118), and in his edition 143. But Champlin and Cortassa are right to regard it as undatable: 139–161. Even as an emperor, Marcus asked Fronto to send him some of Cicero's letters: 104,1ff. See at 103,17.

47,16 Cic. Att. 15,1b,2 *Brutus noster misit ad me orationem suam habitam in contione Capitolina petivitque a me ut eam ne ambitiose corrigerem*; 15,3,2 *Brutum omni re qua possum cupio iuvare, cuius de oratiuncula idem te quod me sentire video*; 15,4,3 *de oratione Bruti prorsus contendis.* 15,4 is the most lively and interesting letter. Mai thinks that Marcus refers to Cicero's letter to M. Brutus, from which Quint. Inst. 8,3,6 and 34 quotes; however, that letter apparently had a quite different subject. Haines has been led astray by the word *librum*, supposing that Brutus' De virtute is meant. But *liber* indicates any volumen, also a speech, see Th. Birt, Das antike Buchwesen, Berlin 1882, 13f.; Dziatzko, Untersuchungen 33f.; Index Latinitate s.v. liber.

Mirifice is a colloquialism, see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 78.

47,18 Chronology: certainly not an early letter: it deals with the conflict between rhetoric and philosophy which was keeping Marcus busy since 145. Therefore I date it 145–161. Naber dates it 140; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 143; Hanslik, Anordnung, 146 or shortly after; Champlin 139–161. The contents of this letter are very similar to those of De eloquentia.

47,19 The subject of *molliantur* seems to be a word like *verba* rather than *animi*, as Klussmann, Emendationes 40, assumes; see at 19,2f.

Ad animos seems to be a hyperbaton or traiectio; it must correspond to *penetrent*; *offensio ad* is not possible, and *offensio* with accusative (m^1's reading) is not very likely either, though I have tried to defend it (Mnemos. 12, 1944, 230f.) because *offensio* is a substantivum verbale and Plautus sometimes connects such substantives (*curatio, receptio, tactio*) with an accusative. R. Heine, TLL s.v. offensio, has rightly rejected this possibility: *sine ulla* is said with emphasis. Yet a hyperbaton like this is very uncommon, see Hofmann-Szantyr 689f.

47,21 *insincera*: 'impure'; *anxia*: 'tangled', 'intricate'. *Anxius* in malam partem we find in Gell. 13,11,4 *rebus anxiis aut tortuosis*; 15,7,3 *elegantia orationis neque morosa* ('pedantic') *neque anxia, sed facili*; 18,2,6 *sententia poetae veteris lepide obscura, non anxie*; Macrob. Sat. 6,7,4 *anxie diligens.* A. Klotz, TLL s.v., failed to see this notion; cp. Timpanaro, Contributi 385 n. 25.

47,22 *absurdam*: 'savourless', 'rude' (Haines), cp. 55,25M *verbum absurdius* ('inappropriate', 'unsuitable', not 'solecism' [Haines]); 97,1; 150,11.

Incognitam: all editors (except Naber) and Allen, Klussmann and R. Hanslik, Gnomon 28, 1956, 120, read *inconditam*, cp. Quint. Inst. 6,3,107 *illa est*

urbanitas, in qua nihil absonum (hence Orth's conjecture), *nihil agreste, nihil inconditum* (146,2 Orth also alters *inedita* to *incondita*), *nihil peregrinum*. B. Rehm, TLL s.v., rejects *incognitam* as well, but his article has a rubric where it means 'obscurus', 'incomprehensibilis'. I have defended *incognitam* in Mnemos. 12, 1944, 231f. Perhaps we should compare *cogniti milites*, 'tried soldiers' (207,21).

47,22–48,1 Note the alliteration.

48,1 *inertem* ('inane', not 'inartistic' [Haines]) *atque inutilem* are synonyms, cp. Calp. Ecl. 3,60 *carmen iners*; Tac. Ann. 13,42,4 *studiis inertibus* (rhetoric, poetry and philosophy); Gell. 18,8,1 *(homoioteleuta) quam sint insubida et inertia et puerilia*. See at 21,2.

Magis: see at 108,4.

48,3 *quod dicitur*: in Fronto as well as in other writers, proverbs are introduced by *quod dicitur, ut dicitur* (56,12; 92,15; 95,4), *(ut) volgo dicitur* (51,9M; 160,1 is different), *aiunt* (92,12), *quod aiunt* (133,6), *quod volgo aiunt* (217,6), *ferunt* (25,13), φασίν (243,13). Here it is not a real proverb but a common saying (Otto's Sprichwörtliche Redensarten), as in Rhet. Her. 4,1,2 *si quis . . . domesticis testimoniis pugnet* ('of his own'); Chalcid. Comm. 50 *domesticis et familiaribus sibi probationibus utentem* ('usual'); Paulin. Nol. Epist. 47,9 *domesticis utamur exemplis*; Mutian. Chrys. hom. 26,2 *familiare illis et domesticum profert exemplum*; Ioh. Sarisb. Metal. 3,10 *domestica . . . exempla magis movent*. See at 25,13f. and 272,30.

48,4 *poetarum*: they do not occur in what follows.

48,5 *usu atque cultu*, 'practice and usage' (Haines), a paronomasia also found in Cic. Off. 1,140; Att. 14,11,2; Fronto 217,4f.

artium experimentis: 'the experience of all the arts' (Haines). Cp. Quint. Decl. 350 p. 379,23 *adeone ignota medicinae experimenta sunt?*; Augustin. Doctr. Chr. 2,30,47 *harum . . . cunctarum artium de praeteritis experimenta*.

Quidnam: see at 29,20.

48,6 *Socrates* as *princeps philosophorum* is a commonplace since Plato, Apol. 21 a; cp. Cic. De orat. 3,60; Nat. deor. 2,167; Fin. 2,1 *parens philosophiae*; Min. Fel. 13,1 *sapientiae princeps*.

48,7 *huic . . . denuntiavi*: *alicui testimonium denuntiare* is a legal term, 'to summon someone to bear witness', 'I have subpoenaed him as witness before you' (Haines). Cp. e.g. Cic. S. Rosc. 110 *si accusator voluerit testimonium eis denuntiare*; Ulp. Dig. 22,5,19,1 *nec pupillis testimonium denuntiari potest*.

Primo ac potissimo: see at 21,2.

Apud te: as a judge.

Eone: Fronto uses *-ne* in open questions but also, like here, in the sense of *num*: 85,5M; 93,1; 95,18; 154,13; 192,2; 228,17; and so *hoccine* 235,26; 236,2; 236,9. Only once, *ne* is *nonne*: 9,10. See Index Latinitatis s.v. -ne.

48,8 *oblicum*: see at 34,8f.

48,10 *versare*: 'to disconcert' (Haines). Cp. Augustin. Civ. 8,3 *constat eum (Socratem) . . . imperitorum stultitiam . . . vel confessa ignorantia sua vel dissimulata scientia lepore mirabili disserendi et acutissima urbanitate agitasse atque versasse*.

48,10–20 rhetoric is like the art of warfare, a commonplace, see at 130,9–13.

48,10 *aperta arte* does not occur elsewhere (nor does *aperto Marte*), but cp. *aperta pugna* and *aperta acie*. The same image Cic. Orat. 38 *non ex insidiis, sed aperte ac palam elaboratur*; Quint. Inst. 12,9,3 *occultis artibus rem geret.*

48,11 *ex insidiis adortus*: Quint. Inst. 6,4,14 *in actione dissimulata... est inopinatis eruptionibus aut ex insidiis incursioni factae simillimum*; 12,9,3 *operibus et cuniculis et insidiis.*

48,11–12 *inversa oratio*: the Romans had some difficulty in translating Socratic εἰρωνεία: Cicero has *dissimulatio* (once *dissimulantia*: De orat. 2,270), and so Gell. 18,4,1 and Ps. Rufin. Schem. dian. 9. Quint. Inst. 9,2,44 does not approve of this translation, contenting himself with the Greek word (*ironia* 9,2,46), as did Cic. Brut. 292; De orat. 2,270. Elsewhere he mentions the translation *illusio* (8,6,54). Ps. Rufin. l.l. and Cassiod. In Psalm. 27,4 have *irrisio*; Aquila 7 *simulatio*. Fronto's 'inverted way of speech' seems to be borrowed from Cicero's *inversio verborum* (De orat. 2,261); cp. De orat. 2,262 *invertere verba*: 'to give words the opposite meaning', which is what Rhet. Her. 4,46 calls the *permutatio ex contrario*. Irony in Fronto: 8,7M *gratiam referat*; 11,15 *velocia stativa*; 131,12 *elegantissimis altercatoribus*; 241,15 *scilicet*. The whole letter De feriis Alsiensibus 227,5ff. is ironical.

48,13 *forma*: 'outward appearance', as 80,2 and 145,19, or 'beauty' (Haines).

Feroces: 'arrogant', 'spavaldi' (Portalupi).

48,14 *appellare atque adfari*: alliteration.

48,14–15 *an*: see at 62,1.

48,14 πολιτείαν must mean 'civility', 'courteousness', though our lexica do not support this meaning; it is explained by *leviter arguendo* and *comi atque adfabili oratione*. Haupt, Emendantur Frontonis epistulae 3ff., refers to πολιτικός, which means 'civil', 'courteous' in Polyb. 23,5,7 ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις εὔχαρις καὶ πρόχειρος ἦν, παρά τε τὰς συνουσίας εὐτράπελος καὶ πολιτικός. 18,48,7 πολλῶν ... πρᾴως καὶ πολιτικῶς μεμψιμοιρούντων. Suda s.v. πολιτικός· ἀστεῖος μετά τινος τέχνης. (Haupt also quotes Synes. Epist. 57 p. 668 C. Hercher, but there πολιτικὴ ἀρετή has the usual meaning.) Ehrenthal 16f. sees in πολιτία (so the MS) a hybrid form rendering the Latin *politia*, which would be the opposite of *impolitia* (see Gell. 4,12,2). But *politia* with this meaning does not exist.

48,16 *qua tum* ('at the time') written as one word and *quantum* have led ancient critics and modern editors astray. A similar error 49,7.

Diogenes' παρρησία and impudence were proverbial, see 134,9.

48,17 *partim* as opposed to *praecipue*, see at 50,17.

48,19 The orator's warfare: Cic. Leg. agr. 1,1 *occulte cuniculis oppugnatur*; see at 48,10 and 11.

48,21 *lacerati... lacessiti*: paronomasia, alliteration and homoioteleuton.

48,21–25 Sallustian *sententiae.*

48,22 *insectantibus*: on the dative see at 47,1. *Indomitus* with dative only here.

Conciliatum: 'responding readily' (Haines); Gell. 12,5,8: *homo... voluptati... a natura conciliatus.*

48,23 *precariis . . . violentis*: here, *precariis* seems to be a dat. plur. neutrum with the unusual meaning 'entreaties'. *Violentis* (ablative) stands for *violentiis* (see Proleg. XXXIV), because *violenta* cannot mean 'vehemence'. *Precaria* corresponds to *consilia* and *comitas monentium*, *violentiae* to *iurgia* and *inclementia obiurgantium*. E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v. decedo, sees in *precariis* a masculine dative, but then *violentis* must also be masculine and a dat. Graecus. S. Tafel, TLL s.v. deterreo, sees in *violentis* an abl. neutrum, '(acts of) vehemence'. Portalupi follows Lommatzsch, but Klussmann, Emendationes 42, and Haines have found the correct interpretation.

48,24 *promovent* with *ad*: 'to avail', 'to contribute', as 109,21; 238,3; Gell. 10,22,24 *meditatione . . . nihil ad vitam . . . tuendam . . . promovente*. Here, *promovere* is not an intransitive verb, as Naber; Ebert, Synt. 29; and Kühner I 92 assume. See at 49,9; 87,25.

48,24–25 Note the clausulae and the alliteration.

49,1 Chronology: Marcus is still young and Fronto's lessons seem to be halfway: 49,6f.; 50,3. Already Marcus has studied comedies, ancient orators, Ennius and tragedies: 49,19–21. Yet Fronto signals some *desidia vel indiligentia* in his pupil (49,5), see Caes. I 4 p. 8,5, a letter I have dated 145. Naber's dating of 140 is too early; Mommsen 143–145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 143; Hanslik, Anordnung, 144; Champlin and Cortassa early 140s; Selvatico, Scambio 229, 143–144. I date this letter and III 18 between 143 and 145. Some scholars assume that III 18 is the answer to this letter: Brakman points to *laudando . . . vituperando* 50,10f., which Fronto seems to do in III 17. According to Mai, Droz 48 and Brakman, ἀθυμία 50,21 refers to εὐθύμει 50,5, and we could also compare 50,3 *te . . . sistam* with 50,20 *ego . . . aliquid*. Hanslik, Anordnung; Pepe; and Portalupi share the view of Mai and Droz, but if we compare 50,13–17 with III 17 there is little reason to agree with them. Besides, is the epideictic speech 49,10 really the same one that Marcus held in the senate 50,23, as Mai, Droz 47f. and Klussmann, Emendationes 20, think? It is rather—as Naber XXII believes—an exercise Marcus made as a pupil, for in such an exercise Marcus could speak of the Persians (50,6), whereas in a real speech on actual events we should expect Parthians (see at 50,6). Naber, Hauler in his unedited notes and Champlin are right to assume that III 18 is not the answer to III 17. Here again the ancient editor—who probably knew less about the chronology than we do—has put two letters together to present a pleasant picture of teacher and pupil. Nevertheless, III 18 was written in the same period as was III 17. Naber dates III 18 again too early: 141; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 143; Champlin and Cortassa early 140s.

49,2 *quod* with potentialis: 'if you should happen to think'. According to Kühner II 277 and Hofmann-Szantyr 573, the subjunctive is typical of Plautus and Terence, though it is also found in Cic. Verr. 5,175 *quod cogites* and in Fronto; see at 110,21 and R. Klussmann, Philol. Rundschau 1, 1881, 1369.

Pervigilavi does not refer to 49,2.

49,3 *mecum ipse* is a tautology.

Num forte: 'or perhaps not'. In an indirect question it is found since Quint. Inst. 7,3,20; Mod. Dig. 49,16,3,7; Ulp. Dig. 1,7,15,2. See at 75,19.

Remissius: 'too lightly' (Haines); see at 20,4.

49,4–6 *aestumarem, debueris, claudat*: different tenses because of the different aspects.

Delictum aestimare is a legal term.

49,4 *ordinatior*: 'more trained' (Haines) seems to be better than 'aver raggiunto un maggior ordine' (Portalupi) and 'nel modo di parlare più ordinato' (Della Corte). *Ordinatus* is never used of a person. Haupt's *ornatior* does not seem to be the solution.

49,5–6 *ingenium ... claudat*: either *ingenio tuo* (so the MS) or *claudat* is corrupt. If we keep *ingenio tuo*, we must read *claudas* with Studemund and O. Hey, TLL s.v. claudo. However, it then follows that Fronto doubted Marcus' natural aptitude, which is contradictory to 87,25–88,1. So we must read with S. Timpanaro, Riv. di filol. e di istr. class. 117, 1989, 374, *ingeniom tuom*, an improvement on Haupt's *ingenium tuom*: 'your ability limps (is hampered) owing to your sloth or carelessness'. Cp. Lucr. 3,453 *ubi ... quassatum est viribus aevi corpus, ... claudicat ingenium*. In my first edition I had *ingenio tuo ... claudat*: 'per la tua indole, prigrizia o trascuratezza essa zoppica' (Portalupi[1]). Haines has *ingenium tuum ... claudat*: 'were not your abilities hampered either by sloth or carelessness'. The causal ablative with *claudere* also 153,9; with *in* 88,7 and 150,6; absolutely 64,4.

49,6–8 *supra* is used in certain expressions: *supra aetatem* also Iustin. 6,5,3; *supra opinionem* Scrib. praef. p. 5,10; 103,107; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 3,8,2 *supra vel spem nostram vel opinionem partis adversae*. *Supra tempus* only here. For the usual *supra modum* see at 60,7f. and Ph. Thielmann, Archiv 4, 1887, 380. On the superlative with *supra* see at 55,7.

49,7 *qua tu es* is an unedited conjecture of W. Studemund; it corresponds very well to *tempus quo*. A similar error 48,16.

His studiis: 'your present-day studies'; see at 111,3.

49,9 Intransitive *promovisse*, 'to make progress' (Haines), as in Ter. Hec. 703 *promoveo parum*; Gell. 5,10,7 *cum ... in studio ... facundiae abunde promovisset*. See at 48,24; 87,25.

Sed quo, if correct, is an ellipsis, see at 61,12f. Cp. Hor. Sat. 1,6,24 *quo tibi, Tilli, sumere ... clavum?* Ovid. Pont. 1,5,67 *quo mihi diversum fama contendere in urbem?* If these two passages are comparable, we should supply *mihi profuit*. Or is it *sed quo tibi hoc dico*, or *sed quo hoc pertinet*? Haupt's *quod* has been adopted by Naber, Ebert (Synt. 47) and Haines, but then we have an anacoluthon, which seems impossible because of the following *cur*.

49,10 ὑπόθεσιν: *scribas* shows that Fronto is speaking in general terms and that he does not refer to the speech Marcus has held in the senate (50,23, see at 49,1). It is a 'subject' (Haines), a 'tema' (Portalupi) set by the teacher, see at 40,5. Strictly speaking, ὑπόθεσις is a special theme: Cic. Top. 79f. *quaestionum duo genera: alterum infinitum, definitum alterum. definitum est quod* ὑπόθεσιν *Graeci, nos causam, infinitum quod* θέσιν *illi appellant ... causa certis personis, locis, temporibus, actionibus, negotiis cernitur*; see also De orat. 3,109;

Part. 61. Quint. Inst. 3,5,5ff. speaks of *quaestiones infinitae aut finitae: finitae autem sunt ex complexu rerum, personarum, temporum ceterorumque; hae* ὑποθέσεις *a Graecis dicuntur, causae a nostris.* See also 3,5,18; 3,6,81; 8 praef. 8; Mart. Cap. 5,441; Isid. Orig. 2,15,1; and K.W. Piderit & F.Th. Adler, Cicero De Oratore, Leipzig [5]1878, p. 46ff. Fronto does not use *causa* in this sense. Ὑπόθεσις also 76,1M and 77,13M. Latin *hypothesis* does not occur before Sulp. Vict. Rhet. 1–3.

49,11 *ferme*: 'a un dipresso' (Portalupi), not 'generally received' (Haines). It is said because there was a discussion whether there were three or more kinds of subject, see at 133,11f. Cic. Inv. 1,12 *Hermagoras partes quattuor subposuit, deliberativam, demonstrativam, iuridicialem, negotialem.*

49,11–12 Aristot. Rhet. 1,3 τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν· συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν. Fronto's word order is not determined by his personal interest (against R. Volkmann & C. Hammer, Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer, München [3]1901, 14ff.; Clarke, Rhetoric 132): the order *demonstrativum, deliberativum, iu(ri)diciale* is also found in Rhet. Her. 1,2,2; Cic. Inv. 1,7; Quint. Inst. 3,3,14; 3,4,12–15; 3,6,81; and 3,7–9. Fronto has 215,15 *orationes iudiciariae*, but not as a technical term. See also at 215,22f.

49,12 *illā*.

49,13 *proniora*: 'much less of a climb' (Haines).

Multifariam: Haupt's conjecture is accepted by Düntzer, Ueber die Namen 403f.; Haines; Hanslik, Gnomon 28, 1956, 123; and J. Gruber, TLL s.v. *Multifarius* would be a new word: 'qui se trouve en beaucoup d'endroits' (Marache, Mots 58). *Mutifariam* also 56,10; 193,10.

49,13–14 *in arduo situm*: cp. the expression *in arduo est*, 'it is difficult': Sen. Ben. 2.18,2; Epist. 111,3; Tac. Ann. 4,7,2; 12,15,2.

49,14 *denique*: 'likewise', not 'in short' (Haines) or 'in fine' (Portalupi).

Quasi must be connected with *formulae* and means 'so to say', for *formulae* is not an obvious word. Cp. Cic. De orat. 2,98 *suam quandam expressit quasi formam figuramque dicendi*; 3,34 *quasi formae figuraeque dicendi.* If we combine it with *tres*, it is the same as *ferme* in line 11.

Formulae orationis: Cic. Orat. 74f. *causas totas alias alia forma dicendi essse tractandas. Sequitur ut cuiusque generis nota quaeratur et formula.* Greek χαρακτήρ as a technical term is usually *forma* or *figura*: Rhet. Her. 4,8,11; Cic. Orat. 2; 36 *formam quae* χαρακτήρ *Graece dicitur*; 92; 134 *sed iam forma ipsa restat et* χαρακτήρ *ille qui dicitur*; De orat. 2,98; 3,34; Quint. Inst. 12,10,1; Tac. Dial. 18,2; 19,2; Gell. 6,14,6. Apart from Cic. Orat. 74 and Fronto, *formula* is not used as a rhetorical term and *quasi* shows that even Fronto does not regard it as such.

49,14–15 The division into three types of speech is first mentioned by Demetr. Eloc. 190 (late fourth century BC). O. Jahn, Cicero's Orator, Berlin [3]1869, 39, and Volkmann, Die Rhetorik 533, suppose that Demetrius had it from Theophrastus, but see already Aristot. Rhet. 3,12. The Latin terms: Rhet. Her. 4,8,11 *grave, mediocre, extenuatum* (*adtenuatum* 4,11,16); Cic. Orat. 20f. *grandiloquum, tenue, medium*; 53 *grave, tenue, temperatum*; Opt. gen. or. 2 *grande* (*grave, copiosum*), *tenue*, (*subtile, breve*), *medium*; De orat. 3,177 *grave, subtile,*

medium; 3,199 *plenum, tenue, mediocre*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,58 *unum subtile, quod* ἰσχνόν *vocant, alterum grande atque robustum, quod* ἁδρόν *dicunt... tertium alii medium ex duobus, alii floridum, namque id* ἀνθηρόν *appellant, addiderunt*; 6,14,1 *genera dicendi probabilia sunt tria, quae Graeci* χαρακτῆρας *vocant nominaque eis fecerunt* ἁδρόν, ἰσχνόν, μέσον. *Nos quoque quem primum prosuimus, uberem vocamus, secundum gracilem, tertium mediocrem*; 6,14,6f. *formarum exempla in Latina lingua M. Varro esse dicit ubertatis Pacuvium, gracilitatis Lucilium, mediocritatis Terentium; sed ea ipsa genera dicendi iam antiquitus tradita ab Homero sunt tria in tribus: magnificum in Ulixe et ubertum, subtile in Menelao et cohibitum, mixtum moderatumque in Nestore*; Fortunat. Rhet. p. 125 *genera... characterum...* ἁδρόν, *id est amplum sive sublime,* ἰσχνόν, *id est tenue sive subtile,* μέσον, *id est mediocre sive moderatum*; Serv. Verg. Ecl. p. 1,16 *tres... sunt characteres, humilis, medius, grandiloquus*; Empor. Rhet. p. 561,7 *cum sint tres figurae, vasta, humilis, temperata, quas Graeci characteres vocant: Asianum, Atticum, Rhodium*; Philarg. Verg. Ecl. 1,13 *tres modi locutionum sunt, quos characteras Graeci vocant:* ἰσχνός, *qui tenuis,* μέσος, *qui moderatus,* ἁδρός, *qui validus intellegitur*; Iul. Vict. Rhet. 438 *vehemens quod Graeci* βαρύ, *tenue quod Graeci* ἰσχνόν, *medium quod Graeci* μέσον *vocant*; Marcellin. Vita Thuc. 39 ὑψηλος, ἰσχνός, μέσος; Isid. Orig. 2,17,3 *in summisso genere, in temperato, in grandi.* Fronto himself has 133,11f. *gracilis, aridus, sublimis, mediocris*, cp. the quadripartite ἰσχνός, μεγαλοπρεπής, γλαφυρός, δεινός of Demetr. Eloc. 36. See also at 126,14f. and 133,11–134,6; Düntzer, Ueber die Namen 425ff.; Volkmann, Die Rhetorik 533ff.; A.Ed. Chaignet, La rhétorique et son histoire, Paris 1888 (= Frankfurt 1982), 525ff.; Lausberg, Handbuch 519ff.; and at 105,17; 138,13; 272,4; 273,5.

Epidicticis: only Fronto and Cic. Orat. 42 have this Latin form. Quintilian uses *demonstrativa* as substantive: Inst. 3,8,63 *Aristoteles idoneam... demonstrativam proximamque ab ea iudicialem putavit*; 3,8,64 *quibus in demonstrativa consentio*; 3,8,8 *in demonstrativis.*

49,16 *in dicis* is the simplest correction: *dica* (δίκη) occurs several times in Plautus, Terence and Cicero's Verrinae. Haupt's *in dicanicis* (δικανικός) is the better counterpart of *in epidicticis*, but the Latin word is found nowhere. His conjecture has been adopted by Düntzer l.l.; F. Bücheler; the Anonymous, Philol. Anzeiger 10, 1879–80, 254; and by Hofer and Haines.

Multum: periphrasis of the superlative, especially in long adjectives in *-ius*: 189,3; 228,5; 230,17; 238,14. For the periphrasis with *maxime* see at 108,4f.

49,17 *ubique* repeated: see at 97,4.

Phaleris, 'trappings' (Haines), is first used here metaphorically for ornaments of speech, later in Ambros. Off. min. 1,12,44; Symm. Epist. 1,83; 1,89,1; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 1,9; Mart. Cap. 3,221; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1,27,3; Fulg. Myth. 1,24; Sedatus, Epist. p. 449 Eng. But already Terence uses *phaleratus* in this sense: Phorm. 500 *ut me phaleratis ducas dictis.* See Norden, Kunstprosa I[3] 33, n. 3.

Pauca: sc. *dicenda sunt.* Such an ellipsis is familiar in letter writing: Cic. Fam. 11,24,1 *quam multa quam paucis!*; 2,9,3 *sed haec pluribus.*

49,18 *meministi*: see at 88,11.

Lectiones: 'books', 'authors'; see at 19,16.

Versatus es: 'you have been engaged upon'. Usually, *versari* is constructed with *in* (so 12,15; 25,12; 200,7), but with the abl. instrumentalis also Quint. Inst. 7,3,1 *(finitio) pluribus legibus isdem quibus coniectura versatur* (<*in*> *legibus* Halm and Radermacher). Cp. *occupare* at 30,2.

49,19–50,1 This passage shows how Fronto arranged his teaching. If we compare Quint. Inst. 1,8 and 2,5,18–26 with Fronto, we see two differences: for Quintilian both Greek and Latin literature were on the programme and the classics were his reading matter: Vergil, Terence, Sallust and Cicero (see H.I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, Paris 1948, 374). Though Fronto was well acquainted with Vergil and Cicero (see Index Nominum), these authors hardly played a part in his educational programme. See at 19,16. As to the comedy, Quint. Inst. 1,8,8 says *multum ... veteres etiam Latini conferunt*, and of the orators 2,5,21ff. *duo autem genera maxime cavenda pueris puto: unum ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit, ... firmis autem iudiciis iamque extra periculum positis suaserim et antiquos legere (ex quibus si adsumatur solida ac virilis ingenii vis deterso rudis saeculi squalore, tum noster hic cultus clarius enitescet) et novos* (here Fronto does not agree). When Pius charged Fronto with the education of Marcus, he was in the first place thinking of a pedagogic education: *solida ac virilis ingenii vis.* see at 93,12.

49,19 *comoedias, Atellanas*: see 106,13 (marg. d).; 215,10; and at 57,2. Fronto alludes to the *Atellanae fabulae* of Novius and Pomponius; Don. De com. 6,5 *Atellanae salis et iocis compositae, quae in se non habent nisi vetustatum elegantias*; see at 268,15. Later they degenerated into vulgar mimi: Tac. Ann. 4,14,4 *Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse, ut auctoritate patrum coercendum sit* (in 23 AD); see also Suet. Tib. 45; Cal. 27; Nero 39; Galba 13. Vita Hadr. 26,4 *in convivio ... comoedias, Atellanas ... exhibuit.* See at 229,17 and Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 112f.

Oratores veteres: until Cicero: 134,4f.; 148,11.

49,20 *tubam*: see at 35,22.

Mugiunt, 'bellow' (Haines), is used of an orator only here, indicating a lower order of eloquence, as 148,10 *mugitus* opposed to the *tuba* of excellent orators.

49,21 Ennius and the ancient tragedy are no more than intermediate stages to breed the perfect orator.

Quid ... egit: 'what was the effect of reading Ennius?'

49,22 *versum*: not 'verse' (Haines), but line in prose, see at 42,19.

Sublimiter: see at 133,12.

Enim: 'for that matter', 'indeed'. The sentence is not very much to the point, but it does not mean that Fronto thinks a speech should be embellished by verses (against Ehrenthal 18f.). Cicero and Quintilian raise objections against poetical colour in rhetoric (see Index Poetical Turns and Words): Cic. De orat. 3,153 *raro habet etiam in oratione* ('prose') *poeticum aliquod verbum dignitatem*; Orat. 201 *effugimus tamen in oratione poematis similitudinem.* Quint. Inst. 2,4,3 *(ne narratio sit) sinuosa et arcessitis descriptionibus, in quas plerique imitatione poeticae licentiae ducuntur, lasciviat*; 8 proh. 25 *a corruptissimo quoque poetarum figuras seu translationes mutuamur*, 10,2,21 *id quoque vitandum, in quo magna*

pars errat, ne in oratione poetas nobis et historicos, in illis operibus oratores aut declamatores imitandos putemus. And so Sen. Epist. 114,14 *utrumque* (archaism and vulgarism) *diverso genere corruptum est, tam mehercules quam nolle nisi splendidis uti ac sonantibus et poeticis*; Plin. Epist. 9,26,8 *atenim alia condicio oratorum, alia poetarum.*

49,23 *versificandum*: before Fronto, this verb is found only in Quint. Inst. 9,4,143. See also Apul. Socr. 7.

Nunc nuper: these two words do not belong together, as translators suggest.

50,1 *ornatas*: 'dressed out with words and thoughts'; also 41,4; 80,8. See Rhet. Her. 4,13,18; Tac. Dial. 21,2 and Index s.v. ornare.

Pompaticas, 'showy', 'pompous', occurs here for the first time, then in Apuleius, Tertullian and other writers. It has more or less become a technical term (Hieron. In Eph. prol. uses it of *sermo*). Πομπή and πομπικός indicate the splendour of the epideictic style, e.g. Plato, Ax. 369 d; Philod. Rhet. 2,96; Dion. Hal. Is. 19; Longin. Rhet. 8,3; 32,5. Cicero uses the metaphor *pompa* several times: Orat. 42 *dulce igitur orationis genus et solutum et adfluens, sententiis argutum, verbis sonans est in illo epidictico genere, quod diximus proprium sophistarum, pompae quam pugnae aptius*; De orat. 2,94 *eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie inlustres*; 2,294 *adhibere quandam in dicendo speciem* ('display') *atque pompam*; 3,177 *(verba) ad scaenam pompamque sumuntur*; Tusc. 4,48 *haec pleraque sunt prudenter acuteque disserentium, illa quidem ex rhetorum pompa*; Q. Cic. Comm. pet. 52 *tota petitio cura ut pompae plena sit, ut illustris, ut splendida*; Plin. Nat. 29,29 *nec deerat (narrationi) materia pompae*; Min. Fel. 16,6 *(ratio) non fucatur pompa facundiae et gratiae*; Hieron. Epist. 21,13 *rhetoricorum pompa verborum*; 22,2. *Pompa* is often used by Sedulius, Apollinaris Sidonius, Ennodius, Cassiodorus, Venantius Fortunatus. Fronto alludes to the speeches of Cato and C. Sempronius Gracchus (and Cicero?). When Claudianus, Testim. 52, notes Fronto's *pompa*, he is speaking of the latter's panegyrics of Hadrian and Pius, see at 272,4.

Postulare with infinitive has in colloquial Latin the meaning 'to wish', 'to want'; so in Plautus and Terence, Mat. Cic. Fam. 11,28,4, and in other writers. Also 162,13; 176,15; 231,11.

50,2 *ut dixi*: 49,6–9.

50,2–3 *me . . . sponsore*: an emphatical abl. absol., though it is the same person as the subject of this sentence, is not uncommon, e.g. Cic. Phil. 3,36; Ovid. Am. 2,12,13; Sen. Epist. 24,5. See Steele, The Ablative Absolute 316; Hofmann-Szantyr 139f. The asyndeton stresses the emphasis, as 61,13M. The abl. absol. is also used together with another noun indicating the same person: 43,18M *tecum firmo te laetoque concelebrem*; cp. e.g. Cic. Cael. 10 *fuit assiduus mecum praetore me*; Brut. 330 *quae de me etiam me tacente ipsa loquerentur.*

50,3 *in cacumine eloquentiae*: in a letter of the year 161, 89,16f., Fronto still has the same hope.

50,4 *dii . . . favebunt*: the prospective future is closely linked with the subjunctive; also 178,9 and 183,12. Cp. *di faciant* and *di faveant* in Ovid. Pont. 3,1,137; Liv. 6,26,6; Stat. Theb. 9,814; Pallad. 1,1. See Hofmann-Szantyr 311.

50,5 On this valedictio formula see at 1,7f.

50,6 *quom . . . memorares*: in a lost letter, or rather in an exercise, Marcus wrote for Fronto, one of those ὑποθέσεις ἐπιδεικτικαί (see at 49,10), not the

speech Marcus held in the senate (50,23), see at 49,1. Mai and Klussmann, Emendationes 20, think that it is the speech Marcus held when he mentioned the Parthians (59,10), but Caes. IV 3 is a very early letter (139), and Persians are not Parthians (see at 49,1). The *Persarum disciplina* seems to be a locus communis reaching back to Xen. Cyrop. 1,2,2–4; 1,3,16.

50,7 *battunt*: Marcus is the first to use this vulgar form of *battuunt*. Both the form and the meaning, 'to fight', are taken from the language of soldiers and gladiators (like *peta* 9,5): Suet. Cal. 32,2 *murmillonem e ludo rudibus secum battuentem*; 54,5 *battuebat pugnatoriis armis*. See G. Gröber, Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter, Archiv I, 1884, 249; W. Heraeus, Die römische Soldatensprache, ibid. 12, 1902, 270.

50,8 Chronology: 143–145, see at 49,1. The imperial family is in Rome: 50,23 *hodie in senatu*. On the form of address see at 2,13 and 42,4. *Merito* connected with *carissimus* is not unusual, e.g. Cass. Cic. Fam. 12,13,2; Nepos, Att. 2,3. The vocative *merito carissime* Brut. Cic. Brut. 1,4(9,11),3, but Marcus is the first to use *merito* in a salutation; after him Hilar. Coll. Antiar. p. 87,4 *Domino merito gloriosissimo . . . Constantio*. Apparently it is an epistolary formula which Fulg. Virg. cont. p. 87,21 did not understand: according to him, we should write *Domino merito* followed by the name. See at 55,10.

50,9 *strofam*, 'trick', is very common both in Greek and in imperial Latin. Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 supposes that *argutissima strofa* was taken from some poet because *argutus* is often used by poets. Marcus has *argutus* also 10,11.

50,10 *ut* refers to *argutissima strofa*.

Laudando is, like *vituperando*, an ablative, not a dative as Haines assumes. In colloquial Latin there is a tendency to use the ablative of the gerund instead of a part. praesens, see *praetereundo* and *dicendo* 89,5f.; *discendo*, 'in the learning' (Haines), 145,3. See also at 102,5; 170,15; 189,10; and Kühner I 751f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 380.

50,13 *dignus* with inf. pass. only here in the letters. *Dignari* with inf. act. 174,10.

50,14 *verissimis*: see at 44,24.

Usque ad: 'as far as' (Haines). Fronto may be referring to 49,1–5.

50,15 *libelli*: in Fronto, *libellus* always means 'letter': 51,5M; 76,21; 80,11M; 187,7; 114,10V 'petition'. Only in 61,13M it means 'my dear books', as in Cic. Att. 12,3,1 *ego me interea cum libellis*.

Cetera: see at 21,9.

50,16 *Thucydides* is an error; Haines' 'Theophrastus' is based on Hieron. In Os. 3 praef. *quamquam et amor recipiat errorem pulchrumque sit illud Theophrasti, quod Tullius magis ad sensum quam ad verbum interpretatus est*, τυφλὸν τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον, *id est amantium caeca iudicia sunt*. But γάρ shows that the quotation is taken from Plato, though Marcus quotes freely; Plato has τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν. See Plut. Quomodo adulator 1; De capienda util. 7 and 11; and at 31,5.

50,17 *partim meorum* = *mea partim, quaedam mea*. *Partim* with genitive (masculine or neuter) is mostly subject with a verb in the plural: Cato, frg. 119 Sblendorio; often in Cicero and further in Nepos, Livy and others; Fronto 48,17; 57,1; 122,2; 128,12; Gell. 3,16,16; 6,3,7. Seldom with a verb in the

singular: Cato, frg. 192 Sblendorio; Cic. Div. 2,83. It is also used after a preposition: Cato, frg. 191 Sblendorio. See Gell. 10,13 and Neue-Wagener I 313ff.

Caeco amore also Catull. 67,25; Verg. Georg. 3,210; Hor. Carm. 1,18,14; Ovid. Fast. 2,762; Sen. Agam. 118; Dial. 7,10,2; 7,14,2; Val. Flacc. 6,454; Homer. 28; Claud. 20,50; Theocr. Idyl. 10,19 τυφλὸς . . . ὁ ἔρως.

50,17–18 *tanti est*: 'so greatly do I value' (Haines), 'quel che conta è che' (Portalupi). The acc. cum inf. as with verbs like *prodest, refert. Tanti est* with *ut* 35,7M. See Kühner I 458.

50,18 *et*: 'and at the same time'; it is almost = *et tamen*, as 52,12M; 144,18; 231,4.

50,19–20 *proxime scripsisti*: Ehrenthal 5 n. 29, Brakman II 6 and Hauler in his unedited papers believe that Caes. I 3 p. 3,19ff. is meant, a letter written in the same period as III 18 was, but this is far from certain. It does not refer to the preceding letter, as Pepe thinks.

50,20 *ero aliquid* is not a Graecism, as Pepe assumes, cp. e.g. Cic. Fam. 6,18,4 *ego quoque aliquid sum*; Att. 4,2,2 *si imquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid*; Fam. 7,27,2 *te nihil esse cognosceres.*

50,22 *tristiculus* only here and Cic. Div. 1,103.

50,23 *in senatu*: see at 49,1 and 88,11–15.

50,25 *mihi*: see at 2,13.

51,1 Chronology: most scholars agree that this is an early letter, which is confirmed by the form of address, see at 1,5; 29,10; 65,7. The mention of Fronto's veracity (51,9) also seems to imply that it is a letter written about the same time as was the very early letter Caes. III 13, see at 44,24. Naber dates it 141; Mommsen 143–145; Haines, Chronology, 140–142 (p. 116), 144–147 (p. 118), and in his edition 140–143; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 276, 144; Portalupi after 146; Cortassa before 146. Hanslik, Anordnung, and Champlin regard it as undatable: 139–161. Those who date it after 145 seem to have been influenced by Antonin. IV 1, written in 161, when Marcus seeks to distract his mind by reading Cato, Cicero and Gracchus. In Caes. III 19, however, Marcus has only just started taking lessons: *quidquid litterarum sciero* (51,7) and *oculos aperire* (51,9). Therefore I date the letter 139–140.

51,2 *in quantum* for *quantum* since Ovid. Met. 11,71, and in prose since Sen. Contr. 7,6,19 and Vell. 2,119,2. Fronto has *in quantum* 141,22, but *quantum* 111,15; 187,3; 227,14; and 1,15M.

Gracchi: as always C. Sempronius Gracchus. See Malcovati, Or. Rom. Frg. II testim. 11.

Opus est with acc. cum inf. only here in our letters. Fronto always has *opus est* with infintive.

51,4 *comite*: Iuv. 7,107 *magno comites in fasce libelli* (the papers of a lawyer).

51,5 *libellum*: see at 50,15.

Istum: 'this', 'the letter you have before you'; so, too, 61,1M; 134,16. See at *istic* 1,11.

51,6 *amice amicissime*: traductio or polyptoton. Cp. Plaut. Pseud. 1269 *amicissima amica*; Fronto 55,2 *amicum amiciorem mihi facere*. See at 115,18 and Hofmann, Umgangssprache 94f.

51,8 *quom* explicativum: 'by letting me inspect'.

Excerpta of Gracchus' speeches: see at 29,2 and p. 277 II 2.

51,9 *viam veram*: Marcus deliberately changes the usual proverbial expression *via recta*; cp. Plaut. Cas. 369 *redii vix veram in viam.*

Oculos aperire, too, is a proverbial expression, as the words *ut volgo dicitur* show (see at 48,3). Otto's only testimony is found here in Marcus, but it also occurs in Lact. Inst. 4,26,4.

51,11 Chronology: the ancient editor did not know what to do with III 20–22, so he put them at the end of the book. They all deal with Fronto's physical condition. Naber dates the three letters 141; Mommsen 144–145; Haines, Chronology, 140–143, edition 144–145; Hanslik, Anordnung, and Cortassa 139–161; Champlin, Chronology, 140s; in his Fronto he dates III 20–21 to the 140s, III 22 to 139–161. I date III 20 to 140–145 (*quam diu te non vidi* 51,12) and III 21–22 to 139–145. See also at 51,18. In III 20 and 21 Marcus is not in Rome, in III 22 he is. The fact that Fronto does not send his regards to Faustina junior at the end of III 20–22 also seems to point to a date before 145.

51,12 *cogito*: in old Latin and in colloquial language a dependent question sometimes has the indicative; after *cogitare* also Cato, frg. 119 Sblendorio (Gell. 6,3,15), Ter. Haut. 638 and in late authors such as Claudianus, Augustinus and Priscianus. After *obiurgare* 114,19V. See at 134,18.

51,13 *fortassis* is more often combined with an indicative than with the potentialis; so is *fortasse.* However, Fronto uses the potentialis nine times against twice the indic. fut. (149,21 and 166,14). *Forsan*, too, is more often combined with the indicative, but 215,6 with the potentialis. *Forsitan* is as often used with the indicative as with the potentialis; Fronto 90,7 and 118,9 has the potentialis. *Forte* is always with the indicative, see at 139,7.

51,14 *te confirmas*, 'get yourself strong', seems to be a colloquial expression: Cic. Fam. 16,4,4; 16,5,1; 16,7; 16,13.

51,14–15 a double pun: *iacebis—supinus* and *stabis—constabit. Supinus*: Catull. 17,25 *supinum animum . . . derelinquere. Stabis*: 'you will be able to stand on your feet' (in spite of the gout).

51,16 *tuo*: see at 42,20.

51,17 *anima*: see at 1,13.

51,18 Chronology: see at 51,11.

51,19 *lectulo*: the instrumental ablative is normal with *teneri* and *se tenere*: Cic. Verr. II 5,16; Plin. Epist. 3,1,4; Fronto 82,11; 84,8.

Centum Cellas: the Via Aurelia leads by way of Lorium and Alsium to Centum Cellae (Civitavecchia). There, Pius had inherited a villa built by Trajan and described by Plin. Epist. 6,31,15–17. During the stop at Lorium, Fronto hopes to see the imperial family. The preposition *ad* is used because Centum Cellae is not really a place-name, cp. Cic. Att. 4,15,5 *me ad Septem Aquas duxit*, or, perhaps, because the littoral and not the town itself is meant; see *apud Portum* 85,17 and at 6,8. It was one of the country houses Pius liked to visit (85,8), as did Marcus' son Commodus (Vita Comm. 1,9).

51,20 and 26 *VII idus* = *a(nte) d(iem) VII idus* (so 81,5 and 116,5f.V). If the months August or September are meant, it is the seventh day. In line 26 we cannot retain the non-existent word *octavidus*: it must be either *octav(o)*

idus or *octav(um) idus*, cp. Inscript. Christ. 3954 Diehl *octav idus Apriles*. As most texts have a number instead of the word, it is hard to decide whether we should read the ablative or the accusative, but see Priscian. Gramm. III 370,8 *tertio et tertium . . . idus . . ., frequentius tamen accusativo adiunguntur*, which is in accordance with the actual practice, e.g. Tac. Hist. 1,18,1 *quartum idus Ianuarias*. TLL s.v. octavidus incorrectly asserts that Hauler reads *VIII idus*.

Lorii: Fronto probably had a villa nearby, see at 35,12; 72,18; 91,16; it seems to be the villa *in Aurelia* 60,16. Champlin, Fronto 22, supposes that it was near to Centum Cellae. Vita Pii 1,8 *educatus Lori in Aurelia, ubi postea palatium extruxit, cuius hodieque reliquiae manent*, but they have disappeared since.

51,21 *ita . . . habeam*: 'may I see you both safe and sound', a colloquial asseveration with the optative. Originally, *ita* corresponded to *ut*: Plaut. Poen. 1258 *ita me di servent, ut hic pater est vester*; Cic. Att. 5,15,2 *ita vivam, ut maximos sumptus facio* (Tyrrell & Purser: 'upon my life I am living very extravagantly'); cp. Plaut. Aul. 496 *ita me di amabunt ut*. Without *ut* it has become a simple 'sure enough', 'upon my word', 'indeed': Plaut. Amph. 597 *neque—ita me di ament—credebam*; Mil. 725 *ita me di deaeque ament, aequom fuit*; Ter. Eun. 474 *ita me di ament, honestus est*; Cic. Att. 1,16,1 *saepe—ita me di iuvent—te . . . desideravi*; Fam. 2,13,3 *ita vivam, putavi*; 16,20 *sollicitat—ita vivam—me tua . . . valetudo*; Balb. Cic. Att. 9,7 b,3 *quod te—ita incolumi Caesare moriar—tanti facio*; Catull 66,18 *non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, iuverint*; Sen. Epist. 82,12 *(cervicem) praebebo, inquit, ita vivam*; Apocol. 1,3 *ita illum salvum et felicem habeam*; Petron. 74,14 *ita genium meum propitium habeam*, and so Fronto 172,2 *ita te reducem complectar*. See also Van Herwerden's conjecture 41,8. See Kühner I 190f.; H. Blase, Beteuerungsformeln im Lateinischen, Archiv 10, 1898, 543ff.; idem, Tempora und modi, Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache III, Leipzig 1903, 130; Hofmann, Umgangssprache 115; Hofmann-Szantyr 529; 634; Cugusi, Evoluzione 104.

Gravius: *graviter* often means the same as *valde, multum*; with *amare* only Plaut. Cist. 85 *quem ego amarem graviter*. With the same abl. mensurae Cic. Off. 3,35 *(honestas) certe omni pondere gravior habenda*. See also at 60,21 and Klussmann's conjecture at 112,11f.

51,22 *quom*: see at 14,1.

In senatu: we do not know what the question was.

51,24 *vivarium*: Pius was going to inaugurate a game preserve; the *ferae* are boars. Sometimes it was dedicated to Diana, who had an *aedicula* in the *vivarium*. See Plin. Nat. 8,211; Colum. 8,1,4; Paul. Dig. 41,2,3,14; Gell. 2,20; Ammian. 24,5,2; E. Orth, Jagd, RE IX 1 (1914); J. Aymard, Essai sur les chasses romaines des origines à la fin du siècle des Antonins, Paris 1951, 72; 318f.; W. Richter, Tiergarten, Kleine Pauly (1975); and at 61,10M.

Memento with infinitive also 55,27M. See Kühner I 668; Hofmann-Szantyr 346.

51,25 *percuties*: with the lance.

Equom admittere, 'to set your horse at full gallop' (Haines), is a riding term, e.g. Cic. Fin. 2,61; Caes. Gall. 1,22,2; Bell. Afr. 63,1; 83,1; Liv. 2,19,6; 25,19,3.

Galbam: short for the speech against Ser. Sulpicius Galba, see at 42,14f.

Cato held this speech in 149 BC in the assembly of the people. He supported (*subscriberet* Val. Max. 8,1,2) the *rogatio* (it was not a lawsuit) introduced by L. Scribonius Libo in order to do justice to the Lusitanians who had been brutally treated by Galba. 52,1–4 shows that Marcus did not use the original, separate edition of Cato's speech but book VII of the Origines where the speech had been inserted (Cic. De orat. 1,228; Brut. 89; Liv. Perioch. 49; Val. Max. 8,1,2; Gell. 13,25,15) together with a number of disapproving remarks on the attempts to influence the people by sentimental actions. In the light of our passage it is unlikely that 'Galba' stands for the speech(es) Galba held himself—he delivered three speeches, two against Libo and one against L. Cornelius Cethegus (Liv. Per. 49)—as supposed by Meyer and Malcovati in their editions of the Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta and by Scivoletto, L'oratio contra Galbam 63f. *De Galba absoluto* cannot refer to the speech against Galba itself: it must be a remark made later in the Origines (against Jordan LVII). See F. Münzer, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, RE IV 1 (1931); B. Janzen, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Redensfragmenten des M. Porcius Cato, diss., Würzburg 1936, 84ff.; Gelzer, M. Porcius Cato, RE XXII (1952); Pepe, Catone Maggiore 17ff.; Cova, I Principia Historiae 77; Marielouise Deissmann-Merten, Sulpicius 11, Kleine Pauly (1974); A.E. Astin, Cato the Censor, Oxford 1978, 112f.

Produces: a prospective future, see at 50,4. Scivoletto sees it as an imperative.

51,26 *An potes*: 'or can you be at Lorium' (Haines), an ellipsis of *esse*, as in Cic. Att. 2,15,3 *si solus non potuero*. On *an* see at 75,19, and on the praesens pro futuro at 54,18.

51,26–27 *placeto . . . dic*: see at 107,5–8.

52,1 *absoluto* is not correct, since it was no lawsuit. Libo's proposal was rejected, but Val. Max. 8,1,2 also speaks of an *absolutio*. More accurate is Quint. Inst. 2,15,8 *elapsus est*.

52,2 *fratris filios* is not correct either: Galba brought along his two little sons and Q. Sulpicius, the son of C. Sulpicius Gallus, a *propinquus* of Galba, who was the young Q. Sulpicius' tutor. See Cic. De orat. 1,228; Brut. 90; Liv. Per. 49; Quint. Inst. 2,15,8.

Τὸ ἀκριβές: 'the precise course of things', not 'la scrupulosità o la severità di quello' (Scivoletto).

igitur: see at 40,15.

52,2–4 Cic. De orat. 1,227 quotes Cato saying *nisi pueris et lacrimis usus esset, poenas eum daturum fuisse*; cp. Brut. 90 *propter pueros misericordia populi commota, sicut idem scriptum reliquit Cato*. Scivoletto supposes that *vel ullas omnino feminas* is an addition by Fronto himself.

52,3–4 *neve . . . neve* instead of *ne . . . neve* or *ne . . . neque* or *ne aut . . . aut* is rare: Liv. 25,38,5 *excitant . . . neu . . . neu . . . neu*; 30,37,4 *(moniti) neve . . . neve*; Sall. Cat. 51,43 *censeo . . . neu . . . neve*. See Kühner II 221; Hofmann-Szantyr 536.

52,4 *vel . . . omnino* is stronger than *aut omnino*.

52,6 Chronology: see at 51,11.

52,7 *mane* was the usual time for writing and studying, see Roller 390. As regards Fronto, we have but a few indications: 5,15 he is writing at

about four o'clock in the afternoon; 187,9 he can only write after 11 a.m. due to illness; 227,12 he speaks of *hora ista Musarum propria quinta*. Marcus studies during the early morning (6,1; 28,25; 61,6; 62,10). Once Fronto is writing at about four o'clock in the afternoon (3,14); and Marcus is reading from one till three (61,13f.; 62,19), but usually *vespera*, after supper (8,6; 52,13; 62,4; 63,6f.; 80,12; 85,13; 96,3; 230,21f.; 234,7; 235,9). See at 35,7 and 55,24.

Commodiorem esse: 'to be on the mend', a colloquial expression, also in Plin. Epist. 3,16,4; Ruric. Epist. 2,22.

52,8 *occupatus fueram*: see at 37,11.

Nec sustineo with infinitive: 'I cannot find it in my heart'.

52,9 *remisso*: see at 20,4.

52,9–10 *recte sumus*: with a personal subject *recte esse* usually means 'to be doing well' (e.g. Cic. Att. 1,7; Hor. Sat. 2,3,162; Fronto 82,24), which is how Della Corte and Portalupi translate here; however, it should be 'if we are right' (referring to *audieram*). See Index Latinitatis s.v. sum with adverb.

52,10 *fac . . . sciam*: see at 107,13–15.

52,11 *meus*: see at 42,20.

Apud animum meum = *apud me*, as 162,24. Cp. *apud aures tuas* 166,15.

Omnis omni: traductio.

52,12 *non dormio*: 'I cannot go to sleep', see at 9,12 and 63,14.

Et = *et tamen*, see at 50,18.

Cogo with *ut*, 'I force myself' (Haines), is rather rare; with *ut* only here and Salv. Gub. 3,11.

52,13 *aestimas*: 'you realize' (Haines). *Utique* shows that there is no reason to write *aestima*, as Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 379, and Portalupi[2] do. *Utique*: see at 55,6. The acc. cum inf. is only found in later Latin.

Vespera: see at 29,1.

52,14 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10. *Togatus* is a senior civil servant, see Th. Mommsen in F. Blume's Erläuteringen zu den Schriften der römischen Feldmessern II, Berlin 1852, 175.

53,9 Chronology of IV 1 and the answer IV 2. In the lost beginning of IV 1 Fronto stated that Marcus, like Orpheus, had the gift of reconciling opposite natures, such as Fronto and Iulianus (54,23), and Fronto and Herodes Atticus (55,15). The tone of Marcus' letter is that of an affectionate pupil, so it seems to have been written before 146. Marcus is studying law with L. Volusius Maecianus (55,23). Relations between Fronto and Herodes Atticus are growing friendly, which points to a period not long after Herodes' trial (140–142, see at 36,1). Therefore we must date these letters 143–145. Naber, Watson and Portalupi date them 144, Mommsen and Schwendermann 14f. between 1 September 143 and Marcus' marriage in 145; P. von Rohden, RE I 2285 (1894) 139–146; Brakman 142; Haines 140–143; Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes, late 143 or early 144; Cortassa 139–145. Champlin's dating to the 150s is not possible, see at 36,1. 56,2f. could point to the time of the vintage; the imperial family may be staying in Centum Cellae and Marcus will visit Fronto in Lorium the following day (54,18), as in 51,19f.

If Gracchus' speeches of 51,2 are the same as those of 56,2, it would mean that III 19 was written after IV 1–2.

53,10 *anxius* that his friends should keep up mutual harmony.

53,10–21 The evolution of mankind to *concordia* is a locus communis: Lucr. 5, 1105ff.; Cic. Inv. 1,2; Sest. 91; De orat. 1,33; Rep. 1,40; Sall. Cat. 6,1–2; Lact. Inst. 6,10,13ff.; Augustin. Epist. 138,10. Hor. Ars 391–393 sees in the fable of Orpheus a moral allegory: *silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus, dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones*; so, too, Dracont. Romul. praef. 10. See O. Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, Berolini 1922, frg. 46–55. Fronto is the first to see in the allegory of Orpheus a proof of the importance of eloquence, after him Anthol. Lat. I 628,9f. *placidis hominum dictis fera corda mitigavit doctaque vitam voce temperavit*, while Grillius, In Cic. rhet. p. 19,19, and Remig. Aux. Myth. Vat. III 8,21 see in Orpheus the model of a rhetor. See Konrad Müller, Allegorische Dichtererklärung, RE Suppl. IV (1924); Orth, Von Orpheus bis Grillius 395; K. Ziegler, Orpheus, RE XVIII 1 (1939); J. Heinemann, Die wissenschaftliche Allegoristik der Griechen, Mnemos. 2, 1949, 5ff.; J.C. Joosen and J.H. Waszink, Allegorese, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum I (1950); R. Hahn, Die Allegorie in der antiken Rhetorik, diss., Tübingen 1967; G. Wille, Musica Romana. Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer, Amsterdam 1967, 545ff.; Portalupi, Sull'interpretazione. See also at 33,24f.; 147,6–9; 204,1f.; 204,5 (marg. c).

53,11 *lupis*: see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. lupus 3–6. *Oves* or *agni* may be the counterpart of *lupi*, though Hor. Ars 13 writes *non ut... geminentur tigribus agni*; but—referring to the fable of Orpheus—Claudian. Rapt. Pros. praef. 26 *vicinumque lupo praebuit agna latus.*

53,12 *interpretantibus*: a dat. iudicantis like *aestimantibus* and *reputantibus*. See G. Landgraf, Der Dativus, Archiv 8, 1893, 54; Kühner I 322.

53,13 *significat* is also used by Phaedr. 2,9,27 to indicate an allegory.

53,15 *diversis nationibus*: adnominal abl. originis.

53,16–18 Alliteration, chiasmus and symploce.

53,17 *placidi cum violentis*: Portalupi, La presenza 100, compares Hor. Ars 12 *placidis coeant inmitia*, but see at 29,5.

Cum... quom: in our MS the form *quom* is also used as a preposition 2,2M; 132,15; 177,2; 238,12. It is remarkable that in these passages the m^2 does not alter it to *cum*, as it does with the conjunction *quom*, see Proleg. XXXIII. So the rule set up by Quint. Inst. 1,7,5 and other grammarians, *illa quoque servata est a multis differentia, ut... cum, si tempus significaret, per qu, si comitem per c ac duas sequentis scriberetur*, cannot be applied to Fronto.

53,18 *dein*: Fronto has three times *dein* against twelve times *deinde*. Marcus always has *deinde.*

53,18–19 *vitia exuerunt* also in Tac. Ann. 6,25,3; cp. Agr. 9,3 *avaritiam exuerat.*

53,21 *quo*, 'consequently', 'so', was justly defended by Klussmann, Emendationes 45, against Naber's *quod* (adopted by Ebert, Synt. 47, and Haines). It refers to the lost part of this letter.

53,22 *amore inter se mutuo*: colloquial abundance, see at 176,22 and

270,13. Contrary to Haines and Portalupi, we must take *mutuo* as an adverb, as 176,22 and Lep. Cic. Fam. 10,34a,1 *studia officii mutuo inter nos certatim constiterunt*; Quint. Inst. 10,2,15 *inter ipsos etiam mutuo reprehensa*; Apul. Flor. 18,40 *inter se mutuo . . . amicissimi.*

Profecto perficies: alliteration.

53,23 *facilius* sc. *quam Orpheus.*

Natus . . . institutus: cp. Cass. Dio 71,35,6 ἄλλως τε καλῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ τῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὠφελήθη. Zonar. 2,15 ἦν γὰρ καὶ φύσει ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ παιδείας βελτίων ἐγένετο. For *natus ad* and *institutus ad* cp. Plaut. Rud. 189 *hancine ego ad rem natam miseram me memorabo?*; Cic. Cael. 72 *artibus quibus instituimur . . . ad honorem, gloriam, dignitatem.*

Prius = *potius*, not 'before' (Haines); see at 54,20.

53,24 *aetas adolesceret* is a poetical expression: Lucr. 3,449; Verg. Georg. 2,362; Aen. 12,438; Hor. Sat. 1,9,34; in high-flown prose, like here, in Liv. 1,4,8; Tac. Ann. 2,43,1; Fronto 174,24; Apul. Mund. 19. Fronto became Marcus' teacher in 138 or 139, see at 93,12.

Perfectus sc. *eras*; see at 61,12f.

54,1 *bonis artibus*: 'noble qualities', not 'arti belle' (Portalupi), as is proved by *vir bonus.* Klotz, TLL s.v. ars, makes the same mistake that Portalupi makes. In the same moral sense, Fronto has 174,4 and 235,25 *optimae artes*; 192,13 *bonae artes.* See Marcus himself on his qualities Medit. 5,5. Elsewhere, however, *bonae artes* are the *artes liberales*, see at 129,17. Especially Sallust and Tacitus use *bonae artes* in the moral sense.

Absolutus: 'complete' (Haines). When characterizing a person the ellipsis of *eras* is not unusual. See at 61,12f.

54,1–2 *ante . . . peritus: pubertatem*, when he was twelve (see Vita Marci 2,6). Marcus assumed the toga virilis in 136, see at 93,12 and Vita Marci 4,5. Cato's words became proverbial, see at 132,9f. Add to the testimonies given by Jordan in his edition of Cato 80: Quint. Inst. 1 prooem. 9; 1,2,3; 2,15,1; Apul. Apol. 94,6. See F. Schoell, Vir bonus dicendi peritus, Rhein. Mus. 57, 1902, 312ff.; Th. Sinko, De Romanorum viro bono, diss., Cracoviae 1903.

54,3–4 *concordia copulas*: the same alliteration Liv. 4,43,11 *copularent concordiam.*

54,4 *dissimulaverim*: see at 1,10f.

Ut: see at 39,13.

54,6 *vitium . . . eruendumque*: cp. Cic. Fat. 11 *vitia . . . exstirpari . . . et funditus tolli*; so Greg. Magn. In evang. 36,11 p. 1272 D and Isid. Sent. 2,36,6 p. 637 D. There is no reason to assume with Frassinetti, L'orazione 251, that Min. Fel. 9,1 *eruenda prorsus haec et execranda consensio* borrowed this from Fronto. See Proleg. LIXff. and at 259,8. Hardly worthwhile is what Maria Cristofori, L'oratio 130f., wrote on this *eruere.*

54,6–7 *liveant . . . invideant*: the same assonance Tac. Dial. 25,6 *invidere et livere*, but this does not mean that Fronto borrowed it from him, as Schwierczina, Frontoniana 33, and Selvatico, Scambio 294, suppose. Jealousy was an important factor at the imperial court, see at 111,26–112,2; cp. 46,10ff.; 239,8.

54,8 *deperire ac detrahi*: this alliteration does not occur elsewhere.

54,9 *internecivum* does not have a comparative or a superlative. See at 108,4.

Sibi = *hominibus ipsis*, a common way to give emphasis, see e.g. Cic. Fin. 1,67 *amicitiae . . . effectrices sunt voluptatum tam amicis quam sibi.*

54,10 *obnoxium*: 'attached to', 'involving'; cp. 218,10 *periculis obnoxiam*, 'liable to perils' (Haines). E. Ebert, Beiträge 530, thinks that it is here the same as *noxius*; he is followed by modern translators of Fronto and by G. Kuhlmann, TLL s.v., who, in support of this supposition, quotes Ps. Hilar. Epist. ad fil. 4,2 *nihil . . . in se habet (margarita) quod sit obnoxium* (variant: *noxium*) *corpori.* Tac. Dial. 10,5 has also been cited to confirm this meaning of *obnoxius*, but there too we can translate *obnoxium offendere* by 'involving offence'. Ehrenthal 22f. defends his conjecture *noxium* by referring to Colum. 2,17,2, where *noxia* is a variant of *obnoxia.*

Cohorte tua: 'your retinue', the *cohors amicorum* or *comites* of an emperor: Schol. Hor. Epist. 1,3,1 *in cohorte fuit amicorum, id est inter comites Tiberii, Neronis, Claudii.* This *cohors amicorum* is mentioned by Tac. Ann. 1,29,2; 6,9,2; Suet. Cal. 19; Nero 5; Galba 7. Paneg. 11,19 speaks of the *cohors imperatoria.* See at 263,27.

Procul . . . prohibueris: alliteration.

54,11 *aliqua*: 'in any way' (Haines) is better than 'da qualche parte' (Portalupi). The subject of *pervaserit* is *malum.*

54,13 *quaeso*: see at 43,17.

Iulianum: before this time (143–145), he was apparently not a friend of Fronto, see 54,23, so he cannot be his contubernalis, as Schwendermann 16 thinks. Nor is it probable that he is Fronto's close friend Ti. Claudius Iulianus Naucellius, as Mai[2], Naber and J. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, RE IV (1901), suppose. (I must admit, however, that the letters which Fronto wrote to him—see Index Nominum—should be dated to the 160s.) Sex. Calpurnius Iulianus (168,3ff.) must also be excluded, because he was a contubernalis of Fronto. Mai[3]; O. Reinmuth, Bull. Amer. Soc. Papyr. 4, 1967, 98; and Champlin, Chronology, are thinking of M. Didius Severus Iulianus, but in the early 140s he was only twelve years old, or even younger. Moreover, Vita Did. Iul. 1,3 says that he *educatus est apud Domitiam Lucillam, matrem Marci imperatoris*, and Domitia Lucilla was a great friend of Fronto and his wife. Most scholars see in our Iulianus the famous lawyer P. Salvius Iulianus: Haines; Schanz III[3] 189; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 66; J. Crook, Consilium Principis, Cambridge 1955, 182; Pepe; Birley, Mark Aurel 144; Portalupi; E. Bund, Salvius Iulianus, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II, Bd. 15, Berlin/New York 1976, 409, n. 3; and Cortassa. There are no arguments pro or con: Salvius Iulianus is not mentioned in our correspondence. (As 55,15 Herodes Atticus is mentioned, Birley supposes that Salvius Iulianus had given Herodes legal advice in his trial.) Another possibility is M. Fabius Iulianus Heracleo Optatianus, who may be the Iulianus of Marcus Medit. 4,50. See on him E. Groag, RE VI 2 (1929); PIR III 2 Fabius no. 38 (1943); Lambrechts, La composition 58; PIR IV 3 Iulianus no. 90 (1966); Cortassa 302 n. 68.

Inde referring to persons is used since Plautus.

Sermo: Ps. Demetr. Phal. Περὶ ἑρμ. 1 calls a letter τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ διαλόγου. Ps. Liban. Επιστ. χαρ 14,1 Weichert a ὁμιλία. See also Philostr. Vita Apoll. 164,22 Kayser; Synes. Epist. 138 Hercher; Hieron. Epist. 42,3 *latam disputationem brevi sermone conprendimus, ut non tam epistulam quam commentariolum dictaremus.* See J. Sykutris, Epistolographie, RE Suppl. V (1931).

54,14 *defluxit*: 'originated' (Haines).

Amo: cp. Cic. Fam. 16,4,4 *neminem esse qui me amet, quin idem te amet*; 16,7 *nemo nos amat qui te non diligat.*

Amo deos is not a Roman expression: it first occurs in Christian Latin, Tert. Marc. 4,28,1 *Pharisaeorum . . . amantium deum.*

Amo vitam also Sen. Epist. 24,24.

54,15 *tecum*: 'correspondence with you' rather than 'with you I love letters' (Haines).

54,15–16 *amorem . . . ingurgito*: 'I take deep draughts of love for you' (Haines). With Plautus and Apuleius, Fronto is the only author to use *ingurgitare* in its original sense: Plaut. Curc. 128 *ingurgitat inpura (anus) in se merum avariter*; Apul. Met. 4,7,3 *merum saevienti ventri tuo soles aviditer ingurgitare.* Cp. the metaphor Verg. Aen. 1,749 *Dido . . . bibebat amorem.*

Eis = ex eis litteris.

54,17 Chronology: see at 53,9. The form of address may point to a letter sent by return of post. It does not occur elsewhere.

54,18 *venio*: in colloquial Latin the present is used instead of the future, e.g. Cic. Att. 14,11,2 *cras mane vadit*, and so in Fronto 4,19; 34,22M; 36,17M; 51,26; 73,26M; see also at 42,14f.; 61,16M; 155,9; 155,13f.; 199,9f.; and Hofmann-Szantyr 307f.

54,18–19 *tamen tam*: alliteration and parechesis.

54,19–20 *non sustineo*: 'I cannot refrain' (Haines).

For *ne . . . quidem* see at 39,14.

54,20 *prius*: of the two following reasons. It is almost the same as *potissimum*, see at 53,23.

54,21 *pro quo*: the ablative of the interrogative *quid* is rare.

54,22 *domesticis*: 'private', Fronto's philological studies. The *extraria negotia* refer to his work in court and in the senate.

Occupatus: see at 30,2.

54,23 *mea gratia*: 'for my sake', not 'on my account' (Haines). See at 228,9f.

54,24 Mai, Naber and Haines have a full stop after *magnum est; tamen* after four words is not unusual.

55,1 *idque*: see at 136,9 (marg. b).

Quod . . . esset: see at 60,7.

Esse ad: 'to contribute to', 'to serve to'. According to Löfstedt, Vermischte Studien 120, Marcus is the first to use this expression, but it is often found in colloquial language: Cato, Agr. 125 *id est ad alvum crudam* ('to be of avail'); 157,4 *(brassica) optima est ad huiscemodi vulnus*; Cic. Att. 3,7,2 *reliqua tempora sunt non tam ad medicinam quam ad finem doloris*; 6,1,14 and elsewhere.

Consolandam: 'to make forget'.

55,2 *commodiorem sibi facere*: 'to make him feel more at ease', 'più conciliato con se stesso' (Portalupi), 'more comfortable in himself' (Haines).

Amicum amiciorem: see at 51,6. Cp. Hor. Carm. 1,16,1 *matre pulchra filia pulchrior*; Catull. 22,14 *infaceto est infacetior rure*; 99,2 *saviolum dulci dulcius ambrosia.*

55,3 *inibi*: see at 29,3.

55,5 *alium* may not be a lucky expression but a correction does not seem necessary.

Dissimulaturus: the ellipsis of *sum* is not unusual in exclamations and questions: Hofmann-Szantyr 421. See at 61,12f.

55,6 *utique*: 'in particolare' (Portalupi), not 'at any rate' (Haines) or 'il fatto che' (Pepe). In our letters Marcus is the only one to use this word: 52,13 'no doubt', 'at any rate' (Haines), 'in ogni modo' (Portalupi, see at 52,13); 84,15 'at all events' (Haines), 'comunque' (Portalupi). It escaped Portalupi that 228,11 *utique* = *et uti.*

Tanta: 'such a long letter' (Haines).

55,7 *beatissimum supra* is a contamination of *beatum supra omnes* and *beatissimum omnium*; also 55,28M. Plin. Epist. 7,13,2 *super omnes beatus.* See at 49,6–8 and Wölfflin, Lateinische und romanische Komparation 42, and Rhein. Mus. 37, 1882, 111. Marcus is the first to write *beatus in* for *beatus* with ablative, though there is a slight difference from Augustin. Civ. 8,17 *sumus in illa perfectione sapientiae beati*; in Marcus *in eo* is almost the same as *propterea.* See at 30,2.

55,9 *fiduciam habere* occurs since Seneca and Quintilian, but they have *in aliqua re*, not the gen. obiectivus like here.

55,10 *merito*: Marcus corrects himself because *te merito amo* is a trivial saying (Plaut. Cas. 181; Ter. Haut. 360; Eun. 186; Ad. 946; Afran. Com. 248; Cic. Att. 13,21,7; CIL XIII 10024,43 and Fronto 51,10; 77,24 *merito diligis*). See at 27,15 and 50,8.

55,11 *utinam*: in our correspondence only with the irrealis; also 163,11.

Id: irascor and *suscenseo* allow only the accusative of pronouns and adjectives. *Id est quod*: 'that is why' (Haines); see Kühner I 279 and at 47,9.

55,11–12 *absenti atque insonti* recalls the legal terms *absens iudicari, accusari. Atque* with climax: 'and that being innocent'.

55,13–14 *possim . . . posset*: enallage temporum. In *posset* the irrealis is also involved, as in 164,20 *cupio . . . ut te complecterer.* H. Blase, Tempora und modi, Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache III, Leipzig 1903, 268, says of our passage: 'wenn schon bei Cicero gelegentlich der Irrealis der Gegenwart zum Potential hinneigt, so hat das Spätlatein erst recht nicht mehr *possim* und *possem* auseinandergehalten'. 232,23 is different: *sucos, quibus corda . . . sopiret, . . . temperat*; here *temperat* is praesens historicum.

55,15 *De Herode quod dicis* refers to what Fronto has said in the lost part of the preceding letter about the nascent friendship between himself and Herodes Atticus. It is not 'was deine Rede gegen Herodes betrifft' (Birley, Mark Aurel 144). See at 36,1. Herodes is still in Italy.

55,15–16 *perge . . . pervicacia*: from an unknown piece of Ennius (according to Vahlen XC from the Sota). *Noster* proves that it is Ennius: Mai thinks that it is Novius. E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 130, presents this

struction: *perge, <té precor>, pervince pertinácí pervicácia*, but *perge* does not seem to be part of the quotation, cp. 9,13M and 249,2M, and it is omitted by the editors of Ennius. Haupt's addition *<et> ut* is adopted in the editions of Ribbeck, Lucian Müller, Vahlen and Jocelyn, and by Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 312; it is rightly rejected, however, by Klotz and the editors of Fronto. Cp. Acc. Trag. 4f. *tu pertinaciam esse, Archiloche, hanc praedicas, ego pervicaciam aio.*

55,16 *istic*: 'here' (at Centum Cellae?), see at 1,11. According to W. Ehlers, TLL s.v., *istic* here means 'in ista re', cp. Haines' translation 'I am doing my best in that quarter'.

55,18 *omnibus* is the lectio difficilior, a dat. sympatheticus, see at 7,16. Its value does not differ much from *omnium.* The reading of m^2 is preferred by Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 372, and Nuovi contributi 353, and by Portalupi.

Voculae usually is derogatory, see at 160,8; here it is 'dolce voce' (Della Corte).

55,18–19 *subserviunt . . . subactae* with its alliteration looks like a quotation, see Ehrenthal 37 and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 23, and at 28,16. For *auribus servire* see 18,4 and at 58,22f. Gell. 13,21,21 *Lucretius aeque auribus inserviens. Subservire* is a rare word; it is found in Naevius, see 28,16, in Plaut. Men. 766; Ter. And. 735; then here and in Apul. Plat. 1,13, as well as in a few late authors. This strengthens the thesis that it is a quotation. *Sub iugum subactae* does not occur elsewhere; Prop. 3,11,9 *sub iuga tauros egit*; see at 224,4.

55,20–21 *dies . . . videbitur*: symploce. The sentence refers to *ad te cras venio* 54,18.

55,21–22 *cum . . . tum*, 'as well as', always refers to two words, emphasizing the second one: 67,23M; 77,23; 176,16; 176,20; 176,26f.; 178,4; 209,2; 209,15; 224,14.

55,21 *maximo opere*: elsewhere Fronto and Marcus have *magno opere.*

55,23 *cursim*: Quint. Inst. 10,3,10 *cito scribendo non fit ut bene scribatur.* The ancients used to write slowly, see Roller 9 n. 52.

Scripsi: perfectum epistulare as *misi* 75,13, *nolui* 126,5 and 240,19, *subieci* 128,23. See Kühner I 156f.

Maecianus: since Mai all scholars agree that the famous lawyer is meant: Vita Marci 3,6 *studuit et iuri audiens L. Volusium Maecianum* (from 139 till 146, according to P. von Rohden, RE I 2285 [1894]). Maecianus was a member of the consilium principis under Pius (Vita Pii 12,1) and Marcus (Dig. 37,14,17 pr.; see at 96,3). At the time this letter was written he was also procurator bibliothecarum. See Schwendermann 14f.; H. Dessau, PIR III no.657 p. 481; Hüttl I 79f.; II 11f.; 193; Pflaum, Les carrières 333ff.; Th. Mayer, L. Volusius Maecianus RE IX 1 (1961).

Urgebat must mean 'was pressing to continue my legal studies'.

55,24 *fratrem tuum*: Q. Cornelius Quadratus, see at 238,12. From *ad te reverti* we may conclude that he and Fronto lived together, see at 260,1–5.

Maturius: if Marcus is staying in Centum Cellae (see at 53,9), this letter was written around noon: Quadratus is then able to return to Rome in time. A similar situation 5,15. See at 52,7.

Aecum: see at 34,8f.

Erat: imperfectum instead of praesens is colloquial: Kühner I 123; Hofmann-Szantyr 316, though here *erat* is also influenced by *urgebat*. Cp. *imminebant* 234,2M and at 27,13. A similar imperfectum probably 112,3.

55,25 *verbum* etc.: a similar remark 24,1–3; see at 47,22.

Inconsultior sensus: 'pensiero poco meditato' (Portalupi).

Infirmior littera: 'shaky letter' (Haines).

55,26 *tempori adponas*: 'put it down to the circumstances'. *Apponere* in this sense is rare: Ter. Andr. 331 *postulare id gratiae apponi*; Hor. Carm. 1,9,15 *lucro adpone*; and also in a few later authors. I do not believe that *tempus* here means 'haste' (Haines) or 'mancanza di tempo' (Portalupi).

55,26–27 *cum ... tum*: 'though ... at the same time' (Haines). 165,2P *cum* is causal: 'as ... so' (Haines). See Hofmann-Szantyr 625.

55,27 *meminisse* with infinitive: see at 51,24.

55,28 *praestare debere* sc. *me*. In the acc, cum inf. the pronoun is often omitted: 73,19M *venturum (te)*; 151,9 *scripturum (me)*; 151,21 *intellexisse (te)*; 182,5 *admonuisse (eum)*; 212,11 *dismisisse (eum)*; 213,11 *fuisse (eum)*; 241,23f. *(eos) invectos* and *acciri*; 241,26 *vidisse (se)*; cp. 44,18M.

Supra with superlative: see at 55,7.

56,1 *Sota*: Σωτᾶς, a pet name for Sotades, a licentious Greek poet translated by Ennius. See at 7,7.

56,1–2 *charta ... festiviore*: Plin. Nat. 13,68ff. and Isid. Orig. 6,10,2ff. enumerate the different qualities of papyrus. The *volumen gratius* may refer to the *eschatocollion* (Mart. 2,6,3), the *umbilicus* and the *pumatica frons* (Ovid. Trist. 1,1,11; Catull. 1,2; Mart. 1,66,10; 1,117,16; 8,72,2; Isid. Orig. 6,12,3). See at 263,38 and L. Koepp, Buch I, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum II (1954), with older literature.

Festiviore: 'a more festive, calligraphic letter'. On this copy see at 15,12–17.

56,2 *Gracchus*: perhaps the same speeches of C. Sempronius Gracchus as 51,2; see at 53,9. For Gracchus see at 42,14f.

56,2–3 *cum ... maneat*: 'as long as the new wine ferments in the cask it should be left alone': Varro, R.R. 1,65 *quod mustum conditur in dolium, ut habeamus vinum, non promendum dum fervet. Maneat*: 'to bide' (Haines). See 61,3 and W.H. Gross, Musum, Kleine Pauly (1969).

56,3 *metus est* with acc. cum inf.: see at 64,13.

56,4 *defervere*: 'fermenting out' (Haines), and so Cassan and Della Corte; cp. e.g. Plin. Nat. 14,85 *(mustum) diffusum in lagonis suis defervere*; Chiron 158 *haec omnia musta in uno rursum defervere facies*. According to Haines, Marcus possibly refers to Gracchus' vehement style (Cic. Brut. 288 *novam istam quasi de musto ac lacu fervidam orationem)*; if so, *defervere* could be 'to cool down' (Haines). This translation has been adopted by Marache, La critique 174; Pepe; Portalupi; Birley, Mark Aurel 145; and Cortassa. Gudeman, too, TLL s.v., assumes that *defervere* is here used metaphorically, in the sense of 'remittere', 'mitescere', but that meaning is only found in some late authors and never in connection with *mustum*, e.g. Cassian. Inst. 11,7 *omnia vitia ... minuuntur atque defervent*; 11,8 *quod cenodoxia nec heremo nec aetate deferveat.*

Valeas instead of *vale*: see at 61,4 and 62,6.

56,5 Chronology: this is a very early letter; it has not yet that tone of intimacy of a few years hence. Fronto seems to unfold here his teaching programme (see *erit* 58,25): *verba industriosius quaerere* (56,20; 58,18ff.), the most important authors (56,21ff.), his attitude towards Cicero (57,5ff.), and when Marcus wishes to start with history (59,24f.) he is not very enthusiastic. Fronto knew how Marcus as a puer was attached to philosophy (Vita Marci 2,6), but he was wise enough not to bring up the antithesis philosophy—rhetoric during the first years of his acquaintance with Marcus. 88,14 he refers to this letter as having been written when Marcus was *vixdum pueritiam egressus*. So we may safely date it 139, because 58,21 Marcus is a member of the senate, becoming quaestor on 1 January 139 at the age of eighteen (Via Marci 5,6). Apparently he is not yet consul, which he became in 140. Haines, in his edition, also dates the letter 139, regarding it as the oldest of our collection; so does Grimal, Marc Aurèle 279. In his Chronology, Haines had dated it 140–143. Champlin dates it late 138 or 139; Naber and Hanslik, Anordnung, 144; Birley, Mark Aurel 168, after 145. Brakman regards this letter as undatable. See at 44,17 and 50,6.

56,6–7 Quint. Inst. 1,1,8 *nihil est peius iis qui paulum aliquid ultra primas litteras progressi falsam sibi schientiae persuasionem induerunt.* On the gen. relationis or respectus see at 21,8.

56,7 *semiperitus* occurs only here; *semidoctus* already in Plaut. Asin. 227; in Fronto 57,26. See at 21,2.

Conscius est with infinitive because the subjects are the same; also 87,24 and Lucil. 479?; Ps. Sall. Rep. 2,6,4. With acc. cum inf. since Terence when the subjects differ. We could assume, however, that *se* has here been omitted, see at 55,28.

56,8 *praecipitat* is intransitive since Plautus; see at 31,15f.

56,10 *falsa fiducia*: the alliteration does not prove that it is a quotation, as Ehrenthal 37 thinks. Prop. 3,24,1 *falsa . . . fiducia formae.*

Multifariam: see at 49,13.

56,10–12 *philosophiae* etc.: the opposite assertion in Gell. 5,16,5 (quoting Enn. Trag. 340): *degustandum ex philosophia censet (Neoptolemus), non in eam ingurgitandum.*

56,11–12 *primoribus labiis*: proverbial expressions are introduced by *ut dicitur*, see at 48,3.

Add to the passages cited by Otto and Nachträge zu Otto: Augustin. Conf. 9,18; Sulp. Sev, Chron. 1,20,4, who also has *labiis*, whereas most authors have *labris*, as does Fronto 154,9.

Aiunt seems to refer to Cic. De orat. 1,87 *ne primoribus quidem labris attigisssent (philosophiam).* See at 128,12. Elsewhere Fronto always has *labrum*: 154,9; 178,19; 185,4; 193,13.

56,12 *malitiosissimos*: 'the worst of all' (D. Brock), 'the most miserable', seems to be the correct translation, see at 9,5. The superlative—unusual for a word ending in *-osus*—is here found for the first time, later in Augustin. Civ. 2,29. See at 128,5.

56,13 *vestibulo artis* also Quint. Inst. 1,5,7. It may be a quotation.

Averterint: reflexive, see at 63,7.

Penetraverint sc. *eo.*

56,14 *est ubi*: 'in other arts it is possible to' (Haines). *Est ubi*, ἔστιν οὗ, means 'sometimes', and therefore *interdum* is fairly abundant. Cp. Plaut. Capt. 327 *est... ubi... damnum praestet facere quam lucrum*; Pseud. 1325 *erit ubi te ulciscar*; Cic. Tusc. 5,23 *est ubi id isto modo valeat*. Only Hor. Epist. 2,1,63 has the indicative: *interdum volgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat*.

56,15 *quod* = *in eo* (or *eius*) *quod*. The ellipsis of the demonstrative antecedent is not frequent in classical Latin when the case of the antecedent is not the same as that of the relative; also 59,15 *a significando quod volt eloqui*; 90,12 *te impertiam quod... animadverterim*; 93,5?; 115,18 *a quibus... aversus fueris, neque irasceris neque desiderabis*; 132,14 *unde* = *eum a quo*. Cp. Plaut. Amph. 448 *non... obtempero quod loquitur*; Most. 522 *nec quae dico obtemperas*.

Eligendis conlocandisque, 'the choice and arrangement of words' (Haines), is an important point for Fronto, which is why he pays so much attention to it in his programme, see Index Choice of Words. But *eligere* and *collocare* were always major points in rhetoric: Cic. De orat. 3,93; Brut. 140; Quint. Inst. 9,4,58; 10,1,4.

56,15–16 *dilucet* and *potest* are not impersonal verbs, as Ebert, Synt. 30, and Gudeman, TLL s.v. diluceo, think. *Dilucet* = *manifestus est*, 'he is detected' (Haines), and the subject is the *semiperitus*. It is remarkable, however, that the subject is a person, not a thing, as 57,14. For impersonal *dilucet* (= *manifestum est*) see at 108,26.

56,16 *verba dare*: a pun; it means both 'to speak' and 'to deceive'. Cp. Don. Ter. Eun. prol. 24 *dare verba decipere est eum, qui, cum rem expectet, nihil inveniat praeter verba*.

56,17 *probare*: 'to judge', as 57,29.

Inscie, 'unskilful' (Haines), not 'senz'arte' (Portalupi), occurs here for the first time, then in Apul. Socr. 3.

Contrectare: 'to handle' (Haines). Incorrectly Z. Vègh, Contrectare, RE Suppl. XII (1970), 'Der Halbgebildete verwendet die Fachausdrücke nur ungeschickt', nor is *contrectare* here 'mente contrectare', 'versari', as E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v., suggests.

56,18 *modum... pondus*: correctly 'la misura e il peso' (Della Corte), which is better than 'their propriety nor their force' (Haines) and 'il tono né l'efficacia' (Portalupi). *Modus* is 'measure', not 'manner', as Brandt, TLL s.v., thinks; he assumes that *modus* here means 'significatio', 'notio', sensus', and he compares e.g. Sen. Nat. 3,18,7 *non tempero mihi quin... proprietatis modum excedam*. *Modus* corresponds to *gradus* 135,11. For *pondus* see at 135,11. Cp. *pendere verba*; Augustin. Beat. Vit. 31 calls Sallust a *lectissimus pensator verborum*; Schol. Pers. 1,128 *pensator nullius verbi*. There is no reason at all to assume with La Penna, Sallustio 367 n. 8, that Augustinus ever read this passage of Fronto; see at 270,25.

56,19 *veterum*: see at 19,16.

56,20 *industriosius*: the comparative of this adverb occurs here, by chance, for the first time; Cato already has *industriosissime*.

Sese commisere: 'have ventured upon', not 'have surrendered themselves to' (Haines), nor is it 'se conferre', as Mertel, TLL s.v., thinks.

Post homines natos: 'da che gli uomini sono al mondo' (Portalupi), 'of all time' (Haines). The same expression Cic. Dom. 23; 95; Phil. 11,1; Opt.

gen. 17; Brut. 224; Balb. 26 *post genus hominum natum*. With *unus* also Lucill. 152 *optimus multo post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus*; Cic. Mil. 69 *unius post homines natos fortissimi viri*. An enlargement of the expression 105,20; cp. *homini nato* 222,3. See at 31,6. *Unus omnium* seems to be an archaism: Hofmann-Szantyr 165. Without a following *alius, alter, tertius* the genitive is unusual, see Kühner I 426; Hofmann-Szantyr 57. Also 209,10 *uni omnium Romanorum principum Numae*. 232,7f. we have the usual *unus de*.

56,21–57,4 Fronto presents his canon of beloved authors. See Apul. Apol. 95,5; Apoll. Sid, 4,3,6; L. Rademacher, Kanon, RE X 2 (1919).

56,21 *sectator*: Sallust was even called a thief of Cato: Quint. Inst. 8,3,29 quotes this epigram:

et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis,
Crispe, Iugurthinae conditor historiae.

Suet. Gramm. 15 *(Lenaeus Sallustium appellans) priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem*; see also Suet. Aug. 86,3; Serv. Aen. 1,6; and Ed. Wölfflin, Die Nachahmung in der lateinischen Prosa, Archiv 12, 1902, 115.

56,22 *multo maxime*: Mai and Naber read *multo maximeque Ennius*, which is impossible. *Multo maxime* is the same as *longe maxime* and is found in Ter. Hec. 160; Rhet. Her. 4,58; Cic. Inv. 1,52; Sall. Cat. 36,4; Iug. 6,1; after Fronto here and 232,20 it occurs again in some late authors. The same abl. mensurae with other superlatives 64,17 *multo optimum*; 164,23 *multo gravissimus*.

Ennius: on his word-painting see 55,15f.; 59,13; 134,1; Cic. Orat. 36 *Ennio delector, ait quispiam, quod non discedit a communi more verborum*; Hor. Ars 56 *cum lingua Catonis et Enni sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum nomina protulerit*. See Skutsch, Ennius, RE V 2 (1905).

56,23 *L. Coelius* is Antipater the historian, though it may appear strange to find him mentioned between poets: Coelius Antipater was an imitator of Ennius, not only in subject (De bello Punico) but also in his use of words, cp. Cic. De orat. 2,54 *addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis* and Leg. 1,6 *paulo inflavit vehementius*. So there is no reason to think with Mai, Naber and Haines of an unknown poet L. Coelius, or to assume with Selvatico, Scambio 252ff., that Coelius Antipater was also a poet. And it is hardly necessary to demonstrate that the conjecture of Duentzer, Über die Namen 424f., is idle fantasy.

Studiose aemulatus is not 'his zealous rival' (Haines) but 'che si sforzò con zelo di uguagliarlo' (Portalupi). See S.G. Stacey, Archiv 10, 1898, 19 and 22; Gensel, L. Coelius Antipater, RE IV (1900); Ed. Wölfflin, Archiv 15, 1908, 16ff.; H. Peter, Historicorum Rom. rel. I p. CCXVIII n. 1; J. Vahlen, Ennianae poesis rel. XXVIf.; Marache, La critique 160 n. 4; Leeman, Orationis ratio I 75. On Coelius' choice of words see at 134,3. See also at 42,16.

56,23–57,1 We have no testimonies on the use of words by Naevius; for Lucretius see his own words 1,136–139. For Accius see Vitruv. 9 praef. 16 *verborum virtutes*, though in a more general sense; Quint. Inst. 10,1,97 speaks of his *gravitas sententiarum, verborum pondus*. On Caecilius we have no

ancient testimonies. Gellius has a poor opinion of Laberius: 16,7 *quod Laberius verba pleraque licentius petulantiusque finxit et quod multis item verbis utitur, de quibus an sint Latina, quaeri solet*; 19,13,3 *a Laberio ignobilia nimis et sordentia in usum linguae Latinae intromissa sunt.* What Fronto liked in him we can see 15,7f. and 154,1.

56,23 *etiam* in the middle of a series, as e.g. Frontin. Aq. 76 *agros, tabernas, cenacula etiam, corruptelas denique omnes.*

57,2 *particulatim*: 'in special spheres' (Haines); 151,5 'in detail' (Haines).

Novium et Pomponium: their Atellanae fabulae were full of broad jokes, and Hadrian liked that (Vita Hadr. 26,4). Vell. 2,9,6 calls Pomponius *verbis rudem* and Sen. Contr. 7,3,9 sees in him *auctorem huius vitii, quod ex captione unius verbi plura significantis nascitur* (what Fronto with his puns would hardly call a *vitium*). Marcus 62,13 and 18 gives a few examples of Novius' use of words, and Fronto 106,13 (marg. d) finds in the Atellanae *sententias lepidas et facetas.* See at 29,3; 49,19; 154,1.

Id genus = *alios eius generis*, as e.g. Cael. Cic. Fam. 8,4,2 *Laelios et Antonios et id genus valentis dico.* Whereas *id genus* here and 263,21 is an apposition to *Novium et Pomponium*, Marcus uses it 105,15 as an adverbial accusative: *mitte mihi aliquid... et maxime hoc genus, quae me lectio extollat*; cp. e.g. Rhet. Her. 4,52,65 *sunt item sermocinationes... hoc genus*; Varro, L.L. 9,110 *hoc genus omnia.* See Ed. Wölfflin, Id genus und Verwandtes, Archiv 5, 1888, 389; Kühner I 306; Hofmann-Szantyr 47; O. Hey, TLL s,v, genus. See at 31,14f.

57,3 *rusticanis*: 'rustic' (Haines), not 'bei Dialektwörtern' (Birley, Mark Aurel 12). Varro, L.L. 7,84 *in Atellanis licet enim advertere rusticos dicere se adduxisse pro scorto pelliculam.*

Et... ac: *et* connects two different words, *ac* two similar words. See Index s.v. atque.

Ridiculariis: according to Marache, Mots 51, this is an archaism, because the word is found in Plautus, Cato and Gellius, but this does not seem to be a real argument.

Muliebribus is usually connected with *verbis*: 'in women's talk' (Haines); but *lasciviis* seems to indicate that *muliebria* is a substantive; 'in women's squabble', cp. Varro ap. Charis. 315 Barwick ἤθη ('characterizations'), *ut ait Varro, ... nullis aliis servare convenit quam Titinio, Terentio, Attae.* See A. Daviault, Comoedia togata, Fragments, Paris 1981, 49.

57,3–4 *Sisenna in lascivis*: Sisenna translated the Μιλησιακά of Aristides: Ovid. Trist. 2,443 *vertit Aristiden Sisenna nec obfuit illi historiae* ('his story') *turpes inseruisse iocos.* Mai; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 15 n. 1; Teuffel I 295; and Haines read *lascivis* sc. *verbis*. It is also possible, however, that *lasciviis* is the neutrum plur. of *lascivius*, see at 133,10f.; in that case we have in *muliebribus* and *lasciviis* two adjectives used as substantives. Peter, Hist. Rom. rel. I p. CCCXXXI; Schwierczina l.l.; and Schanz I 326 erroneously assume that Ovid refers to Sisenna's Historiae.

57,4 *in propriis*: 'in the peculiarities of each quality and subject'; 'art and business' (Haines and Portalupi). But perhaps we should take *cuiusque* as a substantive: 'the pecularities of everyone's line of business'. No testimonies on Lucillus' use of words exist.

57,5–18 Apart from 125,4–7, where Fronto criticizes Cicero's De consiliis suis, this is the only passage where he disapproves of Cicero. He has in mind Cicero's speeches, not his letters (see 104,14 and at 20,4). According to Cicero, the orator should not deviate *a vulgari genere orationis atque a consuetudine* (De orat. 1,12, where not the 'Volkssprache' is meant, as Piderit-Adler note in their commentary); see also Quint. Inst. 2,16,19; 8 prooem. 24f. On Fronto's care for the right and at the same time unexpected word see at 56,15; Klotz, Klassizismus 416f.; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 201; Schanz III3 98; Wauters, Herwaardering. In this respect Fronto was not alone: Tac. Dial. 22,3 *(in prioribus Ciceronis orationibus) pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur*; Favorinus ap. Gell. 13,25,4–7 wonders if Cicero, *verborum homo diligentissimuss*, did not use some words *inepte et frigide*. See at 260,27. Zetzel, Statilius Maximus 115, supposes that Statilius, a younger contemporary of Fronto, may have written his De singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis against the view of Fronto and his *secta*.

57,5 *quo . . . locem* is unusual; also Apul. Socr. 2 *in . . . deorum numero . . . sidera . . . locato*. But 163,2f. *hostis numero habebo*; 206,2 *hostium numero duco*; 199,10 *in numero municipum habebitis*; 217,7f. *numerandusne sit fumus in deum numero*. See at 163,2 and 206,2.

57,6 *caput . . . facundiae*: Val. Max. 2,2,3 calls Cicero's Arpinas *litterarum . . . abundantissimum fontem*; Paneg. 9,1 *ex illo fonte et capite facundiae imitatio nostra derivat. Fons et caput* is a common expression: Cic. De orat. 1,42; 1,195; Tusc. 4,83; Top. 31; Planc. 18; Hor. Epist. 1,17,45; Gell. 11,3,3; Iustin. 13,6,11; Arnob. 2,43. See at 260,6.

Cluet: *clueo* is the older form, *cluo* the younger. We have *clueo* in poetry from Plautus to Lucretius, then in verses in Plin. Nat. 35,115. Fronto and Tert. Pall. 3,6 are the only prose-writers to use this form: an archaism.

Usquequaque: see at 16,4f.

57,7 *ad*: see at 134,8.

57,9 *afuisse: abesse ab aliqua re* sometimes means 'to fail', 'to neglect', e.g. Quint. Inst. 8,3,64 *an quisquam tam procul a concipiendis imaginibus rerum abest?*

57,10 *fiducia* with acc. cum inf.: see at 64,13.

57,11 *subvenerint*: see at 146,20.

Praesto adfutura is abundant; also Acc. Trag. 498; Ter. Eun. 1050; Lucr. 5,1412; Cic. Mur. 26; in Fronto also 92,18; 115,15; Apul. Apol. 61,4; Lact. Inst. 2,16,10; 3,7,10; Prud. Perist. 2,569.

57,12 *ut qui*: see at 35,21.

57,13 *tractasse*: 'to handle' (Haines).

uberrime: 121,9 *dicere uberius*; 77,10M *uberem materiam*; 123,6 *dicendi ubertas*.

57,13–14 The same technical terms e.g. Quint. Inst. 1,5,3 *singula sunt . . . aut simplicia aut composita aut propria aut translata*. See Index Latin rhetorical terms.

57,15 *honesta . . . amoena*: Quintilian introduced these words in literary criticism: Inst. 8,3,11 *honestus ornatus* of speech (and so Fronto 146,9); 8,3,16 in the choice of words *sunt aliis alia honestiora*; Non. p. 100 calls *diurnare honestum verbum*. See at 35,19. Quint. Inst. 12,10,60 *(modus orationis) egressionibus amoenus*; Gell. 17,2,6 gives an example: *iucundiusque amoeniusque etiam verbum est 'fruniscor' quam 'fruor'*.

Quom tamen is loosely connected to the foregoing: 'and yet' (Haines). Normally with indicative, but when its meaning is adversative, as it is here (opposite *cetera*), with subjunctive, as Cic. Phil. 2,45. See also *cum interim* 67,3; *cum quidam* 184,11; *cum postilla* 242,3; Kühner II 341f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 623.

57,16 *paucissima admodum*: instead of the superlative we often find *admodum pauci* (56,18; 151,3; 226,1). Fronto is the first to use *admodum* with the superlative, and a few later authors followed him, e.g. Ammian. 21,14 *admodum paucissimis*. With an adverb, only Rhet. Her. 4,12,17 *maxime admodum*.

Insperata atque inopinata verba (149,19 *sententias inopinatas*): the main point of Fronto's teaching is the search for the right word, *verbum quaerere*, see at 56,15. Often this is a *verbum volgare et obsoletum* (150,22) or a *verbum volgare et usitatum* (57,26), or a word used so *ut unum et id verbum vetustate noscatur et novitate delectet* (136,9 marg. b), a passage which resembles Quint. Inst. 1,6,39 *verba a vetustate repetita non solum magnos adsertores habent, sed etiam adferunt orationi maiestatem aliquam non sine delectatione, nam et auctoritatem antiquitatis habent et—quia intermissa sunt—gratiam novitati similem parant.* So one should take care to *verborum loca, gradus, pondera, aetates dignitatesque dinoscere* (135,11). The *priscum verbum* is important (145,1), but it should not be a *verbum insolens aut intempestivum* (132,7), and we should be careful with *verba remota et requisita* (57,27; 35,21), for *quae nova et inopinata audientibus sunt, periculum est, nisi ornentur et figurentur, ne videantur absurda* (150,10f.). See at 35,21. New words are odious, see at 136,9. Fronto is an archaist but not without making a distinction. In his speech De testamentis Asianis he does use *verba inopinata* but no archaisms (see at 10,14ff.); in this respect he had more freedom in his letters. Against men like Fronto, Quint. Inst. 8 prooem. 31 writes: *cum optima sunt reperta, quaerunt aliquid, quod sit magis antiquom, remotum, inopinatum.* See at 262,33.

57,17 *cum*: see at 238,12.

57,18 *veterum*: see at 19,16.

Memoria: 'reminiscenza' (Portalupi). Cp. Cic. De orat. 1,201 *antiquitatis memoria*; Fin. 1,25 *tanta tot versuum memoria.*

Indagantur: a sporting term for *quaerere verba*; also 119,13; 136,3; 151,25. Gell. 18,2,6 *inopinati rariorisque verbi indagatio.*

57,20 *legat*: the subjunctive assimilated to the subjunctive of the sentence with *si*; so 79,16 *dicat.*

57,23 *ex alto*: 'in digging deep' (Haines), 'from the remote past' (see Portalupi, Umgangssprache 148). See at 170,14. Hor. Epist. 2,2,115 *(poeta vocabula) obscurata . . . eruet atque proferet in lumen.*

57,25 *apte . . . decore*: cp. Cic. De orat. 1,144 *ut pure et Latine loquamur, deinde ut plane et dilucide, tum ut ornate, post ad rerum dignitatem apte et quasi decore*; 3,37 *ut Latine, ut plane, ut ornate, ut ad id quodcumque agetur, apte congruenterque dicamus*; Quint. Inst. 1,5,1 *cum oratio tres habeat virtutes, ut emendata, ut dilucida, ut ornata sit; quia dicere apte, quod est praecipuum, plerique ornatui subiciunt.*

57,26 *conlocetur*: implied is the *inventio* or *electio verborum*, see Cic. De orat. 3,93; Brut. 140; Part. 3; Quint. Inst. 10,1,4. See Index Latin rhetorical terms s.v. collocare.

57,26–27 *volgaribus et usitatis*: cp. 46,1 and Cic. De orat. 1,12 *ut . . . in dicendo autem vitium vel maximum sit a vulgari genere orationis atque a consuetudine*

communis sensus abhorrere; Sen. Epist. 114,13 *quidam . . ., dum nihil nisi tritum et usitatum volunt, in sordes incidunt*; Quint. Inst. 2,16,19 *ex communi intellectu verbisque, quibus utuntur omnes, tantum adsequi laudis. Volgaris* is 'common' (Haines), 'normal', and does not refer to the sermo cotidianus, as Pennacini, La funzione 151 n. 177, thinks. See at 57,5–18; 144,21. *Remotis et requisitis*: alliteration.

57,27 *significet*: the subject is *verbum*, as in *conlocetur*. Orelli's conjecture has been adopted by Schopen, Naber, Schwierczina and Marache, La critique 148 n. 3. See at 151,4.

57,28 *haud sciam an: an* is 'whether . . . not': 'maybe it is useful', not 'I hardly know whether it is advisable' (Haines). So, too, *haud sciam an* 58,18; 162,22. See at 138,3. Since Cicero *haud sciam an* is used instead of the older *haud scio an* in the sense of *forsitan*; see Hofmann-Szantyr 335. *Nescio an*, on the other hand, expects either an uncertain answer (78,7M) or a negative answer and means 'perhaps not' (111,17). *Dubito an* does not occur in Fronto. For *fors fuat an* see at 139,7. See Kühner II 520ff.; H. Blase, Tempora und modi, Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache III, Leipzig 1903, 140; F. Westenburg, De formulis dubitanter decernendi quales sunt 'haud scio an, dubito an', diss., Giessen 1923; Hofmann-Szantyr 335.

Difficultas sc. *sit*, not *adhibenda sit*. H. Ammann, TLL s.v., sees in *difficultas* here 'difficult choice', but in the passage he adduces (Hieron. Epist. 52,12,1 and 64,18,1) *difficultas* simply means 'problem'.

57,29 *in verbis probandis*: see at 56,15 and 57,16. *Probare*, 'to judge', as 56,17.

Ne: 'for fear that'.

58,1 *retardet*: 'discourages', as 59,2.

Adipiscendi: 'to attain their object', 'to succeed'. *Adipiscor* without object also e.g. Cic. Mur. 43 *a spe adipiscendi avertunt*; Ammian. 20,7,17.

Plerumque: 'in many cases' (Haines).

58,2 *tanslata aut exempta*: 'the transposition or subtraction' (Haines).

Eximere for 'leaving out a letter' also Varro, L.L. 9,44; Quint. Inst. 1,7,29; 9,4,40; Gell. 1,25,8; Charis. 316,19 B. See Marcus, Medit. 7,13 on the use of μέλος and μέρος.

Vim . . . venustatem: the same alliteration Cic. Att. 1,16,8 *cetera non possunt habere eandem neque vim neque venustatem*.

58,3 *elegantiam vel scientiam*: 'the taste or knowledge' (Haines). Cic. Tusc. 5,24 and Brut. 133 combines *elegans* with *eruditus*. Haupt's *inscientiam*—adopted by Schwierczina—does not contrast with *elegantia*.

58,4 *scripta*: probably exercises; there is no reason to suppose that it is the speech of 88,11. See at 35,20.

Relegeres: 'read over to' (Haines), as Colum. 4,1.

De: see at 21,1.

Syllabam: the reproach of Quint. Inst. 8 prooem. 31 should not be applied to Fronto: *quibusdam tamen nullus est finis calumniandi se et cum singulis paene syllabis commoriendi, qui, etiam cum optima sunt reperta, quaerunt aliquid quod sit magis antiquum, remotum, inopinatum*.

58,5 *te* repeated: see at 47,3.

58,6–17 Fronto strictly adheres to the correct use of these words, no curiosities, no archaisms. See at 74,6. *Os colluere*, 'to rinse the mouth' (Haines), not 'faccia lavare' (Portalupi), is a medical term: Scrib. Larg. 52; 54; 62; Plin. Nat. 23,57; 28,56; 37,155; Garg. Mart. Med. 46; Cael. Aurel. Acut. 2,29,149.

Pavimentum pelluere (in other authors always *perluere*) occurs only here, 'to swab the floor' (Haines), but *perluere* is used for washing up *vasa*. *Pavimentum colluere* does not occur.

Lavere: Plaut. Pseud. 10 *(tabellas) lacrumis lavis*; 34 *lavere lacrumis vestem*; Acc. Trag. 420 *lavere salsis vultum lacrumis*; Afran. Com. 322 *lavere lacrimis me tuum collum*; Ovid. Met. 9,680 *lacrimis vultum lavere profusis*; Calp. Declam. 24 *(manum) lacrimis lavi*. But Tert. Pudic. 11,1 *lavanti lacrimis pedes (Christi)*. *Vestimenta (vestes) lavare* is the common expression, not *lavere*. Therefore we should read Titin. Com. 29 *vestimenta qui lavas* instead of *qui laves* (so Lachmann and Ribbeck). Fronto has *lavare* 137,7, *lavere* 223,10; perfectum *lavi* 74,6M; 74,13M; *lavatus* 210,17, but *lotus* 63,4f.M; 235,9M; supinum *lautum* 31,14M. *Abluere* is often used with *sanguinem, cruorem, terram; sudorem abluere* Val Max. 1,8,1; Sen. Epist. 86,11; Colum. 7,5,5; Plin. Nat. 27,72; Veget. Mil. 1,3. *Pulverem abluere* Pacuv. Trag. 244; Flor. 1,28,15; Lact. Inst. 2,7,9; Paneg. 12,39. *Lavare sudorem* and *lavare pulverem* do not occur. Fronto is not misled by Verg. Aen. 3,663 *(Polyphemus) luminis effossi fluidum lavit cruorem*: Claud. Don. ad locum says that *lavit* is *abluit*. *Maculam eluere* (also metaphorically), 'to wash out': Plaut. Poen. 199; Cic. S. Rosc. 66; Sest. 63; Verr. II 5,121; Catull. 57,3; Plin. Nat. 20,72; Tac. Ann. 1,43,4; Ammian. 16,12,31. *Maculam abluere* we find Plin. Nat. 28,84; Plin. Epist. 3,7,3; Tert. Monog. 17,2; Hieron. Epist. 3,3; 130,9; Prud. Apoth. 684, and *maculam lavare* Optat. 5,4; Greg. M. Dial. 4,32; Arator, Act. 2,666; *maculam lavere* Iuvenc. 3,680.

58,10 *quid*: sc. dirt.

58,11 *detrimento*: 'damage' (Haines; cp. *detero*), as Eugraph. Ter. Phorm. 333 *'unde aliquid abradi potest'*... *qui habent unde detrimenta sentiant*; Augustin. Gen. ad litt. 9,3 *ut (vestes) per annos quadraginta nulla vetustatis detrimenta paterentur.*

Exigi: 'to be removed', as Plaut. Capt. 841; Suet. Aug. 94,4.

Elavere, 'to scour out' (Haines), is found only in Plautus, but *elotus* in Bell. Afr. 24,4; Colum. 12,52,21 and several times in Celsus. Some of these passages are conjectures and nowhere is *elavere* used for 'washing clothes'.

58,12 *tum praeterea*: see at 59,9.

Diluere, 'to dilute', is a medical term also used in cookery. *Mulsum diluere* does not occur elsewhere, but *vinum diluere* is 'to water wine'. Sometimes the mead is diluted with vinegar: Plin. Nat. 14,120 *nonnusquam prioris vini faece acetove condiunt (mustum)*; 23,54 *vini etiam vitium transit in remedia aceto.*

Fauces proluere does not occur elsewhere: 'to gargle the throat' (Haines). In daily life *gargarissare* was used, see at 62,13. Cp. Plaut. Curc. 121 *prolue cloacam* ('belly'); Verg. Aen. 1,739 *pleno se proluit auro* ('swilled himself with the brimming gold'), see Macrob. Sat. 7,1,14; Hor. Sat. 1,5,16 *multa prolutus vappa nauta*; 2,4,27 *leni praecordia mulso prolueris melius.*

58,13 *subluere*, 'to wash out underneath', seems to be a veterinary or

medical term: Colum. 6,32,1 *intertrigo bis die subluitur aqua calida*; Cels. 4,22,2 *quotienscumque desidit, subluere aqua calida (oportet)*. *Iumento* is dat. sympatheticus.

Tot exemplis: 'in view of', 'on the ground of so many examples'. The following *usurpatur* is unfortunate; Ebert, Synt. 15, rightly explains: 'ex tot exemplis colligitur . . . usurpari'.

Unum atque idem: 154,17 *unum eandemque sententiam*; 154,19 *eandem unam sententiam*.

58,14 *sensus* and *census* are sometimes confused in MSS. Since C.F.W. Müller, Haupt and Naber, *sensum* has been adopted by all editors. R. Ellis defends *adcensum* as a participle of *accenseo*, in the sense of ἀξιωθέν. A. Hofer reads *ad censum*, thinking that *usurpare* has here the meaning of 'vocare', but *ad censum vocare* does not exist. For *in varium sensum* cp. Quint. Inst. 6,1,14 *dixisse . . . in hunc sensum*; Tert. Nat. 2,12,36 *ea . . . in hunc sensum . . . exponit.*

58,15 *tam . . . quam*: 'just as' (Haines), loosely connected to the preceding sentence; so 102,18 and 175,13. Since it is found in Plautus and Terence, it seems to be colloquial, not archaic, as Priebe thought. See Hofmann-Szantyr 470.

Medicamento: 'make-up', cp. Sen. Epist. 123,7 *cuius sana facies medicamentum desideret*; Dial. 7,7,3 *voluptatem . . . fucatam et medicamentis pollinctam* (cp. Cic. Orat. 79 *[in sermone puro] fucati . . . medicamenta candoris et ruboris omnia repellentur*); Iuv. 6,481 *(femina) faciem linit*; Suet. Otho 12,1 *faciem cotidie rasitare ac pane madido linere consuetum. Linere* is used for all sorts of unguents; Plin. Nat. 20,138 and Priscian. Add. p. 357,15 have *inlinere*. See at 157,7.

58,16 *oblitum*, 'besmeared', is used with *luto, cruore, fimo, stercore*; with *caeno* Rhet. Her. 3,22,37; Cic. Verr. II 5,173; Att. 2,21,4; Val. Max. 8,2,3; and in several later authors. Haines writes *conlitum*, because *caeno collinere* occurs in Plaut. Most. 291; Poen. 306; 826.

Delitum: the outside of a cup was coated from the top down with honey so that the upper edge was covered with it, comparable to modern drinks. Later authors have *circumlinere poculum melle*: Lact. Inst. 5,1,14; Hieron. Adv. Ruf. 1,7; Adv. Ioan. Hier. 3; Epist 107,6; Symm. Epist. 1,32,1; Cass. C. Nest. 7,6,2; Isid. Sent. 2,30,5. *Inlinere* in Ambros. Tob. 9,35; Boeth. Cons. 3 carm. 2,19. *Oblinere* is used by Boeth. Cons. 2,32; *praelinere* by Prosp. Aq. Carm. de ing. 817 and Leo M. Epist. 15,15. Fronto's *delinere*, a rare word, is hypercritical. *Praelitum* is the best supplement, since only the point of the sword is dipped in poison. If Orelli's conjecture is correct, Fronto is the first to use this verb; after him Gell. 6,14,11; 13,24,1; and others. Leo M. Epist. 15,15 *nisi venenata pocula quodam melle praelinirent* (sic). Authors often have *linere, inlinere tela veneno* and the like.

58,17 *inlitum*: cp. Prud. Ham. 807 *(auceps) inlevit vimina visco*; Cath, 3,43 *illita glutine . . . vimina.*

Dixerim = *dicam* 58,7; 8; 12. See at 1,10f.

58,18 *haud sciam an*: see at 57,28.

Nam quis = *quisnam*, but with more emphasis. It is found in Plautus (Most. 191; 1122; Truc. 722) and also in Verg. Georg. 4,445 and other writers, so it is not colloquial, as Kühner I 656 states. *Quisnam* 219,2; *quonam* 41,25; *quidnam* 48,5; 134,12.

58,20 *intercedere*: a legal term. As a tribune, the emperor had the *ius intercessionis*.

Modificarei: see at 30,11. The meaning 'imporre una regola' (Portalupi) is here found for the first time. 110,4 it is 'to keep within bounds'.

58,21 *liberis prognatus* is quasi-pompous, as 91,21. Orelli's conjecture has been adopted by Haines; Klussmann reads *liberis Hiberis*, because the Annii were of Baetican origin. See at 29,5.

Equitum sensum praetervehare is a joke: the *census equester* was the lowest census to distinguish between the *plebs ingenua* and the *equites*. A similar joke in Hor. Ars 382–384 *qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. quidni? liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem summam nummorum vitioque remotus ab omni*. At the age of six, Marcus became a member of the *ordo equester* (Vita Marci 4,1), and at the time this letter was written he was appointed *sevir turmarum equitum Romanorum* (Vita Marci 6,3). See Kubitschek, Census, RE III (1899). *Praetervehi censum* is not found elsewhere.

58,21–22 *in . . . rogere*: shortly before this letter was written Marcus became a member of the senate, see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 943 n. 3.

58,22–23 *auribus . . . dedimus*: again a quasi-solemn formulation: Lex Cincia de donationibus (Fontes iuris Romani antiqui 47) *qui . . . pro servis servitutem servierunt*; Quint. Inst. 7,3,26 *qui in servitute est eo iure quo servus, aut, ut antiqui dixerunt, 'qui servitutem servit'*; Afric. Dig. 9,4,28 *qui tibi iustam servitutem serviret*; Cod. Farn. 250 *potius servitute qui, ut ait Labeo, servitutem servit*. In Cicero and Livy too, this legal expression has a solemn ring: Cic. Mur. 61; Top. 29; Liv. 40,18,7; 45,15,5. See also Sen. Dial. 7,4,4; Gell. 1,12,5. Curiously enough, Plautus often has *servitutem servire*: Aul. 592; Capt. 334; Curc. 40; Mil. 482; 745; Persa 34; Rud. 747; Trin. 302; 304; but I do not believe that Plautus was Fronto's source, as Priebe II 3, Schwierczina, Frontoniana 19, and Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115, think. See Landgraf, De figuris etymologicis 14f., and at 18,4 and 55,18f. *Dedimus* is perfectum.

58,23 *necesse est* with subjunctive since Plautus, see at 37,11; with acc. cum inf. 110,5.

58,23–24 *summa cum cura*: see at 149,3.

58,24 Note the alliteration.

Moliuntur: 'they make', cp. Stat. Silv. 5,5,27 *singultantia verba molior*; Gell. 17,10,8 *sententias et verba molitus est*.

58,25 *caelo*: usually *caelum* is the tool used in engraving and chasing. Here it seems to be the chisel used by the *gemmarum scalptores* in manufacturing gems. See H. Blümner, Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern III, Leipzig 1884, 294. The diminutive *caelolum* (*caelulum*) is found only here, in the margin. *Gemmula* occurs here for the first time.

Erit: see at 56,5.

59,1 *quod*: translators have well sensed what Fronto means, but they leave us in the dark about *quod*: 'to take it to heart when corrected than to demur or flag when detected in a fault' (Haines); 'per te ricordare una correzione, piuttosto che, colto in fallo, sollevare difficoltà o scoraggiarti' (Portalupi). *Memini quod* as conjunction seems impossible. So we

with Kühner I 280—take *quod* as a relative: 'the point in which', see at 47,9. It is more likely, however, that it is *quod* = '(the fact) that', which explains the subjunctive; cp. Suet. Tit. 8,1 *recordatus ... quod nihil ... praestitisset. Memini quod* with indicative Macer, Dig. 49,1,4,5, and several times in Tertullian.

59,2 *detractare*: 'to demur' (Haines), 'to resist', as 226,1. *Detrectare*, 'to find fault with' (Haines), 66,21. Note the alliteration.

Retardari: 'to feel discouraged', 'to flag' (Haines). See *retardet* 58,1.

Desistes with the ablative of a gerund before Fronto only Stat. Theb. 4,583 *desiste canendo.* Usual is *desisto* with infinitive: 185,18.

59,4 *denique*: 'further', not 'finally' (Haines): the argument begins 58,3 and ends with *post ista* 59,24. See at 10,6.

Insuper habere, 'to take no account of', 'to neglect', occurs here for the first time, also 210,12; then Gell. 1,19,8; 4,1,18; Apul. Met. 1,12,5?; 4,25,6; Papin. Dig. 11,7,43; 34,9,17; and in some later authors, e.g. Symm. Epist. 14,1.

59,4–9 See at 270,13.

59,4–5 Quint. Inst. 9,4,24 *quaedam ordine permutato fiunt supervacua, ut fratres gemini; nam si gemini praecesserint, fratres addere non est necesse.* So *arbor illex* 152,3 (260,23 Gellius makes Fronto say *palma arbor*), but he is not consistent: 146,14 *Vestales virgines.* See also Testim. 40 and at 145,19f. On the *ordo verborum* see Rhet. Her. 4,32,44; Cic. Orat. 200; 214; 230; Part. 23–24. *Triceps Geryona* does not occur elsewhere, but Verg. Aen. 8,202 *tergemini ... Geryonis*; Hor. Od. 2,14,7f. *ter amplum Geryonem. Triceps* is always put before the name: *tricpes Cerberus* (Cic. Tusc. 1,10; Sen. Oed. 581), *triceps Hecate* (Ovid. Met. 7,194); cp. *tergemini ... Geryonai* (Lucr. 5,28; Verg. Aen. 8,202), but *Geryonae ... triformis* Sen. Ag. 841. *Geryonam* from Γερυόνης, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 858 and at 7,7.

Nominares: 'to mention the name'.

59,5–11 *diceres ... scripsisti*: in one of the *scripta* 58,4, exercises reviewed by Fronto: 59,16–18 *probavi laudavique ... reprehendi*; 59,24 *monui.* It is not a speech held by Marcus in the senate, see at 50,6.

59,6 *ne ignores*: a prohibitive subjunctive. The litotes is a strong advice: 'bear this, too, well in mind' (Haines). See 153,5; 153,14; 176,21.

Pleraque: Haines is right to assume that this is an adverb, as 230,15. Adverbial *pleraque* since Mela 2,66. See also at 148,8.

Rata: 'valid' rather than 'essential' (Haines).

59,7 *supervacanea*: the variant *supervacua* is used since Celsus and Velleius; see Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus II s.v.

Triremen: all authors have indeed *navis triremis*: Caes. Civ. 2,6,4; Mon. Anc. 4,46; Nepos, Them. 2,8; Alcib. 5,5; Dion 4,1; 9,2; Vulg. Macc. 4,20. Only the Columna rostrata, CIL I 195 (= VI 1300,12), has *triremosque* (sic) *naveis.* See Ed. Wölfflin, Die Ellipse von navis, Archiv 9, 1896, 286.

Rite: 'correttamente' (Portalupi). Paul. Exc. 337,4 Lindsay (= Corp. Gloss. Lat. IV 280,17) *rite significat bene ac recte.* The same meaning 216,2.

59,8 *supervacaneo*: this adverb occurs only in Fronto (215,13, as a conjecture of Eussner).

59,9 *tum praeterea*, 'then besides' (Haines), is a fairly abundant colloquialism: Ter. Haut. 1022; Ad. 345; Bell. Hisp. 41,5; in Fronto 58,12; 157,12; 185,21; 207,19; 225,8.

59,10 *Parthi*: see at 50,6.

The *manulei* are loose, wide sleeves. The word is found in Plaut. Cist. 252 and Accius, Carm. frg. 12, but that does not mean that it is an archaism (against Priebe I 14; Lannoy, De invloed 80; Marache, Mots 44; Selvatico, Scambio 264 n. 171). Herodotus 7,61,1 calls caftans with sleeves like that κιθῶνας χειριδωτούς. The foreign word was κάνδυς (Xen. Cyr. 1,3,2; 8,3,13; Anab. 1,5,8; and elsewhere). Such a κάνδυς is worn by the Parthians on the arch of Septimius Severus.

59,11 *suspendi*: literally 'was suspended' (Haines), but Marcus means 'was checked' (Haines), 'neutralized'. Marcus could have justified himself not only by passages since Quintilianus but even by referring to Lucr. 3,196 *aura . . . suspensa levisque* and Ovid. Fast. 4,849 *suspendere fletum*. An inscription edited by A. Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio V 179, says *balnea quae fragilis suspendunt corporis aestum.*

Ain tandem, 'really', 'I ask you', is found several times in comic poets, in Cicero's letters and in Liv. 10,25,6; then here and 231,1; Apul. Met. 1,8,3; Mart. Cap. 8,806. In the same sense, *ain tu* 261,29; *ain* alone 20,8. It is colloquial: Hofmann, Umgangssprache 43f.

59,12 *translatione*: grammatical term, see Index.

59,13 *quippe qui*: see at 111,17.

Audax orator: how far an orator's *audacia* should go in the use of metaphors was a point of discussion: Cic. Orat. 81 *tenuis orator . . . nec in faciendis verbis erit audax et in transferendis verecundus et parcus in priscis . . ., tralatione fortasse crebrior*, 202 *(poetae) transferunt verba cum crebrius tum etiam audacius (quam oratores)*; De orat. 3,94 *hos . . . novos magistros nihil . . . posse docere nisi ut auderent (discipuli)*; 3,155–156 *translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata delectationis . . . illae paullo audaciores, quae non inopiam indicant, sed orationi splendoris aliquid arcessunt*; Sen. Epist. 114,10 *quod nuper increbruit, pro cultu habetur audax translatio*; Quint. Inst. 4,1,58 *illud ex praeceptis veteribus manet, ne quod insolens verbum, ne audacius translatum . . . deprehendatur*, 8,6,11 *ex his oritur mira sublimitas, quae audaci et proxime periculum translatione tolluntur*, 10,1,96 *(Horatius) verbis felicissimis audax.*

59,15 *quod* = *eo quod*, see at 56,15.

59,16 *probavi laudavique*: also 111,27; Cic. Fam. 5,20,4 *non solum probant sed etiam laudant*; 7,1,5 *et laudo . . . et probo.*

Quom: see at 14,1.

Verbum quaerere: see at 57,16,

59,17 *indilligentiam* with gen. obiectivus: 'a want of care in the matter of'. E. Löfstedt, Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins I2, Lund 1942, 163f., calls this a genitive 'des Sachsbetreffs'; cp. *obsequium scribendi* 68,6M; Cic. Quint. fr. 1,2,7 *litterarum missarum indiligentiam reprehensam*; Sen. Dial. 12,17,2 *ut rationum accipiendarum diligentia . . . multum occupes tempus*; Tac. Hist. 4,49,3 *indiligentia veri*; cp. Schol. Bob. Cic. Flacc. 3 p. 94,15 Stangl *obsequium mentiendi.*

Quaesiti verbi = *quaerendi verbum.*

Absurda: 'disagreeable to the ear'. Haupt's *absurdum* has been adopted by Schäfer and Haines.

59,18 *intervallis*: 'by the opening of the sleeves'.

59,19 *fluitantia*: of a robe also Tac. Germ. 17 *locupletissimi veste distinguntur non fluitante... sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente.* See also Catull. 64,68; Drac. Romul. 2,84.

On the repetition of *potest* see at 97,4.

59,20 *depelli*: cp. Tibull. 1,2,49 *haec tristi depellit nubila caelo*; Plin. Nat. 17,222 *ne aura quidem ulla depellitur (pruina).*

Degi: 'to let out'. Curiously enough, only Non. 278 says that *degere* means *agere*, quoting Plaut. Aul. 165 and Epid. 65, but there our MSS have a different reading. For the rest, *degere* is always used in the sense of 'spending time'.

Demeare: 'to descend'. Fronto is the first to use this verb which is frequent in Apuleius: Met. 1,19,3 *ut... frustulum panis... mediis faucibus inhaereret ac neque deorsum demeare neque sursum remeare posset*; 6,7,2; 8,7,4; 9,31,1; 10,31,2; 11,6,6; Socr. 24; Mart. Cap. 2,150; 2,195; 4,330; 8,836; 9,895; 9,922.

Circumduci: 'to circulate'. Nowhere else is it used of a current of air.

59,21 *interverti*: 'to be led away', 'to be diverted' (Haines). The prefix *inter* indicates that something is removed, as in *interficio*, *interdico* etc. Again, this word is never used in this original sense. 'To waste', 'to dissipate' is a secondary meaning.

Eventilari: 'to be ventilated out' (Haines). Plin. Nat. 31,49 *emendant (aerem) adsiduo linteorum iactatu eventilando*; Iust. Epit. 44,1,10 *penetrantibus (marinis auris) eventilando terrestri spiritu... hominibus sanitas redditur.*

Denique: 'in brief', 'in short', see at 10,6.

59,21–22 *potius... posse*: Fronto emphasizes his argument abundantly by alliteration, traductio, etymological figure (*potest posse*) and by the clausulae *posse suspendi*, *superne quid sustineri* and *deduci significat*. Cp. Ovid. Heroid. 20(21),58 *perdere velle velis*; Coripp. Ioh. 6,290f. *vix impune potest... posse pati*; Claud. 22,331 *posse queas*. *Posse* has been justly defended by Löfstedt, Syntactica II 181ff., against Eckstein, Naber and Novák. See Hofmann-Szantyr 791.

59,22 *superne*: 'on high', as e.g. Plin. Nat. 19,76.

Quid: see at 27,6.

59,23 *laxamenta*: 'wide passages' (Haines).

Deduci: *deducere aestum* is not found elsewhere.

59,24 *post ista* refers to *denique* 59,4; see at 233,6.

Monui continues *animadverti* 58,4 and *visus es* 59,4. *Moneo* cannot mean 'avrei dovuto insegnarti' (Cova, I Principia 90 n. 2). *Moneo* with a dependent question is rare and occurs since Ter. Ad. 429. Also 104,2.

Quoniam with subjunctive: see at 106,3.

Historiae: Marcus, Medit. 3,14 μέλλεις ἀναγινώσκειν οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκλογάς, ἃς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἑαυτῷ ἀπετίθεσο does not imply that Marcus ever wrote history; see at 29,2. Nor are the συγγραφεῖς Medit. 1,17 historians. See also Medit. 4,32; 10,27.

Velles: subjunctive of the indirect speech.

59,25 *oratio*: 'exposition'.

59,25–26 *modum ... egrediar*: an epistolary locus communis, as in Hieron. Epist. 54,18,3. Others say *modum epistulae excedere*: Sen. Epist. 45,13; Plin. Epist. 2,5,13; Hieron. Epist. 26,5; 53,9,1. Fronto 125,5 *brevius*; 134,16 *diutius quam epistulae modus postulat*; 189,17 *ultra epistulae modum* (as Plin. Epist. 8,6,17); 226,1f. *haec epistula multum verborum ingerebat*; 242,15 (Appianus) ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα σοι γέγραφα. Plin. Epist. 4,17,11 *uberius quam epistularum angustiae sinunt*; 9,13,26 *si modum epistulae cogites*. Hieronymus often speaks of the *epistularis* (or *epistulae*) *brevitas*: Epist. 3,6; 7,6; 36,1; 49,17; cp. 42,3. See W. Weichert, ΤΥΠΟΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΙ et ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ, Lipsiae 1910, XIIIf.; Roller, Das Formular 34ff. with notes 168–173; Cugusi, Evoluzione 35; 69; 74. *Finem facio*: alliteration; see at 67.5.

59,27 *etiam atque etiam*, 'again and again' (Haines). This geminatio occurs often since Plautus. With *(ad)moneo* Cic. Cat. 2,27; Sull. 23; Liv. 22,13,4; Fronto 150,7. *Admonebis*: futurum pro imperativo, see at 19,7.

60,1 Chronology: Naber and Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 43 n. 2, date this letter September 144 (September because of the vintage 60,17); Mommsen 143–145; Haines, Chronology, 143–147, edition 144–145; Hanslik, Anordnung, c. 144; Cortassa before 146; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 352, c. 146. Champlin regards it as undatable: 139–161. It seems to be an early letter, an *epistula Tulliana* (20,4), and Marcus is not yet married. So we may date it 139–145. This letter has struck several readers for its romantic quietism: Norden, Kunstsprache I 346; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 105f.; Portalupi, Un mimo 90.

On the form of address see at 1,5.

60,3–4 *inscendi ... fecimus* seems to mean that Marcus did not drive in the same car that Pius used, see at 46,19.

60,3 *non adeo* with adjective, 'not particularly', seems to be colloquial, see H. Becker, Studia Apuleiana, Berolini 1879, 21.

60,4 *paululum pluvia: pluviae* is not possible and *paululum* cannot be an acc. respectus or Graecus, as Ebert, Synt. 10; Kühner I 291; K. Sittl, Jahresb. ü. d. Fort. d. class. Alterthumswiss. 40, 1884, 332; K. Prinz, TLL s.v. aspergo, think, as well as the editors since my first edition. See Timpanaro, Spigolature 240f. and Nuovi contributi 342, and Il nuovo Frontone 374; L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 78.

60,5 *villam*: in Signia, now Segni; see at 60,22.

Anagniam: a πόλις ἀξιόλογος (Strabo 5,23,8) because of its sanctuaries. See Liv. 26,23,5; Charis. 242 K. and Hülsen, Anagnia, RE I (1894).

60,6 *via* sc. *Latina*, after the *Compitum Anagnium*.

Anticum: see at 34,8f. According to Schwierczina, Frontoniana 21, Marcus borrowed *opppidum anticum* from Enn. Scen. 287, but it is also found in Plautus, Cicero and others.

Minutulum occurs in Plaut. Poen. 28 and, after Marcus, a few later writers. It is a colloquialism rather than an archaism (against Marache, Mots 91).

60,7 *res antiquas*: later, Marcus had lost all interest in such things: see Medit. 3,14; 7,1; 12,27.

Habet: unusual and colloquial parataxis instead of *sed quod habet*. Cp. 90,9

mediocris quidem, sed qui... inpedierit; after a verb 55,1M *de me sermocinari aut quod... esset.* See Kühner II 296f.; Hofman-Szantyr 561.

Caerimonias: though in a few very late texts we have the neutrum *caerimonium*, Mai has justly written *caerimonias* because of the following *supra. Caerimoniae* is not 'religious ceremonies' (Haines) but 'oggetti di culto' (Pepe), cp. Quint. Decl. 329 p. 294 *expugnatorem... templorum omnium et caerimoniarum*; Tac. Ann. 3,71,2 *cunctasque caerimonias Italicis in oppidis templaque... iuris... Romani esse* (and perhaps Hist. 1,43,2); CIL VI 934 *conservatori caerimoniorum publicorum.*

60,7–8 *supra modum*, 'beyond measure', is rare: before Marcus only Verg. Georg. 4,236. 189,17 we have, with *progredi, ultra modum.* See Ed. Wölfflin, Rhein. Mus. 37, 1882, 116 and 122. See at 49,6–8.

60,8 *ubi* with subjunctive because of the negation *nullus angulus.*

Delubrum... templum: originally, a *delubrum* was a sanctuary without statue and altar, and a *fanum* a sacred place with an altar. Later, these words became almost synonyms, see at 5,1. *Templum* and *delubrum* are often combined; *fanum* and *delubrum* only Cic. Rab. perd. 30 *pro patriis fanis atque delubris propugnandum.*

60,9 *libri lintei*: Plin. Nat. 13,69 *in palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum, dein quarundam arborum libris, postea publica monumenta plumbeis voluminibus, mox et privata linteis confici coepta aut ceris. Privata* is misleading: Livy mentions *libri lintei* with the *fasti magistratuum*: 4,7,12; 4,13,7; 4,20,8; 4,23,2. Religious *libri lintei* existed in Samnium: Liv. 10,38,6; Symm. Epist. 4,43,4 *monitus Cumanos lintea texta* ('tissues') *sumpserunt.* There is no proof to assume with Haines that such books were of Etruscan origin.

Quod adtinet refers to *praeterea.*

Sacra: 'cult'.

60,10 *eximus* = *exiimus* as *audimus* 31,2M and 61,11M; *redimus* 62,19M, probably due to Marcus' colloquialism. Baehrens, Fragmenta poetarum 33, and Haines write *exiimus*; Orelli 31,2 *audiimus*; Heraeus 61,11 *audiimus*; Haines 62,19 *rediimus.* See at 42,5.

Ibi: it is already slightly abundant to say *ibi in via* 34,4M, but *in porta... ibi* is colloquial. Technical authors show a tendency to do so for the sake of clearness: Cato, Agr. 9 *salicta locis aquosis... ibi seri oportet*; 76,3 *in tabula pura... ibi balteum ponito*; Vitruv. 5,12,4 *insuper eam exaequationem pila... ibi struatur*; 7,3,4 *in aestivis..., ubi... ibi.*

Bifariam: 'sui due battenti della porta' (Portalupi).

60,10–13 *flamen... inponit: flamén sumé saméntum* sounds like half a Saturnian verse, see F. Leo, Der Saturnische Vers, Göttingen 1905, 31. *Samentum* <**sacmentum*, from the same root as *sacer*, is the Hernician equivalent of *sacramentum*, 'sacred symbol', in this case the *pellicula.* The word does not occur elsewhere. In Rome there is a comparable custom of the flamen Dialis: on the original meaning of the *apex*, Serv. Aen. 2,683 *apex proprie dicitur in summo flaminis pilleo virga lanata*; Serv. auct. Aen. 10,270 *dicitur... apex virga quae in summo pilleo flaminum lana circumdata et filo colligata erat*; Gloss. IV 430 *apex improprie* (!) *virga pileo flaminis eminens.* As a pars pro toto the *pilleus*, the pointed cap, is also called an *apex*: Isid. Orig. 19,30,5 *apex est*

pilleum sutile, quo sacerdotes gentiles utebantur, and this is the meaning we have here in Marcus' letter and e.g. Verg. Aen. 8,664 and Lucan. 1,604. Varro ap. Gell. 10,15,32 *is (flamen Dialis) solum album habet galerum, vel quod maximus vel quod Iovi immolata hostia alba id fieri oporteat* (Paul. Fest. 10 calls it an *albogalerus*). If Marcus' information is correct, the pelt is not the *pilleus* (*apex*) itself but a pelt drawn over it. Of the Hernician soldiers Verg. Aen. 7,688f. says: *fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros tegmen habet capiti.*

Cum in urbem introeat: cp. Gell. 10,15,17 *sine apice sub divo esse licitum non est.* See F. Bücheler, Altes Latein, Rhein. Mus. 37, 1882, 516f.; K. Latte, Römische Religion 404; F. Messerschmidt, Apex, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1950).

60,11–12 *lingua Hernica*: there was no Hernician dialect in the proper sense of the word, and the only other Hernician word we know of is *buttutti*, a doubtful onomatopoeia. See R.S. Conway, The Italic Dialects I 1897, 306; J. Schrijnen, Italische dialektgeographie, Neophilologus 7, 1922, 226f.

60,12 *pelliculam* sc. *esse.* For *de* instead of the genitive see at 21,1.

60,13 *adeo* in postposition reinforces adjectives and substantives, as here and 208,2; pronouns 76,13M and 173,17. It approaches the meaning of *quidem*, γέ (not 'inoltre' [Portalupi[1]] or 'cosi' [Portalupi[2]]).

60,14 *cum*: 'that' (Haines), not 'quando' (Portalupi), see at 14,1.

60,16 *inde*: the square in front of the palatium; it refers to 60,3.

Utrumne... an: an urgent question; also 134,18–20. *Utrum... an* 80,6. See Kühner II 529; Hofmann-Szantyr 466.

In Aureliam sc. *regionem*, not an official name but called after the Via Aurelia, which lead to Lorium where Fronto probably had a villa, see at 51,20. Both in Aurelia and in Campania Fronto had a vineyard: 61,2f.; 76,4. Aurelia is the coastal area of Etruria and its official name was Regio VII Aemilia, see F. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung V[2], Leipzig 1881, 221. In the same sense, Aurelia is used in the Vita Pii 1,8 *educatus Lori in Aurelia* (and, perhaps, in the Vita Aurelian. 47,2); Lib. Col. I Grom. p. 221,15 *regionis Campaniae a Veiis tenus vel totius Aureliae*; Gloss. V 423,26 *Aurelia terra est vel provincia.* See also CIL VI 10186 (= X 7041 and Dessau 5141) and Greg. M. Dial. 3,17; see R. Thomsen, The Italic Regions, København 1947, 235f. According to Champlin, Fronto 23, the villa in Aurelia is also meant 76,4; 76,8; 109,20; 116,5; 175,22.

60,17 *Campaniam*: Fronto had a villa in Sorrento, see at 266,1–3.

Fac scribas: *fac* with subjunctive is often found in old Latin and in Cicero's letters. In Fronto 39,18; 65,6M; 86,22M; 110,3; 173,22; 183,11; 224,13. See at 37,11 and 153,4. For *fac* with acc. cum inf. see 140,6.

Vindemias: in autumn Rome had its feriae and gentlemen went to their estates, e.g. Plin. Epist. 9,20,2; Fronto 76,4 and 8. See at 29,12.

60,19 *quom*: see at 46,10.

Certe: Haines prefers the reading of m[2], 'of yourself'. However, can *per te* mean that?

60,20 *si me ames*: see at 86,22.

Mittes: the future approaches the imperative, see at 19,7.

60,21 *solacium atque fomentum*: according to Haines, a quotation of Cic.

Tusc. 2,59 *haec sunt solacia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum.* But Marcus' singularis is unusual, cp. Gell. 12,4,1 *ad muniendas vitae molestias fomentis, levamentis, solaciis.*

Decem partibus malim: 'I would ten times rather' (Haines), not 'la decima parte delle tue lettere' (Portalupi). This abl. mensurae with the typical number *decem* occurs only here, a colloquialism. Cicero and Caesar have *multis partibus* (Cic. Nat. decor. 2,92; 2,102; Caes. Civ. 3,80,2) or *omnibus partibus* (Cic. Fin. 2,108; Caes. Gall. 5,15,1). For *malim* with abl. mensurae see also at 199,7. A similar ablative: see at 51,21; for *decem tanta* see at 83,22. Typical numbers: see at 42,19.

Legere: a pun on the two meanings, as in Priap. 68,2 *libros non lego, poma lego*; Sen. Epist. 24,21 *malo te legas quam epistulam meam*; Apul. Flor. 16,18 *legenda eius esse nunc ossa, mox carmina.* Note the alliteration.

60,22 *Massicos*: modern editors have rightly adopted Kiessling's conjecture, since it must be a good wine, unlike the wine of Signia. The wine of Monte Massico is praised by Vergil, Horace, Silius Italicus, Martialis and others. Plin. Nat. 14,64 ranks it as a troisième grand cru. See G. Radke, Massicus, Kleine Pauly (1968). Marsic wine, on the other hand, was poor: Mart. 13,121 *Marsica . . . mittunt . . ., non tu, libertus sed bibat ille tuus*; Athen. 1,26. According to Scribonius Largus and others, it was taken as a medicine. *Massicus* and *Marsicus* are also confused in the MSS of Colum. 3,8,5 and Stat. Silv. 4,3,64. The wines of Monte Gauro in Campania and those of the Monte Massico are of the same quality: Plin. Nat. 14,64 *certant Massica atque a monte Gauro Puteolos Baiasque prospectantia*; they are praised by Silius Italicus, Statius, Iuvenalis and others.

Palmites: metonymy for the (clusters of) grapes or vines.

Nam: brachylogy: 'to mention only the better wines, for . . .'

Signini sc. *palmites.* There are enough bad wines, so by *isti* Marcus might mean 'your clusters of Signia' (Haines), which in turn would mean that Fronto had a villa there. However, the following *praeterea* etc. indicates that Marcus is talking about himself and that *isti* means 'miserable', as 68,10M; 76,15M; 93,11; 95,5; 159,10. This implies that Pius had a villa in Segni, as P. von Rohden, RE II 2509 (1896), thinks, though it is not mentioned elsewhere.

60,23 *rancidos . . . acidos*: note the alliteration and the annomination, but this does not necessarily mean that Marcus is quoting from an ancient comedy, as Ehrenthal 27 n. 64 thinks; Marcus is just joking, as in the following *passas quam puberes* and *propitiae placataeque.*

Quod: 'wherefore' (Haines) and 'perché' (Portalupi) seem impossible (hence the conjecture *quo* of Klussmann and P. Frassinetti, Athenaeum 54, 1976, 219). *Quod* is a relative pronoun signifying *et eorum vinum.* What Marcus means to say is that the wine from these grapes, when unpressed, is not good yet drinkable, whereas the must from the pressing is sour. With 'must' he refers to the *mustum tortivum*, see W.H. Gross, Most, Kleine Pauly (1969).

60,24 *commodius* sc. *est*: 'more agreeable' (Haines), not *commodius* sc. *malim*, as Hauler, Wien. Stud. 41, 1919, 196, thinks.

60,24–25 *passas quam puberes*: 'parched than fresh', not 'pulpy' (Haines)

or 'turgide' (Portalupi). *Pubes*, 'full-grown', is a metaphor, as in Verg. Aen. 12,413 *puberibus caulem foliis*, sought after because of the alliteration. In the margin the second hand explains *puberes* by *pullatas*. *Pullare* is only found in Calp. Buc. 5,20 *silva pullat* and means the same as *pullulare*.

60,26f. *propitiae placataeque . . . duint*. Addressing himself to the grapes, Marcus jokingly uses the formula of an old prayer with alliteration and the old optative *duint*. See at 25,6.

Bonam veniam dare is a phrase of Marcus himself.

60,27 Hauler's supplement is unlikely.

61,1 *istis*: see at 51,5.

Mihi: see at 2,13.

61,3 *mustum*: see at 56,2–3 and 4.

tuum = *tui*, see at 42,20.

61,4 *semper vale* is used by Plautus, but Marcus is the first to use it in a letter: 13,16M; 27,27M; 30,13M; 35,3M; 56,4M *valeas semper*. Cp. Cypr. Epist. 1,2,2; 10,5,2; Alcuin. Epist. 183. See Babl, De epistularum formulis 29.

61,5 Chronology: the first impression is that the letters IV 5–7 were written on three consecutive days: in IV 5 (61,20f.) and IV 6 (62,11) Marcus does his homework for Fronto and in IV 7 sends him his *tridui acta*. But IV 7 lacks the light-hearted tone of IV 5 and 6, and there is no question of writing exercises for Fronto, nor of enjoying the vintage. See at 63,12. Presumably the ancient editor put IV 7 here because it has the same form of address as shown by IV 5 and 6 and, perhaps, because he really believed that *tridui acta* referred to the two preceding letters. IV 5 and 6 were written on consecutive days: 62,11f. (*heri*) refers to 61,20. We do not know where the vintage (61,21; 62,17) took place. Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 44, supposes that it happened in Lanuvium. Marcus is a devoted pupil studying Cato (61,14 and 62,11) and the words by which he expresses his affection point to an early date (62,6f.; 63,10f.). There is one indication to corroborate this: the *Cratia minuscula* 63,2. In 162 AD this Cratia left Rome for Germany with her husband Aufidius Victorinus (176,5). In 161 she already had two sons (86,16; 178,10) and was expecting her third child (178,9). Her eldest son, M. Aufidius Fronto, remained in Rome with his grandfather; he was about four years old at the time. The second son, C. Aufidius Victorinus, born in 159–160, was too young to stay with Fronto and accompanied his parents to Germany. This means that in 162 Cratia had been married for about five years (unless she had had a child prior to M. Aufidius Fronto). If she married in 157 at the age of fifteen, she was born c. 142 (her engagement to Aufidius probably took place in 156, see at 199,10f.). Marie Raepsaet I 250f. dates her marriage to Aufidius 157 at the latest. So the *Cratia minuscula* points to September–October 142 or 143. To be on the safe side, I date this letter 141–43. September–October 143 may be the exact date if we compare 34,16—a letter, it seems, of autumn 143, see at 34,1. Naber and Watson date it 144, without comment; Haines, Chronology, 143–147 (p. 116), 144–147 (p. 118), and in his edition 144–45; Hanslik, Anordnung, before 147; Birley, Mark Aurel 136f., and Champlin early 140s; Cortassa 139–146/47; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 283, c. 144. Brakman

and Portalupi regard IV 5 and 6 as undatable. In my edition I erroneously dated them 147–48. On the form of address see at 42,4.

On *mihi* see at 2,3. *Gravissime* is found nowhere else in a form of address; Quint. Inst. 12,1,36 speaks of a *magister gravissimus*. This letter is typical for its unusual words.

61,6 *Nos valemus* also 62,9M, a rather childish variation of S.V.B.E.E.V. Brut. Cic. Fam. 11,23,1 *nos hic valemus recte.*

61,6–7 *ab hora . . . studivi*: see at 52,7.

Bene disposito cibo: 'having divided my meal conveniently over several hours', 'having a bit of my meal now and then', not 'by a satisfactory arrangement of meals' (Haines). Marcus' stomach did not allow him to take a full meal at one time, see at 74,7f.

Studivi seems to be colloquial like *tenivi, posivi*; see Charis. 248,2 K.; Gromat. 359,11 *studiri*. See at 52,7.

61,8 *calceatus sagulo*: boots and a short cloak which let the right arm free, used by soldiers and hunters. CIL VI 8555 calls it a *vestis venatoria*. See J. Aymard, Essai sur les chasses romaines, Paris 1951, 163f. and 205, with illustrations of Roman hunting wear.

61,9 *indictum*: 'to ordain', the official term of court etiquette.

Salutatum: see at 3,25f.; 62,15.

Venationem: on horseback (62,5). In his younger years, Marcus liked hunting: 51,24 and Vita Marci 4,9. For a later period see Cass. Dio 71,36,2.

61,10 *fortia facinora (facta)* is a popular alliteration: Sall. Iug. 53,8; 85,4; 85,21; Cat. 59,6; Ovid. Met. 9,150; Liv. 23,7,6; Ammian. 22,8,34; Fronto 206,9. A threefold alliteration as in Marcus: Gell. 5,2,4 *facinora faciens fortia*. Other threefold alliterations 25,24M; 43,5M; 62,11M; 67,5; 152,12 (marg. b); fourfold and more 44,3f.; 91,22. See Landgraf, De figuris 19, and at 226,9; 260,6; Stylistic Index s.v. alliteration.

Apros: in a vivarium (see at 51,24) or running wild; see TLL s.v. aper.

61,11 *audimus* = *audiimus*, see at 60,10.

Quis: see at 27,6.

61,12 *post meridiem*: see at 31,12.

Domum recepimus: recipere = *se recipere* we find since Plautus, even in Caesar. In Fronto also 241,23 (but 34,3M *domum se recepit*). It seems to be a colloquial and military word. See Ed. Wölfflin, Der reflexive Gebrauch der verba intransitiva, Archiv 10, 1898, 2; Hofmann-Szantyr 295.

61,12–13 *ego me ad libellos*: 'I set to my books', an ellipsis of a verb like *verti* or *dedi*. Cp. the colloquialisms in Ter. Andr. 226 *ego hinc me ad forum*; 361 *ego me continuo ad Chremem*; Cic. Att. 12,3,1 *ego me interea cum libellis*. Such ellipses, or rather brachylogies, are typical of epistolary style (see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 171f.): 49,9 *sed quo?*; 67,21M *haec in me*. An old formula *me dius Fidius* 67,24M and 176,7. 68,2f.M *nimis quam saepe*. There are two kinds of ellipsis of verbs in Fronto: those which can directly or indirectly be understood from the context and those of *esse, fieri* and *facere*. To the first category belong the following places: 2,10M *quando (proficiscaris)*; 5,18 *amplius (amas)*; 7.2M *quid tum (fecit)*; 7,18M *ad Hesiodum (transeo)*; 10,9M *alio (ire)*; 11,20 *cogitat (proficisci)*; 49,17 *pauca (dicenda sunt)*; 61,16M *frustra (facis*

or *mittis*, see the reading of m[2]); 67,21M *haec in me (dicta sunt* or *spectant)*; 73,19M *potes (venire)*; 87,29 *minus tamen nihilo (confecerit)*; 105,16M *etiam (mitte)*; 107,10f.V *saepius (scripsi)*; 114,22V *quid enim?*; 155,7 *nunc (vide?* see commentary); 156,3 *quid (commemoro)*; 215,14 *aliter (res se habet)*; 228,15 *volup (facis)*; 233,10 *ut columbae (facere solent)*; 234,7M *multum (fecisti)*; 254,15 ἀνατέλλοντος (τοῦ ἡλίου).

Ellipsis of *esse* 3,10; 5,1; 18,4; 31,17M; 34,21M; 37,22; 39,16; 48,1; 51,26; 60,12M; 64,18; 68,8M; 73,7; 73,19M; 79,16M; 80,3; 80,13M; 93,10; 141,4; 225,5; 230,15; 238,9; 238,14.

Ellipsis of *est* 1,6; 4,21; 6,6f.M; 8,19; 9,9M; 11,16; 31,8M; 31,14M; 34,2M; 37,17–19; 45,3; 48,7; 49,14; 49,15; 49,17; 60,24; 62,15M; 64,3M; 66,13; 68,2f.; 75,19M; 105,7M; 116,11; 141,5; 178,2; 215,24; 220,19f.; 221,2; 226,3; 237,6.

Ellipsis of *sum* 55,5M.

Ellipsis of *es* 139,19.

Ellipsis of *sunt* 6,2M; 9,7; 30,2–4; 49,16; 65,3M; 80,7; 128,13f.; 159,13; 178,3; 215,25; 223,12.

Ellipsis of *eras* 53,24; 54,1.

Ellipsis of *era(n)t* 48,10; 128,8–17.

Ellipsis of *fuit* 30,16M; 62,20M.

Ellipsis of *sis* 139,19.

Ellipsis of *sit* 57,28.

Ellipsis of *facere* 7,2M; 61,16M; 79,18M; 178,15; 228,15; 234,7f.M; 249,12M.

Ellipsis of *fieri* 6,19M; 14,7; 30,16M; 44,6; 110,18; 117,3; 159,14.

For the ellipsis with *pote* see at 1,6.

For *nimis quam saepe* see at 68,2f.

61,13 *libellos*: see at 50,15.

Calceis . . . positis: two abl. absol. are usually connected by *et* or *-que*; see at 50,2f.

lectulo: see at 40,4.

61,14 *legi*: see at 52,7.

61,14–15 These two speeches by Cato are not mentioned elsewhere. *Pulchra* is an existing name (Tac. Ann. 4,52,1), *Dulcia, Dulcha, Patulcia* (so Hübner in Jordan's edition of Cato p. LXXXIX) are not. Meyer, Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta 130, and Jordan LXX consider it possible that the second speech is identical with the speech *Si se M. Caelius tribunus plebis appellasset* (frg. 81–89 Sblendorio), but Cato came into conflict with several tribuni plebis.

Diem dicere is the official term for 'to impeach' (Haines).

61,15 *io a(h)* (so m[1]) does not exist.

61,15–16 *quantum potes*: see at 1,6; 61,12f.; 178,15.

61,16–17 *Apollonis bibliotheca*: the form *Apollonis* we find both in MSS and in inscriptions, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 258f. and TLL. It is evident that two different libraries are meant here (against Pepe and Cortassa). Augustus inaugurated in 28 BC the temple and library of Apollo: Suet. Aug. 29,3 *templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant; addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque*;

Cass. Dio 53,1,3 τό τε 'Απολλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τάς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν. This temple and the library are often mentioned; in 363 AD they were destroyed by fire (Ammian. 23,3,3).

Tiberianus bibliothecarius refers to the *bibliotheca domus Tiberianae*, the palace where Pius and Marcus lived. This library is mentioned here for the first time, later only by Gell. 13,20,1 *cum in domus Tiberianae bibliotheca sederemus* and Vita Probi 1,2 *usus ... sum ... libris ... ex domo Tiberiana.* There is no indication that it was founded by Tiberius himself. It was a public library but its books were, apparently, not easily lent (Marcus' remark about a douceur is of course a joke). However, there was a third library on the Palatine, mentioned only by Plin. Nat. 34,43 *videmus ... Tuscanicum Apollinem in bibliotheca templi Augusti.* The *templum Augusti* was built by Livia and Tiberius and inaugurated by Caligula. Historians usually identify this *templum* with a *templum novum*, which also had a library: Mart. 12,3,7f. *veneranda novi pete limina templi, reddita Pierio sunt ubi tecta choro*, and Suet. Tib. 74 *Apollinem Temenitem ... advectum Syracusis ut in bibliotheca templi novi poneretur.* There is no reason to suppose that this *templum novum* is the *templum Augusti*: there were two Apollo temples in Rome, the old one on the Campus Flaminius and the new one on the Palatine; both Martialis and Suetonius mean the *templum Apollinis Palatini.* Besides, the *Tuscanicus Apollo* of Pliny cannot be the *Apollo Temenites* of Suetonius. Historians have tried in vain to reduce these three libraries to two by identifying the library of the temple of Augustus or the library of the Apollo temple with the library of the domus Tiberiana. In the second century there were over twenty libraries in Rome, but it is not by chance that Marcus here speaks of these two: in the Latin department of the famous Apollo library Augustus had collected all available texts of Rome's national literature; we have a number of testimonies on the contents of that library: Hor. Epist. 1,3,17 admonishes Celsus: *tangere vitet scripta, Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo*, and Porphyrius notes ad locum: *volebat libros in bibliothecam Apollinis receptos excerpere*; Ovid. Trist. 3,1,60–64 *ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei* (sc. *Apollinis*) ... *ubi sunt ... quae ... viri docti veteres cepere (= concepere) novique pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent*; Porphyr. Hor. Epist. 2,1,214 *ut diligentius aestimet (Augustus) poetas dignos bibliotheca, quam in templo Apollinis faciat*; Schol. Iuv. 1,128 *bibliothecam iuris civilis et liberalium studiorum in templo Apollinis Palatini dedicavit Augustus.* About the contents of the less important *bibliotheca domus Tiberianae* we know nothing. See L. Friedländer in his edition of Martialis II, Leipzig 1886, at 12,3; M. Ihm, Die Bibliotheken im alten Rom, Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen 10, 1893, 516ff.; K. Dziatzko, Bibliotheca, RE III (1899); Langie, Les bibliothèques 45ff.; Chr. Callmer, Antike Bibliotheken, Acta Inst. Rom. regni Suecias 10, Opusc. archaeol. 3, 1944, 145ff.; K. Ziegler, Palatium, RE XVIII 3 (1949); Lugli, Le temple d'Apollon 276ff.; H. Gallet de Santerre & H. Le Bonniec in their edition of Plin. Nat. XXXIV, Paris 1953, 194; Wendel, Bibliothek; R. Browning, Class. Rev. 9, 1957, 149; O. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian, Berlin [3]1963, 298ff.; K. Preisendanz, Bibliothek, Kleine Pauly (1964); Fedeli, Sul prestito 165ff.

61,16 *frustra*: Mai was right to omit the addition of m^2 *mittis*, see Proleg. XL and at 61,12f. The same elliptical use of *frustra* e.g. Catull. 21,7 *frustra: nam*; Bell. Alex. 29,5 *sed id frustra: namque*; Hor. Sat. 2,7,115 *frustra: nam.*

61,17 *bibliothecarius*: this word occurs only here, in the Papyr. Marini 3 and in the Glossaria. Ovid. Trist. 3,1,68 calls him *praepositus*. The Apollo library had two librarians, one *a bibliotheca Latina*, the other *a bibliotheca Graeca* (CIL VI 5188; 5189; 5191; 5199; 5884). The head of all librarians in Rome was the procurator bibliothecae.

61,18 *subigitandus* is a vulgar, erotic word; it occurs several times in Plautus, in Ter. Haut. 567; Charis. Gramm. 474,28 B.; Schol. Hor. Carm. 1,5,2; Schol. Ter. 120. Marcus uses it, as Apul. Apol. 87,4, metaphorically: 'to spoon', 'to fondle', 'to shake up'.

61,20 *misere*: 'wretchedly' (*paululum* does not belong to *misere*, as Ebert, Synt. 22, thinks). The colloquial meaning is confirmed by *male* 62,2, and it is also found 62,11M. Before Marcus, only Plaut. Pseud. 74 *est misere scriptum*; afterwards in a few later authors. See at 184,16.

Quod . . . dicarem: 'for to be thrown into the water' or 'into the fire'. Cp. *in furnum dimittere* 28,23M and Tibull. 1,9,49f. *illa velim rapida Vulcanus carmina flamma torreat et liquida deleat amnis aqua.*

61,22 *studiolum*: 'a miserable piece of work'. The word occurs only here. J.J. Cornelissen, Mnemos. 13, 1885, 119, regards it—erroneously, as most of the time—as a gloss explaining *cubiculum*. See at 6,1.

Qui refers to *vindemiatoris*: an antecedent in the singular indicating a group is sometimes followed by a relative in the plural, e.g. Liv. 22,57,3 *scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant.* See Kühner I 31; Hofmann-Szantyr 432f.

iubilis: 'catches' (Haines). Varro ap. Non. 56 *homines rusticos in vindemia incondită cantare*; Moretum 29f. *modo rustica carmina cantat (rusticus) agrestique suom solatur voce laborem*; Calp. Buc. 1,30 *nec montana sacros distinguunt iubila versus*; 4,124 *ut nudus ruptas psallat calcator in uvas*; Hil. In psalm. 65,3 *iubilum pastoralis agrestisque vocis sonum nuncupamus, cum . . . ductae in longum et expressae in nisum sonus vocis auditur*; Hieron. In psalm. 88 *iubilatus inconditos sonos proferens nequaquam sensus per verba distinguat*; Victorin. Gramm. Lat. VI 122 *metrum . . . usurpatum a pastoribus Calabris, qui decantare res rusticas his versibus solent*; Vigil. Trid. ad Ioh. 6 p. 554 D *inter strepentes et horridos iubilos pastorales.* In the same sense *iubilare* 62,18, cp. Varro, L.L. 6,68 *ut quiritare urbanorum, sic iubilare rusticorum*; Paul. Fest. 104 *rustica voce clamare*; Augustin. In psalm. 99,4 *qui iubilat non verba dicit, sed sonus quidam est laetitiae sine verbis, . . . maxime iubilant qui in agris operantur*; Lucian. Lex. 2 τοὺς ἐργάτας λιγυρίζοντας τὴν θερινὴν ᾠδήν. See at 125,4 and crit. app. 148,7.

Perstrepunt with accusative occurs here for the first time; later also Apul. Met. 3,1,5 and Claud. In Ruf. 1,213.

61,22–23 *causidicali . . . taedio*: 'with their odious and tedious way of acting just like lawyers'. *Causidicalis* is found only here (Gell. 12,2,1 is a false conjecture by Vogel); it stands for the genitive *causidicorum*, as *pinnatas facultates* 204,5 (marg. c) and *Arpinati paupertate* 207,2; see Hofmann-Szantyr 60 and at 32,7. Fronto is neither a *causidicus* nor a jurist but an orator. Cic.

De orat. 1,202 *non enim causidicum nescio quem neque clamatorem aut rabulam hoc sermone nostro conquirimus, sed* etc.; Quint. Inst. 12,1,25 *non enim forensem quandam instituimus operam nec mercennariam vocem neque, ut asperioribus verbis parcamus, non inutilem sane litium advocatum, quem denique causidicum vulgo vocant, sed* etc.; Tac. Dial. 1,1 *horum . . . temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur.* For *causidicatio* see at 189,19.

Prosum is not archaic (against Pepe) but colloquial, see Proleg. XXXIV.

62,1 *An* is often the same as *aut* in disjunctive questions; also 48,14f.

62,2 *pituitosus*, 'slimy'; elsewhere it is not used of persons: Cic. De fato 7; Chiron. Mulom. 715; Marcell. 30,10 and 13. Catull. 23,17 *muccusque et mala pituita nasi*; Cels. 4,25,1 *pituitae muccisque similia.* See at 128,5. Dailly & Van Effenterre 352 think that Marcus was suffering from tuberculosis (?). See at 63,15.

62,3 *mucculentior.* Marcus is the first to use this word; Celsus and others have *muccosus. Muc(c)ulentus* also in Arnob. 3,13; Cael. Aurel. 2,10; Prudent. Perist. 2,282; Eugen. Tol. Carm. 14,19. On adjectives ending in *-ulentus* see Gell. 11,15,6.

Oleum in caput: Cels. 4,2,7 those who have a cold *caput oportet perfundere aqua calida . . . tum caput vehementer perfricare, deinde calido oleo implere, veste velare*; see also 1,3,10.

Incipiam dormire: colloquial Latin avoids *dormiscere*: Hor. Sat. 1,5,17; Sen. Epist. 122,12; Iuv. 8,11.

62,4 *in lucernam*: Marcus is not going to read or write after dinner as usual; see at 52,7.

Cogito: see at 11,20.

62,5 *equitatio* refers to *venatio* 61,9. Before Marcus, the word is only found in Plin. Nat. 28,54, and *sternutatio* before Marcus only in Scrib. Larg. 10, see at 34,8. Note the homoioteleuton.

62,6 *valebis*: fut. optativum instead of the imperative; also 63,10. It seems typical of epistolography: Cic. Fam. 7,20,2; 15,18,2; Att. 6,2,10; 6,5,4; Stat. Silv. 4,9,53; see at 19,7. Another pecularity of Marcus is *valeas* instead of *vale*: 56,4 and 104,3. According to Babl 30, this is very rare, see Alcuin. Epist. 183, but it is already found in Plaut. Truc. 433.

Mihi: see at 2,13.

Ausim dicere in parenthesis also 118,22.

62,8 Chronology: see at 61,5. On the form of address see at 42,4.

62,9 *nos valemus*: see at 61,6.

Prodormivi: see at 9,13.

Perfrictiunculam, 'slight cold' (Haines), is found only here.

62,10 *undecima*: on the ellipsis of *hora* see at 40,4. For the time of study see at 52,7.

62,11 *legi ex* occurs only here. R. Marache, Aulu-Gelle, Les Nuits attiques I, Paris 1967, XV, thinks that it means 'tirer des notes d'un livre'; see at 29,2. The title *De agri cultura* in Varro, R.R. 1,2,28; Colum. 1,1,12; Gell. 3,14,17. Cic. Cato 54 has *De rebus rusticis*, Gell. 10,26,8 *De re rustica.*

Minus . . . mercule: on the threefold alliteration see at 61,10.

Misere: see at 61,20.

Mercule: Fronto, Marcus and Pius usually have *(me)hercule*. I have kept here the reading of m[1], which is also found in Cic. Nat. deor. 2,74 and as a varia lectio in Cic. Parad. 6. We find *hercules* 107,26V, *mehercules* 122,17 and 164,16. According to Cic. Orat. 157, *mehercule* must be preferred to *mehercules*. See Neue-Wagener II[3] 991; Hofmann, Umgangssprache 29; Cugusi, Evoluzione 81.

62,12 *salutato patre*: at nine o'clock, see at 3,25f.

62,12–13 *aqua . . . gargarissivi*: Fr. Bücheler in Ribbeck's Comici assumes that *aquá sorbenda faúces fovi usque ád gulam* should be seen as the quotation from Novius. Naber; Ribbeck[2]; Priebe I 17; A. Funck, Archiv 3 1886, 398; Haines; Höhne 40; Marache, La critique 158 n. 3; P. Frassinetti, Fabularum Atellanarum fragmenta, Aug. Taurinorum 1955, 74, and Atellanae fabulae, Roma 1967, 103; 113; and Paola Venini, Atheneum 36, 1958, 166, all assume that *gargarissavi* is the quotation, but in Ribbeck[3] Bücheler has put us on the right track: *fauces fovere*, 'to cure', 'to take care of' (note the alliteration) is the quotation from Novius, an unusual expression occurring also in Fronto 90,4 and Suet. Vit. 2,4 *salivis melle commixtis . . . cotidie . . . arterias et fauces pro remedio fovebat. Gargarissare* (γαργαρίζειν), on the other hand, is a common medical term, frequently used in daily life since Varro, L.L. 6,96.

Potius: to please Fronto, who preferred words of good Roman stock. See at 58,12 *fauces proluere*. On Novius see at 57,2. The same household medicine against a sore throat is prescribed by all doctors: Cels. 4,7,3; Cael. Aur. Chron. 2,7,99; Marcell. Med. 14,3; Cass. Fel. 37; Pallad. 2,15,19; Oribas. Syn. 1,21. See at 64,4.

62,13 *ad* in the sense of *apud* is often used with persons, e.g. Cic. Att. 10,4,8 *fuit ad me sane diu*; Fronto 151,20 *ad philosophos*; 213,7 *ad populum acceptior*; but never, as it seems, to indicate a passage in a text. Haupt's *apud* has been adopted by Ribbeck, Priebe I 17 and Haines. Ebert, Synt. 16, follows the reading of m[1]: *nam et ad Novium* sc. *hoc verbum legi*.

62,15 *immolanti*: this scene on a bas-relief of a triumphal arch in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. Vita Pii 11,5 *nec ullum sacrificium per vicarium fecit nisi cum aeger fuit*. The sacrifice took place after the salutatio (see at 61,9): Suet. Otho 6 *mane Galbam salutavit . . . etiam sacrificanti interfuit*; Vita Alex. Sev. 29,2 *matutinis horis in larario suo . . . rem divinam faciebat*.

Merendam: apparently the same as *prandium*, the luncheon about eleven o'clock. Paul. Fest. 123,23 *merendam antiqui dicebant pro prandio, quod scilicet medio die caperetur*. See J. Marquardt, Das Privatleben der Römer II[2], Leipzig 1886, 267f.; W.H. Gross, Merenda, Kleine Pauly (1969). After luncheon, Marcus and Pius joined the vintagers for an hour or so. Shortly after noon they were back again: 62,19 *ab hora sexta* (not 'after six o'clock' [Haines]).

62,15–17 Marcus speaks here of the quantity, not the quality of food. Pius was a sober man (Vita Pii 2,1) and we see just ordinary food on his table: bread, beans and fish. There were even more sober people who only ate bread: Sen. Epist. 83,6 *panis . . . siccus et sine mensa prandium, post quod non*

sunt lavandae manus. Marcus' stomach did not bear a normal quantity, see at 74,7f.; 228,18; 234,6.

62,16 *conchim*: 'beans' (Haines). In other writers the accusative is *conchem* or *conchin*: Priscian. Gramm. I 26,26 *vetustissimi*... *mutabant*... *conchim pro conchin*. *Conchis* is always used as a collective singular (see at 152,8), as *faba*, Cato, Agr. 35. K. Dilthey proposes a new word here: *congim*, in the sense of *acervatim*, derived from *congius*.

Caepas: 'onions' (Haines). MSS often have *caepa* instead of *cepa*, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 832ff.; TLL s.v.

Maenas: the maena vulgaris (μαίνη), 'menelle' (Portalupi), 'sardelle' (Pepe), 'menole' (Cortassa), not 'herrings' (Haines). It was the commoner's fish: Cic. Fin. 2,91; Lucian. Gall. 22. See H. Höppener, Halieutica, diss., Amsterdam 1931, 72f. *Bene praegnatis*: 'full of roe' (Haines), cp. Aristot. Anim. 8,30,2 κύουσα μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὴ μαινίς. In colloquial Latin, *bene* often stands for the superlative, so Fronto 91,20. *Praegnas* instead of *praegnans* since Plautus. It is usually said of viviparous animals; of birds Plin. Nat. 9,163; 10,102.

62,17 *metendis*: *uvas metere* also Plin. Nat. 14,36 and Tert. Anima 21,4; see at 29,12. Vita Pii 11,2 *vindemias privati modo cum amicis agebat*.

Consudavimus is not an archaism (against Marache, Mots 32 n. 10) but a colloquialism: Plaut. Pseud. 666; Cato, Agr. 96,1; Colum. 12,72; Oros. Comm. 2.

62,18 *iubilavimus*: see at 61,22.

62,18–19 The *auctor* must be Novius and the quotation may have been taken from his Vindemiatores. Ribbeck[3]:

áliquot altipéndulos
relíquimus vindémiae supérstites.

According to Brakman, Frontoniana I 16, Novius had in mind Sappho, frg. 93, but she speaks of apple-reapers, as does Verg. Ecl. 1,38. The word *altipendulus* occurs only here; it requires a masculine substantive like *palmites*.

62,19 *ab*: 'shortly after'.

Redimus: there is no need to write with Heraeus *rediimus*, see at 42,5; 60,10; 181,8 (marg. a).

62,20 *atque id ineptum*: 'and that to no purpose' (Haines). *Ineptum* (for *inepte*) is not a neuter substantive, as B. Rehm, TLL s.v., thinks, but a predicative adjective with the 'ellipsis' of *fuit*, see at 61,12f.

Matercula: this pet name also in Plaut. Cist. 452; Cic. Flacc. 91; Hor. Epist. 1,7,7; Carm. Epigr. 1147,1 and 1204,1. The form *matercella* in the margin does not occur elsewhere, but Fronto has *anucella* 181,8 (marg. b). Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 373, Contributi 382 and Nuovi contributi 354, prefers *matercella*, but marginal annotations are not variae lectiones, as V. Bulhart, TLL s.v. matercella, rightly observes.

Torum: 'bed' (Haines) or 'sofa'. A painting of this scene by Arthur Hughes can today be seen in London.

62,21 *garrivi*, 'to chat', is a colloquialism, as is the repetition *mea, meus, meam*. *Garravi* in the margin must be a mistake.

63,1 *Cratia*: see at 113,4 and 235,11.

63,2 *passercula* only occurs here, but *passerculus* already in Plaut. Asin. 666 and 694. Metonymical *passer*, too, is used since Plautus. See at 86,17.

Cratiam: see at 61,5; 34,1.

Minusculus is colloquial.

63,3 *alterutrum*: see at 139,8.

Discus crepuit: 'the gong sounded' (Haines). Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon it was time for the *palaestra* (Mart. 4,8,5 with the note of L. Friedländer) and then *redde pilam: sonat aes thermarum* (Mart. 14,163,1). Apparently, this is also the time when Pius takes his bath, accompanied by Marcus: Medit. 1,16 οὐκ ἦν ἀωρὶ λούστης. And if Pius was not able to bathe, Marcus didn't either: 93,23.

63,4 *transisse*: 'to go (by a passage) from one room to another': Suet. Galba 10 *per angiportum in balneas transeuntem*; Vesp. 21 *a secreto in balineum tricliviumque transibat.*

63,4–5 *loti . . . cenavimus*: supper was served in the late afternoon, after the bath: Plaut. Rud. 151; Cic. Deiot. 20f.; De orat. 2,246; Sen. Contr. 1 praef. 17; Sen. Epist. 122,9; Dial. 10,16,3; Plin. Epist. 6,20,2; 9,36,4. In Athens, supper seems to have been later: *ubi iam vesperaverat* Gell. 17,8,1. On *loti* see at 74,6.

Torculari: the barn with the winepress, rather than the 'oil-press room' (Haines).

63,7 *converto*: compounds of *verto* (not *verto* itself) often have a reflexive meaning: *averto* 56,13; *converto* 106,12; 233,15; *deverto* 60,5M; 149,2. See J.B. Hofmann, De verbis quae in prisca latinitate extant deponentibus commentatio, diss., München 1910, 25. See Index s.v. Reflexive use, and Proleg. XL.

Pensum explico: 'I acquit myself of my task by giving you this account'. On writing after supper see at 52,7.

63,8 *plusculum*: see at 34,7.

63,9 *macerarer*: 'to be tormented', cp. Afran. Com. 352 *cuius . . . ex desiderio magis magisque maceror*; Liv. 5,54,3 *macerent desiderio*; Sen. Dial. 11,9,3 *quid . . . (defuncti) desiderio maceror?*; Fronto 237,25.

63,10 *valebis*: see at 62,6.

Mihi: see at 2,13.

Ubiubi es: see at 8,9f., though it may refer to the following *(tu es) meus amor, mea voluptas*. *Ubiubi* seems to be colloquial: often in Plautus and Terence; Liv. 42,57,12; Ps. Sall. In Cic. 1,1 and in some later authors.

Mellitissime: see at 26,9.

63,11 *quid . . . est*: 'what is it between you and me' (Haines).

Tecum: 'on your side', 'as far as you are concerned'. Cp. Plaut. Men. 826 *quid mihi tecum est?* (in a malevolent sense); Ter. Phorm. 984 *iniuriast tecum*; Cic. Fam. 5,17,4 *illius pietatem . . . tuam esse, tecum esse duces*; Joh. 2,4 *quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?*

63,12 Chronology: see at 61,5. Hanslik, Anordnung, has seen that Marcus is engaged in state affairs outside Rome, which points to the *imperium*

extra urbem proconsulare, an office Marcus held in December 147 (Vita Marci 6,6 *Faustinam duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est atque imperio extra urbem proconsulari*; see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 855 n. 1; 1153 and 1157). Brakman, Champlin and Cortassa regard this letter as undatable (139–161); Naber dates it 144; Haines, Chronology, 143–147, edition 144–145; M. Hammond, The Antonine Monarchy, Rome 1959, 26, dates it 147 (he wrongly thinks that Marcus had a command in the field); Miller, Emperors at Work 14, dates it to the 140s or early 150s; Birley, Mark Aurel 160, 145; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 243, c. 144. See at 45,18. Hanslik dates it early 147, which should be late 147 or early 148. Later on, Marcus never uses such an affectionate form of address, see at 42,4 and 38,11; that is why this letter has been dated to the intimate years before 145. On *mihi* see at 2,13.

63,13 *tabellarius*: Marcus is staying in one of Pius' villas, apparently rather a long way off, because the post of three days has to be sent together. See at 3,13.

Acta mea: 'my doings', 'my three days' budget of news' (Haines), cp. Plin. Epist. 3,18,11 *habes acta mea tridui*. It does not refer to 'das Studium der Beredsamkeit' (Hanslik) or to tasks assigned to him by Fronto.

63,14 *dico*: 'I cannot bring out a word', as 52,12M *non dormito*, 'I cannot sleep'; 72,8 *ingrederer*, 'I could walk'; 76,8 *insisto*, 'I can stand'; 81,24 *procedunt*, 'they can walk'.

Prope ad, 'nearly', 'towards', is abundant.

Dictandis is, of course, 'to dictate', not 'to write' as Graeber, TLL s.v., presumes. 83,3f. and 234,6 Marcus dictates a letter to Fronto without giving a reason why. Fronto dictates 85,3; 90,10; 180,25 and 225,20 because of rheumatism in his right hand, Normally the letters were autographic, see at 38,4.

63,15 *spiritum insumpsi*: 'I have used up my breath', an expression not occurring elsewhere, but we find e.g. *insumere robur* (Stat. Theb. 5,110) and *corporis vires insumere* in medical texts. Marcus did not have a strong voice, see at 69,42, and he may have suffered from asthma, bronchitis or even tuberculosis: 35,8f.M *spiritum vix habeo*; 64,2f.M he has a pain in the chest; 69,42 Fronto hopes that Marcus will be able *vehementi latere legere*; see at 62,2 and Cass. Dio 71,1,2; 71,6,3; 71,36,3 and Dailly & Van Effenterre 347ff.; Birley, Mark Aurel 158f.

De: 'on the question of' (Haines). It has been misunderstood by Cassan and by R. Novák, Wien. Stud. 19, 1897, 242, who suppose that *de* has here the meaning of *ex*.

63,17 *veniemus*: Marcus, his staff and his wife.

63,17–18 *quae... est*: see at 21,12.

Meteoria, 'forgetfulness', 'absent-mindedness', occurs in Latin only here; in Greek, Suet. Claud. 39,1 *in eo mirati sunt homines et oblivionem et inconsiderantiam vel, ut Graeci dicunt,* μετεωρίαν *et* ἀβλεψίαν. Cicero has twice μετέωρος (Att. 15,14,4 and 16,5,3) and Augustus has in a letter in Suet. Claud. 4,4 the adverb μετεώρως.

63,18–19 *atque enim*: the context requires in this occupatio the meaning of *atenim*, 'anyway', 'eppure' (Portalupi). Since Plautus, *atque* has also

an adversative meaning: Don. Ter. Andr. 225 *atque pro at, ut sit tamen*; see Hofmann-Szantyr 478; 481. However, the problem is that *atque enim* is extremely rare: Apul. Plat. 2,20 *artibus et prudentiae partibus absolutus atque enim tum a pueris inbutus*; here the difficulty lies in *enim*, 'actually', 'indeed', but modern editors read *iis* instead of *enim*. The second place, Tert. Apol. 49,3, is very uncertain: *(Christianorum placita) nulli tamen noxia; nam et multis aliis similia, quibus nullas poenas inrogatis... atque in eiusmodi enim, si utique, inrisui iudicandum est.* Here, *atque* is a conjecture by E. Löfstedt; the vulgata has *sed* and cod. F has *aeque* (omitting *in eiusmodi*). W.H. Friedrich, TlI s.v. enim, supposes that Marcus' *atque enim* is καὶ γάρ ('e infatti' [Della Corte]), but what we need here is an opposition to the preceding remark. Haines follows Klussmann. We might consider *atqui enim*, but that is only found in Quint. Decl. 268 p. 94,3.

63,19 *consulto*: a part. perf. pass. used as substantive, cp. *facto opus est, cauto opus est. Consulto opus est* also Sall. Cat. 1,6; 43,3; Liv. 26,10,2; 44,17,7; Curt. 10,6,15; Tac. Hist. 1,62,1. See at 90,26; 190,6.

63,20 *vale meum*: aposiopesis, as 2,3M *o me, quid dicam.*

63,21 Cp. Petron. 139,4 *tu desiderium meum, tu voluptas mea.*

63,22 Chronology: Naber and Hauler in his inedita date this letter 140; Mommsen 144–145 (before Marcus' marriage); E. Groag, RE VII 1422, 145–146; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 144–145; Birley, Mark Aurel 158, 145; Cortassa before 146–147. Champlin regards it as undatable: 139–161. The fact that Marcus' wife is not mentioned does not prove much, but there is no trace of Marcus' literary studies, and 64,7f. sounds very Stoic. The letter must have been written before the death of Marcus' mother Domitia Lucilla, so I date it 145–156. Marcus is not in Rome.

63,23 *frater tuus*: Q. Cornelius Quadratus, see at 238,12.

Cupio with subjunctive: see at 6,1 and 37,11.

63,24 *salute tua*: on this ablative see at 1,10.

Fore ut: see at 38,6.

63,25 *tuus*: see at 42,20.

Contollat: 'contributes', if Hauler's reading is correct, for *contollere* only occurs in the expression *gradum contollere*: Plaut. Aul. 813; Bacch. 535.

Ἐμβλέψαι is the reading of most editors of Euripides. A. Garzya, Maia 10, 1958, 337, supposes that Marcus quotes from an anthology.

63,26 *inpraesentiarum* (see also 64,22M) has not been borrowed from Cato, Agr. 144,4, as W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 13; and Selvatico, Scambio 239 n. 59, assume: it occurs, though rarely, through all ages.

64,1 *sic me habeo* of the state of health also 76,22. See at 87,25.

Hinc refers to *quod... scribo*, which has been misunderstood by some translators. *Hinc aestimare (existimare) quod* is also found in Flor. Epit. 3,2,6 and in Augustin. Civ. 11,9 p. 472,14. For *aestimatu* see at 152,5.

Precaria manu: 'shaky', not 'per mano d'altri' (Portalupi); see at 38,4 and 64,20. In a much later letter, 235,9, Marcus does not write sua manu, *quia vesperi loto tremebat etiam manus*. Cic. Fam. 16,15,2 *accepi tuam epistulam vacillantibus litterulis, nec mirum tam gravi morbo*; Att. 6,9,1 he speaks of a σύγχυσις *litterularum* owing to fever.

64,2–3 *pectoris*... ἀρτηρίας: the opposition between *quidem* and *autem* has often been overlooked: in the first place, the *pectoris dolor* has nothing to do with the *ulcus*; secondly, the *dolor* is past, the *ulcus* is developing (ἀπεργάζεται has been confirmed by Hauler). For the *dolor pectoris* see at 63,15. Pepe sees in *ulcus* τῆς ἀρτηρίας—correctly, I think—a pharyngitis (or perhaps a laryngitis). *Ulcus* is not necessarily an ulcer (as *ulcusculum* 77,1): it can also be a 'sore inflamed spot', cp. Cels. 4,11,2 *gutture et arteriis exulceratis frequens tussis sanguinem quoque extundit*; Rhet. Her. 3,12,21 calls it a *vulnus*. Ἀρτηρία is the τραχεῖα ἀρτηρία (*aspera arteria* or *vena spiritalis*), on which see Gell. 17,11. According to Cael. Aur. Chron. 2,11,127, the *arteria asperior* is also called *faux*. Ἀπεργάζεται must have reflexive meaning: 'is coming to its head', 'at its worst', a meaning not found in Liddell & Scott. The translation 'è terminata' (Pepe) is not possible, nor is 'quella piaga mi travaglia alla gola' (Portalupi). All conjectures with a passive perfect have missed the point (Mai's ἀπέργασται has been changed into ἀπείργασται by Cortassa), and so has Klussmann's ἀπέρχεται. H. van Herwerden rightly points to the opposition *guidem*... *autem*, but his ἀπαγριαίνω does not exist. In the critical apparatus I have omitted Brakman's conjecture ἀπέπαντον (sc. ἐστίν). Dailly & Van Effenterre are wrong to suppose that we have to do here with a gastric ulcer, see at 74,7f. Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 45, and Birley, Mark Aurel 158, believe that it is pneumonia, and Birley refers to 69,42.

64,4 *nos*: a sociative or inclusive plural: Marcus means his doctor and those who are looking after him; see at 226,11. A similar plural 108,24–26V, indicating Verus and his staff; 83,19M *compotes erimus*: all those who love you, as 112,16; 113,6 and 164,8 Fronto and his family; 164,11 Fronto and his friends; 174,9 Fronto and the senators.

Remedia experimur seems to be a medical term: Cels. 3,2,2; Curt. 3,5,16. *Experiri* is 'to use', not 'provare' (Portalupi). In our letters there is no trace of Marcus taking theriac; see Africa, The Opium Addiction, and Grimal, Marc Aurèle 286. See at 232,23.

Operae nostrae: modern editors read with Mai *opere nostro*, but we should keep the reading of m² as a genitive depending on *quid*.

Claudat: 'to be deficient', see at 49,5f.

Advigilare ne is not found elsewhere, but *vigilare ne* is not unusual.

64,6 *conscientia*... *obsequentis*: 'the consciousness of doing one's utmost and of following the doctors' orders', not 'das Bewusstsein, dass man sorgfältige Pflege geniesst' (Birley, Mark Aurel 158). According to Galen. 14,216, Marcus was the ideal patient. For the doctors see at 226,11.

64,7–8 A Stoic statement, cp. Medit. 6,29 αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ βίῳ τὸ σῶμά σοι μὴ ἀπαυδᾷ, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν προαπαυδᾶν. Cp. 1,15 τὸ εὔθυμον ἔν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις περιστάσεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις. See Stoic Vet. Fragm. IV Index s.v. ὑγιεία. A Stoic does not strive for *bona valetudo* (139,5); see at 141,23.

Studium with *ad* also Cic. Deiot. 1 *ad salutem*... *defendendam*.

Reciperandum: see at 81,2.

Durare is transitive: 'to endure', 'to stand', not intransitive, as Bannier, TLL s.v., thinks, though *turpe est* with acc. cum inf. is possible.

Fuerit: see at 1,10f.

64,10 Chronology: the ancient editor has put this letter here because it deals with health problems, like the preceding letters. Its tone is more a friend's than a teacher's, and there has been an interval in the correspondence. I date it 145–161. Naber and Hauler (inedita) date it 140; Haines, Chronology. 144–147, edition 144–145; Hanslik, Anordnung, 145; Champlin 139–161. This letter was omitted from the index 53,3.

64,11 *litteras*: lost.

Intervallo is an abl. causae, not temporis, as Cassan and Della Corte think.

64,12 *Socrati*: on this genitive see at 138,13. Socrates' experience is in keeping with the general sentence *delectat varietas* (μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ): Iustin. Novell. 62,2,4 *permutatio et varietas et usus rarior mentes humanas delectant.* Cp. Plaut. Amph. 635 *voluptatem ut maeror comes consequatur*; Symm. Epist. 4,34,2 *legem natura dixit ut curae voluptatem sequantur.* The reverse in Apul. Flor. 18,11 *sed verum verbum est profecto qui aiunt nihil quicquam homini tam prosperum divinitus datum, quin ei tamen admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis, ut etiam in amplissima quaque laetitia subsit quaepiam vel parva querimonia coniugatione quadam mellis et fellis: ubi uber, ibi tuber* (Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. tuber). Cic. Inv. 1,76 and Fronto 216,11 (marg. c). advise *varietas* in rhetoric.

64,13 *opinio* with acc. cum inf., as *spes* 167,14 and 209,5; *fiducia* 57,10. *Metus est* 56,3; *clades est* 191,15. See Kühner I 696.

Ferme: 'almost always', as 71,20 and 218,14.

64,15 *commodi*: 'pleasure', cp. 25,16 *ad meum commodum*, 'to please myself' (Haines).

Desiderium inritatum: 'the stimulated longing'. The comparison falls short.

64,17 *multo*: see at 56,22.

64,18 *umeri dolore*: see at 265,29.

64,19 *epistulam*: lost.

64,20 The suppletion *precaria manu* cannot be correct, see at 64,1. It should be *manu librarii*, see at 38,4.

64,21 Chronology: there are three points to consider: Domitia Lucilla is still alive, so the letter must have been written before 156, see at 82,7. *Consulem nostrum: nostrum* indicates a close relationship between that consul and Marcus and Fronto. Champlin, Chronology, thinks that it is Aufidius Victorinus, who was cos. suff. in May–June 155. But Mai seems to be right in assuming that it is Fronto's brother Q. Cornelius Quadratus, who was consul in 147 (see at 238,12), for *matrona nostra* is, of course, Cratia minor (not maior, as Mai, Pepe and Cortassa think), cp. 79,26 and 81,27, where *matrona* is Marcus' daughter. At 61,5 we have seen that Cratia minor was born c. 142, so here she must be about five years old: in 155 she could not be called *matrona nostra.* The fact that Marcus sends his greetings to both Quadratus and the little Cratia seems to indicate that Fronto, Quadratus, Aufidius Victorinus and his wife were living together in the same house, see at 238,12. So the date of this letter is 147. Naber dates it 140, Haines,

Chronology, 144–147, edition 144–145. Pepe thinks that *consulem nostrum* is Fronto himself (!) and dates the letter 143; Cortassa regards it as undatable, but he refers to Pepe. For *noster* see at 90,2.

64,22 *in praesentia*: see at 63,26.

65,1 Chronology of IV 11 and the answer 12: there have been some difficulties in identifying and dating Marcus' children (see now Birley, Mark Aurel 422). Naber, Mommsen and Lacour-Gayet, Antonin le Pieux 464, thought that the *Faustina* mentioned here is Domitia Faustina, Marcus' third daughter, but nowadays everyone agrees that she is Marcus' eldest child Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina. According to the Vita Marci 6,6, she was supposed to have been born in 146 (or 147), but since the discovery of the Fasti Ostiensis 28 (Inscr. Ital. XIII 1,207) we know that she was born on 30 November 147; see A. Garzetti, L'impero da Tiberio agli Antonini, Bologna 1960, 697ff.; Champlin, Chronology 144. Here, Faustina is a baby in the cradle (67,12), so the letter must be of 148. Marcus is quite taken up with philosophy: 65,21ff.; 66,14ff. On the form of address see at 65,7.

65,2 *alvi fluxus constitit*: 'the diarrhoea is stopped' (Haines), cp. Cato, Agr. 126 *si alvus non consistet*; Cic. Fam. 7,26,2 *tanta me* διάρροια *arripuit, ut hodie primum videatur coepisse consistere*; Cels. 1,8 *quotiens alvus ei constiterit*. *Fluxus alvi* is used here for the first time, then in Apul. Met. 4,3,10 and in some medical writers. Others speak of *profluvius* (so 84,18M), *proluvies, fluctio, fluctus alvi*. 84,20M *provenissse alvum*.

65,3 *febriculae*: 'feverish attacks' (Haines). Medical authors often use the plural.

Febrim depellere also Plin. Nat. 25,37; it points to medical treatment. There is no reason to believe Dailly & Van Effenterre 352 n. 7 that the child's illness is 'aussi bien d'ordre digestif que d'ordre respiratoire'.

Pertenuis is regarded as corrupt by Haines, but it is used by Cato, Cicero and others.

Macies is also the subject of *restat*, not 'the emaciation is extreme' (Haines). See Kühner I 44f. and Hofmann-Szantyr 533 on the congruence of subject and verb.

65,4 *Faustina*: see at 74,22; 76,3; 81,16; 83,21; 86,16.

65,5 *satisegimus*: 'we have been very anxious'. *Satisagere* in the sense of *satagere* since Plaut. Merc. 228.

An: see at 138,3.

Se adcommodet: 'is improving' (Haines). In the usual sense 73,18M.

65,6 *fac sciam*: see at 60,17.

65,7 Chronology: see at 65,1. The form of address of IV 11 and 12 does not seem to be the original one: in his letters to members of the imperial house Fronto always puts his own name at the end. In Ad amicos, however, he puts his name at the beginning, according to older practice, except 174,1 and 188,6. Marcus always puts his name at the beginning, except in two letters to Fronto consul, 28,5 and 29,10, but also 51,1. In two other letters to Fronto consul, 29,17 and 30,14, he puts his name first. Pius 161,17 puts his name at the end. Fronto is the first to give up the old tradition of writing one's name at the beginning; see Babl 15f.; Ziemann

268ff.; Roller 422f.; G. Scarpat, Introduzione allo studio della cultura classica I, Milano 1972, 478; Lanham 22; Cugusi, Evoluzione 54. See at 1,5.

65,13 *dicas licet*: 'you may say' (Haines), see at 37,11.

65,15 *praefers* with acc. cum inf.: 'you are boasting'.

65,15–17 For the repitition of *quod* see at 97,4. Note the metonymies: *lux*, *laus* and *spes* are often said of persons, and so is *gaudium* (in Fronto 9,15; 21,10; 85,20M). *Dies festus* also Plaut. Cas. 137; Ter. Eun. 560. *Votum* seems to be new. See at 9,15.

65,17 *equidem ego*: an abundant emphasis, as *equidem* in itself already stands for *ego quidem*, but it occurs often since Plautus.

65,18 *subvenerit*... *evenerit*: note the pun and the assonance. For *subvenire* see at 146,20.

65,19 *ad* has a causal undertone, cp. 27,24M.

65,20 *tametsi*: 'even if', see at 87,4 and 212,15f.

65,21 *accidunt* (not *accedunt*) is the correct reading: the original expression is *vox (ad) aures accidit*, 'strikes the ear'. Later, *ad aures accidere* and *auribus accidere* are also used for 'to come to one's ears', see 170,25. *Ad aurem* (not *aures*) *accedere* means 'to address'. See at 67,4. *Ad oculos accidere* 67,3f.

Facilius with *scire* only Ter. Haut. 307; Liv. 39,34,5.

65,22 *amplius aliquid*, 'a good deal more'. *Aliquid* is an adverbial accusative determining the adverb *amplius (= plus)*. *Amplius* is not a substantive (against Gudeman, TLL s.v. amplus). See at 37,22; 66,5; 93,19.

65,23 *Athenodoto*: see at 17,8. For the metaphor *parens* cp. Plin. Epist. 7,24,8 *scholae princeps et parens*.

Exempla renders the Greek παραδείγματα, examples serving as arguments; *imagines* are a subsection, see at 88,12; 148,8. Quint. Inst. 8,3,72 *quarum (similitudinum) aliae sunt quae probationis causa inter argumenta ponuntur, aliae ad exprimendam rerum imaginem compositae*; see also 5,11,1; 5,11,24.

65,24 *imagines*... εἰκόνας: see at 22,3–23,2; 40,5; 41,11 and Index s.v. imago and εἰκών.

65,24–25 *apte*... *adcommodandas*: in order to get an εἰκὼν πιθανή (23,1) and *scita atque concinna* (41,10), the correct application of a simile is a major point: 88,12; 145,1.

65,25 *mediocriter*: 'tolerably well' (Haines).

65,25–26 *hanc huiusce*: traductio.

65,27 The acc. cum inf. depends on *hanc imaginem repperisse*.

65,28 *ab dextro*: see at 9,11.

De: see at 21,1.

66,1 *etiam et*, 'at the same time too', is fairly abundant. It is found in Plin. Nat. 19,25 (editors read *ei iam et*); Ps. Apul. Asc. 20; and several times in Tertullian and later authors. For *etiam quoque* see at 91,23.

66,2 *relevatio* occurs here for the first time. *Elevatio* cannot be correct.

Meliuscule: 'somewhat better' (Haines). This colloquial adverb also in Cic. Att. 4,6,2; Fam. 16,5,1; Augustin. Mor. Man. 2,8,11. The adjective already in Plautus and Terence.

66,4 *non alienum tempus*: 'not an inconvenient moment', litotes.

Adversius: see at 14,5.

66,5 *remissius*: see at 20,4.
Aliquid is adverb, see at 65,22.
66,6 *conceditur*: see at 68,9.
Ludere aliquid (adverbial accusative): see at 8,5.
Ineptire does not seem to be an archaism (against Hofer, Lannoy 81 and Marache, Mots 62). It occurs Ter. Phorm. 420; Ad. 934; Catull. 8,1; Apul. Plat. 2,11; and in a few later writers.
66,7 *non minus . . . quam*, 'as much as', is the correct usage, cp. Kühner II 481f. The emphasis is on the second part of this litotes, as 135,5. But 213,12f. and 223,21 it is on *non minus*. In *non magis quam* 250,2M, both parts of the comparison have equal moment.
66,10 *poeta* is Ennius, as *ex Annalibus* shows (Ethel M. Steuart, The Annals of Quintus Ennius 123, failed to notice this).
–⏑⏑– *somno leni placidoque revinctus* is an adaptation of Hom. Il. X 2 (= XXIV 678; Od. 15,6) μαλακῷ δεδμημένοι ὕπνῳ. See at 203,14.
66,11 *somnis*: we should not write *somniis* with Haines, see at 233,12 and Proleg. XXXIV.
Numquam est quin: 'it never occurs that not'; see at 5,3. Negative *est ut* becomes *non est quin*.
Argumento: 'theme', 'subject-matter', as 3,19; 66,13; 193,7; 216,1; 237,3.
66,12 *fleo ubertim*: also 166,13. Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 sees here a quotation from an ancient poet, but the expression is only found in prose-writers. *Ubertim* is used since Catull. 66,17.
66,13–24 *Unum . . . aliud . . . tertium* is also found in Caes. Gall. 1,1,1 and then only in Paul. Fest. 84,10; Ulp. Dig. 4,8,27,3; 5,3,25,15; Apul. Plat. 1,17; and in a few later writers.
66,14 *somniculosum*: soporific, 'che fa dormire' (Portalupi), as in Cinna ap. Gell. 9,12,11f. and Laber. Com. 86. It is not 'dreamy' (Haines) or 'sleepy', 'lethargic' (Oxford Dict.).
Sane, 'rather', with an adjective, has more or less the meaning of the comparative, see at 31,8.
Rixatorium, 'a quarreller's theme', is a facetious creation of Fronto himself; it occurs nowhere else; cp. *delatorius* 228,7. The usual word is *rixosus*. *Rixatorius*, from *rixator*, 'a contentious advocate' (Quint. Inst. 11,1,29).
66,14–16 *iam hoc*: 'namely this time'. The same use of *hoc* 66,16 *olim hoc*, 'namely at the time', where *hoc* is anaphoric. Cp. Plin. Nat. 13,76 *propior . . . cortici Taeneotica (charta) . . ., pondere iam haec, non bonitate venalis*; 13,137 *genus fruticum . . . iam hoc inferius nascens*. This anaphoric use of *hic* is not rare, c.p. e.g. Cic. Leg. 2,19 *fruges . . . sacerdotes publice libanto, hoc certis . . . diebus*. See at 118,13; 237,20.
66,14 *iurgiosum*, 'contentious' is found here for the first time, as well as other words ending in *-osus*, see at 128,5. *Iurgiosus* also Gell. 1,17,1; 19,9,7; Apul. Apol. 16,8; Firm. Math. 4 prooem. 1; Apol. Sid. Epist. 5,13,14.
66,16 *cum* with subjunctive and with indicative: Kühner II 331f. points to the fact that temporal *cum* can have the subjunctive when it means 'at the time of such a nature that', and he presents examples of the same variation of mood as here: Cic. Leg. agr. 2,64 *tunc cum haberet haec respublica*

Luscinos . . ., et tum cum erant Catones; Liv. 44,39,7 *facilius abire fuit, cum procul abessemus quam nunc, cum in cervicibus sumus.* In our passage, the first *cum* refers to a period when the young Marcus wanted to show his philosophical attitude, whereas the second *cum* only points to incidental behaviour.

Olim is the time when Fronto was not yet his teacher, see Vita Marci 2,6; Medit. 1,6. In 138 or 139 Pius and Fronto made him think differently about his future, at least for a few years, see at 67,16 and 93,12.

Tristior: 'too wretched', see at 46,14; 88,5; 208,8. Vita Marci 2,1 *fuit a prima infantia gravis*; 4,10 *(ab ludicris) intentionibus studium eum philosophiae abduxit seriumque et gravem reddidit . . . sine tristitia gravis*; 22,5 *durus videbatur ex philosophiae institutione*; 22,6 *Marcus ad militiae labores atque ad omnem vitam graviter carpebatur.*

66,17 *progrederere*: 'you made your official appearance'.

Theatro: Marcus hated it, see at 18,6–8; 28,25; 30,18; Medit. 6,46; Vita Marci 4,8 *fuit autem vitae indulgentia, ut cogeretur nonnumquam vel in venationes pergere vel in theatrum descendere vel spectaculis interesse*; 11,4; 15,1 *fuit autem consuetudo Marco, ut in circensium spectaculo legeret audiretque ac subscriberet*; 17,7; 23,5; 27,6. (Haines I, XVII, assumes that the author of the Vita Marci had our passage as a source, but see at 271,5); Vita Pii 12,3; Cass. Dio 71,29,3f. Fronto himself liked the theatre and the circus games, see at 187,13, and he regards it as one of the emperor's duties to promote them, 213,9ff. See also at 181,12. Iulius Caesar was also criticized *quod inter spectandum epistulis libellisque legendis ac rescribendis vacaret* (Suet. Aug. 45),

66,18 *convivio*: Fronto means the convivia publica, which were sometimes attended by hundreds of guests, see Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 98f.

Nec . . . necdum: there is nothing wrong with the text if I have correctly read *tum* on a photograph of the MS: 'not yet at that time . . . nor yet'. Cp. 212,21 *Lucio . . . necdum etiamtum profecto* (here *necdum* stands for *nondum*). *Nec ego dum*: emphatic pronouns sometimes cause tmesis, cp. Liv. 3,60,10 *adortusque (est consul) nec omnes dum eductos (hostes).* Both 66,18 and 42,16M we find a variant *nec* for *necdum.*

In the same period, Fronto writes 77,24f. *metui ego invalido adhuc corpore turbae et inpressioni me committere*, but—not much later—*cum istis tamen doloribus in circum delatus sum* (187,16f.).

66,19 *durum*: Vita Marci 22,5 *durus videbatur ex philosophiae institutione.*

Intempestivum (cp. the German 'unzeitgemäss') here seems to mean the same as *insocia(bi)lis*, 'inopportuno' (Portalupi), not 'unreasonable' (Haines); cp. Sen. Epist. 88,37 *ista liberalium artium consectatio molestos, verbosos, intempestivos . . . facit*; Gell. 18,7,1 explains the word by *(homo) natura intractabilior et morosior.*

Odiosum: 'disagreeable' (Haines), as 36,23M.

66,20 *ira percitus* is found throughout Latinity and is not an archaism, as Priebe II 4; W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n.; and Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115, assume. They quote Plaut. Cas. 628.

66,21 *detrectaret*: see at 213,8.

Poteram: the indicative in the apodosis is not unusual, see Kühner II 401f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 328. Cp. 81,22 *si . . . possem, hic erat dies.* See at 27,13; 162,12.

66,22 *sequius quid*: 'something less good', 'something unfavourable'. With *loqui* also Liv. 2,37,3 *invitus . . . quod sequius sit . . . loquor*; as an adverb Quint. Inst. 6,3,10. See at 27,6.

66,23 *Gratiam*: she is now about six years old, see at 61,5.

Percusserim: see at 1,10f.

66,24 *de*: see at 21,1.

Ut: 'how' (Haines), see at 2,10.

66,25–67,1 Shops used to be dressed up with images of the emperor (*vestrae*: Pius and Marcus). These could be pictures, statues, busts or medallions (*pictae, fictae, scalptae*), see Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 7; 167; III 62. Editors usually combine *argentariis mensulis* as 'exchange offices', cp. Ulp. Dig. 2,13,4,1 *argentariae mensae exercitores*; so does Brandt, TLL s.v. mensula. However, Fronto uses here a string of substantives, and we know that *argentaria* (sc. *taberna*, 'exchange office') is used as a substantive: Plaut. Curc. 480; Epid. 199; Truc. 66; Cic. Ac. 2,70; De orat. 2,266; Liv. 9,40,16; 26,27,2; 40,51,5; 44,16,10. See W.H. Gross, Taberna 3, Kleine Pauly (1974). So *mensulae* are 'booths' (Haines) of any kind, of butchers (*mensa lanionia* Suet. Claud. 15,2), of fishmongers (Hor. Sat. 2,4,37). *Mensula* is, of course, not an archaism (against Priebe I 14, Hofer and Marache, Mots 86 n. 3).

Perguleis: 'loggette' (Portalupi), not 'bookstalls' (Haines), where various objects were exhibited: Ulp. Dig. 5,1,19,2; CIL VIII 27, especially pictures: Lucil. 489; Plin. Nat. 35,84; Ulp. Dig. 9,3,5,12; Cod. Theod. 13,3,4.

Tabernae, too, indicate all sorts of 'botteghe' (Portalupi), as well as *protecta*, 'bay roofs', 'tettoie' (Portalupi), cp. Ulp. Dig. 9,3,5,6 and 8; CIL VI 10237; 27571; 11998. Blümer, Die römischen Privataltertümer 60 n. 3, erroneously alters *protecteis* to *proiecteis*, comparing Iav. Dig. 50,16,242,1. The same error was made by Detlefsen, Plin. Nat. 17,89. Gaius, Dig. 8,2,2, speaks of the *ius proiciendi protegendive*; cp. Pomp. Dig. 43,26,15,2; Ulp. Dig. 9,2,29,1.

67,1 *usquequaque ubique* is 'on all occasions and everywhere', 'sempre e in qualunque luogo' (Portalupi), not 'anywhere and everywhere' (Haines), though we have 218,11 *ubique et ubi libeat.* See 57,6 and at 16,4f.

67,1–2 *illae quidem*: 'to be sure' (Haines).

67,2 *crassa Minerva*: Minerva is a metonymy for art: 'in a rude kind of art'. It is not a quotation from Horace, see at 29,5, but a proverb also used by Priap. 3,10 and Macrob. Sat. 1,24,13. Its origin seems to lie in the weaver's trade, see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. Minerva 2.

Fictae scalptaeve: cp. Cic. Nat. deor. 2,150 *ad pingendum, fingendum, ad scalpendum. Fingere* is the work of the sculptor and the potter, *scalpere* of the carver and the engraver.

67,3 *cum interim*: 'and (but) in the meantime'. For the use of this free and continuative *cum* temporale see Kühner II 340f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 623; TLL s.v. interim; In Fronto 11,15 and 105,7M. See at 57,15; 67,6f.; 107,11V; 184,11; 242,3.

In itinere: 'in the streets'.

67,4 *accidit* is perfectum, not praesens, as Haines and Portalupi assume. *Ad oculos accidere* also Cic. Verr. 4,2; Petron. 105,2; see at 65,21.

Iactum . . . savium is a desperate effort: both *rictum* and *somnum* seem impossible. Haines translates: 'without making me part my lips for a smile and dream of you', referring to Hor. Sat. 1,4,35 *dummodo risum excutiat sibi.* Della Corte keeps *rictum* and *somnum*: 'sempre si sprigiona dal mio labbro il moto di un bacio e dalla mia vista fugge il sonno'. Portalupi reads *iactum* and *savium* with Haupt: 'senza far sì che, della mia bocca, parta un bacio'.

67,5 *frivolis finem faciam*: alliteration, though hardly taken from an ancient source, as Ehrenthal 38 assumes. Cp. 152,12 (marg. b) *in fabulis finem facio. Finem facere* with dative also in Plautus, Terence, Cicero and others. See at 61,10.

67,6 *cumprimis* is used in old Latin, in Cicero, Lucretius, Vergil and Livy, then here and 81,22; 216,1; it is rare after the second century. The usual *inprimis* occurs six times in our correspondence.

67,6–7 the first *cum* ('since' [Haines]), is followed by another sentence with *cum* ('whereas' [idem]), in a rather loose connection, see at 67,3.

67,8 *cupiam* with double accusative: see at 182,8f.

67,9 *heus* occurs only here in Fronto. In colloquial Latin it is used with an imperative or—like here and Plaut. Cas. 837 *heus tu . . . cavebis*—with a futurum pro imperativo. See at 19,7.

The prohibitive *vide ne* with a verb in the second person is also colloquial, see at 4,1.

Indicio pareas means the same as *delator existas*, 'to come forward to give evidence against someone'. *Indicio*: dat. finalis. *Parere* with this meaning is a legal term, but *indicio (ap)parere* does not occur elsewhere. See Klussmann, Curae Africanae 6, and Archiv 8, 1893, 135; K. Sittl, Philol. Rundschau 3, 1883, 1105.

67,10 *quasi*, 'as if', only appears in later Latin; also 191,2. See at 49,14. *Tamquam* in this sense is not found in Fronto (cp. 263,13).

Ea re: the m^2 adds *ex*, but is seems superfluous, see Proleg. XL, though *commotus ex* is found in Cic. Att. 3,8,4; Bell. Afr. 46,4; 72,1.

67,11 *prisca*: 'severe', as e.g. Catull. 64,159.

67,12 *ea causa* is abundant after *ea re.*

Gravatius: the comparative of *gravate*, 'grudgingly', only occurs in Fronto, here and 206,10.

67,13 *pinguiculas*, 'nicely plump', only occurs here. Solin. 11,21 has *pinguiusculus*. See 81,27f. Note the alliteration.

67,14 *exosculabor*: see at 21,15. In the beginning of the Roman empire, men started kissing men by way of salutation, at least in the upper circles (Plin. Nat. 26,3). Some did not approve: Suet. Tib. 34; Mart. 7,95; 11,98; 12,59). Kissing the neck also 46,17f.; Arrian. Diss. Ep. 1,19,24 (and the eyes and the hands); and Suet. Cal. 33; Apul. Met. 11,25,7; the mouth 112,8; 185,4; and Catull. 9,8 (and the eyes); Mart. 2,10,1; Cypr. Epist. 6,1; Ven. Fort. Vita Rad. 19,44; the head 27,24M; Plut. Brut. 17,2 (and breast); Ammian. 28,4,10; the breast Fronto 164,24 and Petron. 91,9; Lucian Menip. 12; the hands Fronto 164,27 and Sen. Contr. 9,4,4; Phaedr. 5,1,5; Sen. Decl. 298 p. 178,19 etc. 112,5 Fronto speaks of the *ius osculi.* See Hug, Salutatio, RE I A 2 (1920), and W. Kroll, Kuss, RE Suppl. V (1931).

Regias: 'kingly', in the sense of 'magnificent', as 228,1 *convivium regium*. Apparently, Fronto is not troubled by the word which in Plin. Pan. 7,6 is identical with *superbus*. See Chr. Schoener, Ueber die Titulaturen 489. 120,8 we have the uncertain *regalis*.

67,14–15 *os* . . . *facetum*: 'your honest and charming face'.

67,16 Chronology: *viginti quinque natus annos* (68,3) proves that this letter was written between 26 April 146 and 26 April 147. As an *assessor* (67,20), Marcus is in Rome. On 1 December 146 he has received the imperium extra urbem proconsulare (see at 63,12), the tribunicia potestas and has become coregent of Pius. So we can date this letter between 26 April and 1 December 146. Naber (145–146) and Haines (145–147) are mistaken. It was not without purpose that the ancient editor put this letter at the end of the letters Ad M. Caesarem (book V is only an appendix): it marks the end of an epoch. There is no letter Ad M. Caesarem later than 145 in which rhetoric plays a part (I now date III 19 to 139–140 and IV 5–6 to 141–143, contrary to what I said in my edition p. 293). In Caes. III 16, Fronto has to defend rhetoric against Marcus' moral objections, so the letter must be later than 145, see at 47,18 and 65,1. 145–146 was a crucial period in Marcus' life: after he married Faustina in 145, he became coregent and Pius gave him more scope, mitigating the rules of conduct he had imposed on him in 138 (see at 93,12). Now there was no need any more for Marcus to be continually guided by Fronto and to give up philosophy altogether: see at 18,4. In 161 Fronto states *ubi primum coepisti rursum velle (esse disertum), nihil offuit interdum noluisse* (87,16; see also 87,27). How long did this *interdum* last? 88,24 Marcus writes in a lost letter that he was gradually forgetting all he had learned about rhetoric, so he must have been neglecting it for a considerable time, and in the 160s Fronto says: *tu mihi videre mora temporali et laboris taedio defessus eloquentiae studium reliquisse* (149,1f.), where *temporalis* is an understatement and *taedium* beside the truth. We may safely say that in 145 Fronto's tutorship came to an end and his contacts with Marcus slackened more and more, though they remained friends. And when Cass. Dio 71,1,2 writes: λέγεται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾶν, it does not mean as Fronto's student of rhetoric; at any rate, our correspondence does not say so. As an emperor, Marcus felt the need (*necessitas* 88,21) for eloquence now and then, for the reasons Fronto enumerates 138,3–8; besides, reading ancient authors became for the much-troubled monarch a pleasant pastime, *requies*, ἀνάπαυλα, in a letter of 161 (105,4ff.). In 145–146 C. Iunius Rusticus and Apollonius of Chalcedon got a growing influence over Marcus: the words 68,4f. *nihildum bonarum opinionum* . . . *hauserim* much resemble Medit. 1,7 παρὰ Ῥουστίκου τὸ λαβεῖν φαντασίαν ('sense') τοῦ χρῄζειν διορθώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τοῦ ἤθους . . . τὸ ἀποστῆναι ῥητορικῆς. 1,17 τὸ μὴ ἐπιπλέον με προκόψαι ἐν ῥητορικῇ. On the various points of view on Marcus' 'conversion to philosophy' see W. Theiler, Kaiser Marc Aurel, Wege zu sich selbst, Zürich 1951, 9ff.; R. Hanslik, Marcus 1, Kleine Pauly (1969); V.A. Sirago, Involuzione politica e spirituale nell'impero del II secolo, Napoli 1974, 242; Birley, Mark Aurel 166ff.; Portalupi ad locum; Champlin, Chronology 144; Maria

L. Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 450; Rutherford, The Meditations 103ff. See at 67,26 and 88,3.

67,17 *C. Aufidius Victorinus*: see at 17,19. He is here twenty-four years old and not yet an amicus principis: J. Crook, Consilium Principis, Cambridge 1955, 75, is all wrong in his dating.

Animos tollit: 'si dà molte arie' (Portalupi). Priebe II 7 sees here a quotation from Plaut. Truc. 640, but it also occurs in Ter. Hec. 507; Lucil. 699; Sall. Iug. 101,7; Cic. Dom. 141 *extulerat animos*.

Arbitratum suum as a iudex or arbiter, and Marcus was his assessor. The official legal term is *viri boni arbitratu*, and that is what Aufidius thinks of himself. *Arbitratus* is not a word borrowed from Plautus, as Priebe I 14 thinks, see TLL s.v. It seems that Aufidius had to arbitrate in disputes about the *aequum et bonum*; see Cic. Rosc. com. 10; Sen. Benef. 3,7,5; Proc. Dig. 17,2,76. On his *iustitia* see at 235,24; he became quaestor in 147.

67,18 *ne . . . dicam*: litotes: 'to put it mildly'.

Umbria: the Aufidii came from Pisaurum in Umbria; see Testim. 15.

67,19 *quid quaeris*: 'what need of more' (Haines), 'in a word'. The same colloquial expression 103,21M; see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 43f., who assumes without reason that Marcus is imitating Cicero.

Volt: in our MS the third person is always *volt*, not *vult*. Here it is the same as *mavolt*, as in Cic. Inv. 2,5; Liv. 3,68,11; 25,29,6; Apul. Flor. 16,26; see Kühner II 463 and at 8,5.

67,20 *despicit*: 'his regard is disdainful', 'he turns up his nose' (Haines).

Oscitantem: on yawning judges see Cic. Brut. 200; Cod. Theod. 1,5,9.

Assidere: Paul. Dig. 1,22,1 *omne officium adsessoris, quo iuris studiosi partibus suis funguntur, in his fere causis constat: in cognitionibus, postulationibus, libellis, edictis, decretis, epistulis*. See H.F. Hitzig, Die Assessoren der römischen Magistrate und Richter, München 1893, and at 35,5f., where Marcus is assessor to Pius a few years earlier.

67,21 *ceterum quidem*: 'for the rest, indeed'; also 25,19. It occurs since Sen. Dial. 10,2,2; Quint. Decl. 264 p. 81,12; 320 p. 255,23; 337 p. 327,8.

Iudicare: 'to be a judge' (Haines).

Haec in me: a brachylogy, 'aimed at me'. *Haec* and *hoc* often in elliptic expressions: 110,18; 155,11. See at 61,12f.

67,22 *negotium . . . dedit*: 'the work has turned out nicely'. *Belle* is colloquial, see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 70. For *se dare* cp. Enn. 269 *ita dat se res ut*; Verg. Georg. 1,287 *multa . . . melius se . . . dedere*. *Bene est* is also colloquial, since Plautus in all Latinity: 'things go well', and there is no reason to regard it with Priebe II 6 as borrowed from Plautus, e.g. Merc. 298–300 *bene hercle factum et gaudeo . . . benest*. Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 sees here a quotation from a poetical source: *bélle se dedít negotiúm, benest <et> gaúdeo*, but see at 68,18; 74,17; 241,27.

67,23 *cum . . . tum*: *tum* emphasizes *sollicitat*, see at 55,21f. Priebe I 16 and Marache, Mots 94 n. 1, see in *beare* an archaism: it occurs several times in the ancient comic poets, in Horace and then here, as well as in Apul. Apol. 37,4 and some later writers. Ulp. Dig. 50,16,49 seems to indicate that it is not a usual word.

67,24 *me dius Fidius* sc. *iuvet*, 'so help me God', an old formula, already found in Cato. In Fronto 176,7. See at 61,12f.

Scribendum: Fronto—unaware of the changes ahead?—had set Marcus as homework a *controversia* (68,11f.); see at 42,16.

67,25 *quamvis* is in our correspondence only used with adjectives: 192,2; 202,12; 224,1.

67,26 *Aristonis*: there are several peripatetic philosophers of that name, but Marcus means the Stoic Ariston of Chios, third century BC. He was a man of practical ethics: Cic. Fin. 5,73 *praeter vitia atque virtutes negavit rem esse ullam aut fugiendam aut expetendam*; Lact. Inst. 7,7 *ad virtutem capessendam nasci homines Aristo disseruit*. Sen. Epist. 94,1–17 shows that he is a sort of Stoic existentialist. Whether the works under his name were indeed written by this Aristo is under discussion since Diog. Laert. 7,160ff., but this should not bother us here: Marcus states that he wrote *libri*, not only epistles, as Diogenes says. See W. von Christ and W. Schmid, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur II[6], München 1920, 103; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 84ff. Champlin, Chronology 144, rejects the identification with the philosopher Aristo and thinks that the jurisconsult Titius Ariston is meant; see on him Plin. Epist. 1,22 and Gell. 11,18,16. His name occurs several times in the Digesta. Champlin's arguments are based on the false assumption that the first paragraph of this letter is explained by the next paragraphs: 'Marcus is wasting his time studying jurisprudence' (but Marcus is not studying jurisprudence) and 'the laws must sometimes be allowed to sleep (68,8) heralds the setting aside of Ariston's *libri*' (but Marcus simply means that—just as laws sometimes must be allowed to sleep—he will not now give priority to philosophy, as he should, but will turn to that stage poet). That the philosopher, not the jurisconsult, is meant is proved by 68,12: a philosopher cannot defend two opposite theses, a jurisconsult can. In his Fronto and Antonine Rome 163, Champlin calls his former arguments confused; nevertheless, Birley, Mark Aurel 416, and Maria L. Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 450, accept them, but they are justly rejected by Rutherford, The Meditations 106 n. 41. There was no sudden conversion of Marcus to philosophy: his boyish ideal to be a philosopher (see at 66,16) was suppressed by Pius (see at 67,16 and 93,12), but now and then it cropped up again (see at 5,21; 8,5; 49,1), until in 145–146 he decided to abandon rhetoric for good and turn to philosophy, even though he was well aware that οὐκέτι δύνασαι τὸν βίον ὅλον ἢ τόν γε ἀπὸ νεότητος φιλόσοφον βεβιωκέναι (Medit. 8,1,1).

Tempestate: see at 226,3.

Bene accipiunt . . . habent male: 'they do me good . . . make me feel ill at ease'. Cp. Petron. 115,18 *tamquam melius ignis accipiat (corpus quam fluctus)*; Marcell. Med. 20,36 *stomachum reumatizantem . . . mansio lucida . . . bene accipit.* Plaut. Rud. 198 *erile scelus me sollicitat, eius me impietas male habet*; Ter. Andr. 436 *hoc male habet virum*; 940 *(scrupulus) me male habet*; Hec. 606 *haec res non minus me male habet quam te*; Lucr. 3,826 *quod (animam) . . . macerat inque metu male habet curisque fatigat*; Sen. Epist. 95,3 *quos divitiae . . . male habent*; 104,9 *male te habebit ille consul factus*. More usual is *male accipere* or *tractare*. See at 161,23 and 228,11.

68,2 *relictum sit ab*: see at 216,18.

68,2–3 *nimis quam saepe* sc. *est*: 'all too often', a colloquial expression: Plaut Capt. 102; Most. 511; Truc. 468; Planc. Cic. Fam. 10,21,3?; Apul. Apol. 48,6.

68,4 *opiniorum . . . rationum*: 'ideas', 'tenets' and 'principles' (Haines); cp. Rhet. Her. 2,11,16 *(dialecticorum) pueriles opiniones*; Cic. Fat. 37 *Epicureorum opinionem sequi.*

Bonarum: 'ethic', as e.g. Sall. Iug. 1,5 *bonarum rerum tanta cura.*

68,4–5 *poenas . . . careo*: according to Dailly & Van Effenterre 35 these are psychic consequences of a stomach ulcer (!!).

Tristis: see at 68,5.

Ζηλοτυπῶ: 'I feel discontented, not 'I compare myself with others' (Haines).

68,6 *obsequium*: 'willingness', see at 59,17.

68,7–8 *orator quidem Atticus*: Haines refers to Plut. Ages. 30,4 φήσας ὅτι τοὺς νόμους δεῖ σήμερον ἐᾶν καθεύδειν, but Agesilaus is not an *orator Atiicus*, and it is of course impossible, as Pepe supposes, that the *orator Atticus* is Plutarchus himself. Mai thought of Demosthenes, but *quidam* makes it unlikely. The saying is not in our collections of Greek and Latin proverbs, and it may be a simple mistake by Marcus himself, see *Thucydides* 50,16M.

Permittendum: permitto with infinitive also 68,12 and 182,17.

68,9 *propitiatis*: 'being soothed'; 'I will make my peace with Ariston's works' (Haines).

Concedam with infinitive also 45,19; 66,6.

68,10 *istum*: 'that miserable', see at 60,22.

M. Haupt, Index lect. aestiv. Acad. Berolinensis 1856, 6, does not believe that *histrionum poeta* is correct Latin, but we have Caecil. Com. 181 *histrionum est* (*histrionium* Guiet) and Gell. 1,5 *ob . . . munditias gestumque in agendo histrionum* (*histrionicum* edd.). Here, *histrio* is 'actor', not 'pantomime', see at 47,1. So emendations are superfluous, including the one by K. Georges, Handwörterbuch s.v. histrionius (not mentioned in the crit. app.). On Haines' conjecture see at 77,3.

68,11 *oratiunculeis Tullianeis*: 'Tully's shorter speeches'. There is nothing contemptuous in these words (against Hofer and Teuffel 3,75): see *Scipionis oratiunculae* 29,4 and at 20,4.

Alterutram partem: cp. 77,6 εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη ἐπιχείρησον καὶ κατηγορῶν καὶ ἀπολογούμενος. See at 75,16.

68,14 *domina*: Domitia Lucilla.

68,15 See Proleg. XXXVII and at 187,10.

68,18 *satis abundeque* is said since the two Senecas. *Abunde* with genitive Verg. Aen. 7,552 *terrorum et fraudis abunde est*; cp. Plin. Nat. 25,25 *satis operae fuerit abundeque praestatum.* For *est* with adverb see at 67,22.

68,19 *cottidiano* as an adverb since Afran. Com. 369; Plaut. Capt. 725; also in Cicero and later authors.

69,1 Book V is an appendix; here the ancient editor has collected shorter letters on various subjects, such as illness, rhetoric, congratulations, requests etc. Mommsen and P. von Rohden, RE I (1894) 2280,15f., erroneously think that this book, too, was arranged in chronological order, with

letters from 146 to 161. Mommsen's view has had much influence on later commentators, who have dated the letters very arbitrarily. It is certain that many of them must be dated between 139 and 145. The latest datable letter is V 51: 157–158, Fronto himself would never have published such letters, see Proleg. LX.

69,40 Chronology of V 1 and the answer V 2: Marcus is going to deliver an important speech in the senate; *forti colore* points to a young man. Naber and Watson date the letters to late 139: a speech of thanks for Marcus' appointment as Caesar and his designation as consul in 140. Mommsen; Haines, Chronology; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Portalupi date them 147, because Marcus received the tribunicia potestas on 1 December 147; Birley, Mark Aurel 158: late 144, for on 1 January 145 Marcus received his second consulship; in his edition, Haines dates the letters 145–147 (second consulship or tribunicia potestas); Cortassa 140 or 145 or 147. Champlin regards them as undatable: 139–161. Because of *dormei*, I opt for 143–145: Marcus is a bad sleeper, see 5,22; 28,25; 52,12, letters of the same period.

69,41 *si . . . amas*: see at 86,22.

Nos: 'all of us'.

Istas: 'coming', see at 11,18.

Forti colore occurs only here, but see 91,20 and 183,12.

69,42 *vehementi latere*: 'with a strong voice' (Haines). Human power, especially in his breath and voice, is resident in the flanks: Cic. Verr. II 2,52 *vox, latera deficiant*; Tusc. 1,37 *sine faucium, laterum, pulmonum vi*; 2,56 *latera, fauces, linguam intendere*; Quint. Inst. 1,11,8 *ut, quotiens exclamandum erit, lateris conatus sit ille, non capitis*; 12,11,2 *neque . . . scientia modo constat orator . . ., sed voce, latere, firmitate*. See also Cic. Brut. 202; 221; 313; 316; De orat. 1,114; 1,255; Verr. II 4,67; Phil. 2,63; and at 64,2f.

Legas sometimes has the meaning 'to recite': Plaut. Bacch. 433 and Fronto 7,19; 91,10.

70,3 Chronology of V 3 and the answer V 4: Naber, Haines and Cortassa suppose that V 3 and 4 are closely connected with V 1 and 2; they date them accordingly. This is not unlikely, because *legas* (69,42) may correspond to *dictio* (70,5): it seems that Marcus is going to recite a letter written by Pius to the senate, which would point to an early date; see at 70,4. On the other hand, the ancient editor tends to put together letters resembling each other. P. von Rohden, RE I 2287 (1894), assumes that it concerns Marcus' speech of thanks for his tribunicia potestas (1 December 147). Brakman is thinking of some piece of rhetoric writing by Marcus and dates it before 146. The only firm hold we have is *dominam saluta*: Domitia Lucilla died c. 156 (see at 82,7), so we must date the letters with Champlin 139–156.

70,4 *miserere*, 'for pity's sake' (Haines), is used since Sen. Med. 482; also 2,7M. See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 132.

Ablega, 'cancel' (Haines), is also later Latin: Sen. Epist. 94,47 *adfectus nostros . . . coercent et ablegant*; Tert. Adv. Marc. 5,2,4 *ablegandae legis*, and in some later writers. As *ablegare* is used with *ab*, not with *de*, we should connect *de oratione* with *unum verbum*, see at 21,1.

Oratione seems to be 'language', 'usage', rather than 'speech' (Haines), cp. e.g. Cic. Brut. 310 *Graeca oratio plura ornamenta suppeditans.*

70,5 *dictio* is originally a nomen actionis, 'phrasing', see 36,11 and 97,14. Th. Bögel, TLL s.v., presents a number of places, from Cicero to Quintilian, where he interprets it as 'declamatio', 'oratio', but closer examination shows that there it does not mean 'speech', but 'expression', 'phrase', 'way of speaking', 'words', 'pronouncement'. The meaning 'speech' is not found until the fourth century.

Orationem: there is no reason to read *oratione* with Haines and Scivoletto: grammarians often have such constructions.

70,6 *gloria* as vocative: see at 21,10.

70,7 *rescriptum*: see at 165,1.

70,8 *defendere de*, 'in the matter of', does not occur elsewhere, cp. 215,6 *rem de titulo contemnant*, 'on account of'.

Tibi: the person before whom one defends himself; this dative is rare: Cic. Verr. 2,26; 3,213; Hil. Ad Const. 2,6.

70,9–71,14 Chronology: Haines, Chronology, dates the letters V 5–18 to 147–161, in his edition 145–147. See at 69,1. I follow Champlin and Cortassa: 139–161, except for V 9–10.

70,10 We should not connect, with Portalupi in her first edition, *advenias* with 69,41 *in senatum venias*: *advenias* is resumed by *venimus* (the imperial family) in Marcus' answer.

70,14–16 *cibum*: Marcus had a weak stomach: 73,25; 74,7f. See at 61,6–7; 62,15–17.

70,18 *Faustina* seems to be Marcus' wife; this is the first time she is mentioned. Marcus married her in the spring of 145. So we must date this letter and Marcus' answer V 10 to 145–161.

70,22 *compleri: complere tempora* or *tempus*: 'to fill up'.

71,7–9 Former editors attributed V 15 to Fronto and V 16 to Marcus, but Hanslik, Anordung, has justly seen that it is the other way round. If *labor* indicates the work Marcus had to do in the imperial administration, these two letters may have been written in 147 (see 46,5f.; 46,24; 47,10ff., a letter written in 146–161; 63,13ff., of 147). But *labor* may also refer to some illness of Marcus.

71,12 *Cratia*: Fronto's wife, see at 113,4 and 235,11. She seems to have heard some news from Domitia Lucilla.

71,15 Chronology of V 19 and 20: Naber dates these letters to autumn 145; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 145–147; Champlin 139–156 (Domitia Lucilla is still alive); Cortassa 139–161. Brakman has made an interesting suggestion: 32,10 Fronto writes that he will come to Marcus in Naples immediately after his consulate; Cratia, his wife, has already been sent ahead and is with Domitia Lucilla (72,3). Fronto has made a stop at Caieta, caught by a sudden illness (71,20). Now Marcus writes him to say that he should stay at Caieta, where he and the imperial family will pass by *in biduo.* This means, according to Brakman, that Marcus sent his letter to Caieta in the first days of September 143. His thesis is unprovable but not impossible (so Hanslik, Anordnung, and Portalupi). Birley, Mark

Aurel 162, has made a different suggestion, unprovable and unlikely: 72,1f. might refer to the wedding of Marcus and Faustina in April 145. What then, however, about *ego fastidio omnia*? Though it was a mariage de raison, we cannot believe that it includes Faustina! *Facio delicias* (71,20) refers to his meeting again with Fronto, and *ego fastidio omnia* is a general remark of displeasure, not in harmony with Marcus' early letters; therefore, I date V 19 and 20 145–156. If Brakman is right, *ego fastidio omnia* could refer to Marcus' stay in Naples, which he did not like at all (30,17f.). It will not do to state with Bowersock, Greek Sophists 71ff., that hypochondria is characteristic of the second century.

71,16 *Caietae*: a seaport town, now Gaeta; see Stat. Silv. 1,3,88; Iuv. 14,87. Pius had a villa there: Vita Marci 19,7. In Caieta, Marcus once had a dream (Medit. 1,17,9), but there is no reason to believe that our passage has anything to do with it, see Rutherford, The Meditations 195.

71,19 *in biduo*: 'within two days'.

Si videtur, 'if that seems best', referring to the preceding lacuna.

Dentes adprimamus: 'let us clench our teeth' (Haines), 'let us grin and bear that we shall not see each other sooner'. The expression does not occur elsewhere.

Tamen at the end of a sentence is not unusual, e.g. Plaut. Epid.. 516; Mil. 306; Liv. 2,45,11. See J. Marouzeau, L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine III, Paris 1949, 99ff.

71,20 *recenti* (dative) *morbo* (ablative): 'fresco di malatia' (Portalupi). Originally, *recens* is used with an abl. separationis (not causae, as Hofmann-Szantyr 104): Cic. Att. 16,7,1 *Roma . . . recentes*); metaphorically (almost an abl. respectus), Verg. Aen. 6,674 *prata recentia rivis*; 9,455 *recentem caede locum*; (cp. 6,450 *recens a volnere Dido*); Stat. Theb. 4,169 *hydra recens obitu*; Val. Flac. 6,455 *recentia sertis tecta*; in prose, often in Tacitus: Hist. 3,19,1 *recentia caede vestigia*; 3,77,4 *recens victoria miles*; Ann. 1,41,5 *erat recens dolore et ira*; 4,52,2 *recens praetura*; 15,59,7 *(milites) stipendiis recentes* (cp. 2,66,3 *Flaccum veterem stipendiis*). See Kühner I 364. Pepe sees in *recenti dolore* an abl. qualitatis (!).

Facio delicias: 'I am playing the fool', 'I am bubbling over with stuff and nonsense', a colloquial expression found in Plaut. Cas. 528; Men. 381; Poen. 280; Publil. A 30; Catull. 45,24; 74,2.

Ferme: see at 64,13.

72,1 *in manu est*: the singular *manu* also Sall. Cat. 20,10 *victoria in manu nobis est*. Elsewhere always *in manibus esse*: Sall. Cat. 20,2; Liv. 5,20,1; 6,8,10; 35,5,11.

Differunt: the only way to defend the reading of m^1 is to assume that it here means either 'to be different' or 'to confound'. The absolute use of this verb is no more remarkable than that of *affluunt* and *gestiunt*. Sinko, Coniectanea 160, would rather expect *attrahunt*, but he reads with m^2 *diffluunt*. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 25, 1903, 164, Haines and Frassinetti, Athenaeum 54, 1976, 219, take *differunt* as *differuntur*: 'they are carried away' (Haines), as *differri amore, cupidine* in Plaut. Cist. 208; Mil. 1163; Poen. 156; Truc. 701, but no parallel to *differre* in this sense can be provided. H. Ammann, TLL s.v., compares 195,1 *tu senem differs*, 'to keep someone in the air'. Della Corte translates *differunt, affluunt*: 'vanno di qua, vanno di la'; Portalupi: 'lo

va dicendo, ne sovrabbonda'; Cortassa: 'lo dicono que e là, si sciolgono di gioia'. The marginal note is not a varia lectio but an explanation, see Proleg. XL. *Diffluunt*, 'they loose their head', is quite understandable: Ter. Haut. 946 *luxuria et lascivia diffluit*; Cic. Lael. 52 *deliciis diffluentes*.

Affluunt: 'they feel in affluence' (Haines), not 'si precipitano' (Pepe); cp. Vulg. Isai. 60,5 *tunc videbis et afflues... et dilatabitur cor tuum* (LXX: φοβηθήσῃ).

72,2 *gestiunt*: 'they are exultant' (Haines), rather than 'non sta in se' (Portalupi) or 'sono sfrenati' (Della Corte).

72,3 *Gratiam* is, of course, Fronto's wife; see at 44,2; 113,4; 235,11. She is on a visit to Domitia Lucilla, as 32,2; 32,21; 44,2; 73,12. Pepe thinks that it is Fronto's daughter, and A. Stein, PIR^2 s.v. Gratia, is in doubt.

72,4 *Graius poeta*: see at 7,6. *Graius* is a poetical archaism.

Vale mi: see at 2,13.

72,4–5 *omnia mea* as a vocative only here, cp. the exclamation *o omnia* 27,13M. A similar metonymy e.g. Varro, Men. 475 *hic... omnia erat*; Liv. 40,11,4 *Demetrius iis unus omnia est*.

72,6 Chronology: Naber and A. Stein, PIR I^2 Annia 716, date this letter 145; Brakman and Grimal, Marc Aurèle 301, 147; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 145–147. However, we now know that Faustina, Marcus' wife, received the title Augusta on 1 December 147 (incorrect R. Hanslik, Faustina 3, Kleine Pauly, Nachträge). *Dominam* (72,12) is Domitia Lucilla, so this letter was written between December 147 and 156. Champlin dates it December 147–161.

72,7 *profecti estis*: the imperial family to a villa outside Rome.

Genus dolore: in accordance with grammarians (e.g. Charis. 40,18 B.; see TLL s.v. genu), the writer of the marginal note did not approve of the genitive *genus* (see also 82,27), thinking that it should be *genu*. But practice is different: the genitive *genu* only occurs Ovid. Met. 10,536 and Hygin. Astr. 3,6 p. 83,5, whereas *genus* is found Serv. Aen. 3,22 *Cicero in Arato huius genus pro genu*; Plin. Nat. 11,250; Chiron 109; and in Fronto 82,18M; 82,23; 85,7M; Hauler's reading *genui* is not confirmed by any other author.

72,8 *ingrederer*: 'I could walk' (Haines), see at 63,14.

Pedetemptin: 'foot by foot'. 110,2 'little by little'. See at 36,13.

72,9 *amplius* is adjective: 'qualcosa di peggio' (Portalupi); cp. Ter. Hec. 330 *si forte morbus amplior factus siet*.

Ingruerit: see at 1,10f.

72,10 *Augusta*: Faustina is called here and CIL XI 5931, and on coins, *Augusta* already before Marcus' accession to the throne. See R. Hanslik, Faustina 3, Kleine Pauly 2 Nachträge (1967).

72,12 *dominam* is Domitia Lucilla; it cannot possibly be Faustina, as Haines and Portalupi suppose.

72,13 Chronology: the answer to a lost letter. Naber dates it 145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147, and so Pepe and Portalupi; Champlin 139–161; Cortassa 146/7–161. The tone is that of an early letter and Marcus is still studying (72,16), so I date it 139–145. Apparently, Fronto was in some pain immediately after having held a speech which we cannot define.

72,14 *peramplam* is rare: before Fronto Cic. Verr. 4,109; 110.
Aegritudinem: see at 78,22.
72,15 *ignem*: Marcus is the first to use this word metaphorically of the pangs of love.
Misisti: poets use it in the sense of 'to cause', 'to bring about': Verg. Georg. 4,534 *exitium*; Sil. 4,79 *bellum*.
Ne: translators consider it to be a consecutive conjunction: 'so that not', and according to Hofmann-Szantyr 641 *ne* is used that way since Columella and Tacitus. However, it rather seems to be an ironical reproach: 'with the intention that not'; cp. Liv. 8,10,10 and Tac. Ann. 2,29,2.
72,17 *habeas*: potentialis.
72,18 *consumpsei*, as Sen. Epist. 77,16 *voluptates... consumpsisti*. Fronto seems to have read his speech to Marcus.
Tardiuscule, 'a little late', a colloquial adverb occurring only here.
Lorium is twelve miles from Rome. Pepe and Cortassa believe that Fronto is going to deliver a speech at Lorium (!).
72,19–20 *doleo... doles*, *salus... salutem*: a play upon the double meaning of the words, as Sen. Dial. 11,9,2 and Mart. 1,13,3f. with *dolere*.
72,20 *Vale mi*: see at 2,13.
Inlibatam et incolumem: see at 2,16.
72,22 Chronology: Naber and Birley, Mark Aurel 162, date this letter 145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147 (followed by Pepe and Portalupi); Cortassa 146/7–161; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 294, c. 146. Marcus' sister Annia Cornificia Faustina was born in 122 or 123; she married M. Ummius Quadratus c. 135 and died in 152 (see Birley o.c. 46; 162; 194). So we cannot but date the letter, with Champlin, 139–152. Because of *scorpio*, we must assume that the imperial family is staying in a villa south of Rome.
72,23 *istos*: 'the last few days' (Haines), see at 11,18.
Tales is sometimes used as *sic*; I do not believe with Hofmann-Szantyr 171 that it is poetical.
Muliebrium partium, as Plin. Nat. 32,134 *in muliebri parte*. The usual expression is *loci muliebres* or *muliebria*.
72,24 *faciem*: 'sight'.
72,25 *costam*: 'her side' (Haines), cp. Pers. 1,95 *costam longo subduximus Appennino*. In this sense usually the plural *costae*.
73,1 *scorpionem*: the scorpio Europaeus, whose sting is not more dangerous than that of a bee; see Plin. Nat. 11,89 and Steier, Spinntiere, RE II 2 (1929).
73,2 *offendi*: 'I came upon' (Haines).
Occupavi with infinitive: 'I was in time to kill it' (Haines), 'lo uccisi prima di' (Portalupi), not 'badare' (Pepe) or 'mi affrettai' (Paola Venini, Athenaeum 36, 1958, 165). The expresion is found in old Latin and also in Horace, Livy and some later authors.
73,3 *levior est*: 'sta già meglio' (Portalupi), not 'feels easier' (Haines). It is a colloquial expression found only in Ruf. Podagr. 27, p. 32 *cum se leviorem sensissit* and in Greg. Tur. Iul. 17 p. 572,16 *indicat se esse leviorem*. Cp. 73,26M *ago levissime*; 73,12 *Cratia leviora omnia nuntiabat*.

73,4 *domina... salutat* is somewhat surprising if it is Domitia Lucilla; therefore, Mommsen assumes that it is Marcus' wife, which would be even more surprising. Marcus married her in the spring of 145.

73,5 Chronology: again a letter which the ancient editor suggests is connected with the preceding one: *salvum et inlaesum* after the incident with the scorpion; and, indeed, Haines and Portalupi let themselves be misled. Naber dates it 145: Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147, and so Birley, Mark Aurel 162; Champlin 139–161. However, *tua instituta* sc. *Stoica* and *vos sapientes* prove that this letter does not belong to the period of Fronto's teachership, which means that we must date it 147–161. *Dominam* (73,9) must be Domitia Lucilla, so we can narrow it down to 147–156. See at 82,7.

73,6 *quom* with indicative: see at 14,1.

Inlaesum must not necessarily mean bodily 'unharmed' (Haines) (and refer to the scorpion): since Seneca, it is used in the sense of *salvus* or *sanus*.

Dei: see at 43,2. The repetition of *deis* is characteristic of a simple style.

73,7 *instituta*: 'tuoi principi' (Portalupi), 'your philosophic views' (Haines).

73,8 *quamlibet*: 'however much' (Haines). It is used in poetry since Lucr. 3,987, in prose since Vell. 2,3,4. Here it is not yet completely identical with *quamquam*.

Equidem = *ego quidem*, as opposed to *vos sapientes*, see at 35,6.

73,9 *deis curae esto*: the same expression Turpil. Com. 116; Sall. Iug. 75,9 and Lact. Inst. 2,1,3. Though it is not a religious formula, *esto* gives it a solemn ring; see at 107,5–8.

73,10 Chronology of V 25 and the answer V 26: *dominam* (73,11 and 14) must be Faustina (not Domitia Lucilla, as Ida Kapp, TLL s.v. domina, assumes). And she is probably Marcus' wife (so Brakman; Haines; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 82; Birley, Mark Aurel 162; and Champlin), not his daughter Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina (so Hanslik, Anordnung; A. Stein, PIR I^2 no. 697; Pepe; and Cortassa): *se tam obtemperanter nobis accommodat* fully corresponds to Medit. 1,17, where Marcus calls his wife πειθήνιος. So these are not early letters: Faustina was born c. 130 and married Marcus in 145. *Domina* is also Marcus' wife 73,14; 102,20. Their daughter Faustina was born on 30 November 147, but when Marcus mentions his little daughters he calls them *domnula*: 76,5; 226,10. Naber dates the letters 145; Brakman 147; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147, and so does Pepe, who sees in Faustina Marcus' daughter (!); Champlin 145–161; Cortassa 147–161. C. Aufidius Victorinus is not yet married to Fronto's daughter Cratia, who was born c. 142 (see at 61,5). This marriage took place c. 157 (see at 61,5), but he was Fronto's pupil and confidant long before this marriage, see at 20,18; 176,5. Therefore, we must date these letters 145–157. Fronto was not on familiar terms with Marcus' wife, and later on the situation did not change much, see at 96,7. There is nothing in our correspondence to confirm the gossip about Faustina in the Vita Marci 19,1–11; 26,5; Cass. Dio 71,34; and Aurel. Vict. Caes. 16,2. A well-founded judgement on her may be found in E. Paratore, Plotina, Sabina e le due Faustine, Roma 1945. See at 276,19.

73,11 *caluissse*: 'has been feverish' (Haines). This meaning of *calere* only

here, 73,16 and 84,24, but *calor* often means 'temperature', 'fever', in Celsus and other medical writers.

73,12 *Gratia*: see at 113,4 and 235,11. She had visited Domitia Lucilla the day before, see at 44,2.

Leviora: see at 73,3.

73,13 *gravidinis*: 'snuffles'; *gravido* instead of *gravedo* in inscriptions and sometimes in MSS. Cels. 4,5,2 *gravedo ... nares claudit, vocem obtundit, tussim siccam movet. sub eadem salsa est saliva, sonant aures, venae moventur in capite, turbida urina est. haec omnia* κορύξας *Hippocrates* (Περὶ ἀρχαίης ἰητρικῆς 18) *nominat.*

Inbecillus: 'indisposed' (Haines).

Cras ... veniam: J. Schwartz (see Proleg. LXII n. 4) thinks that this passage was quoted by the Vita Avid. Cass. 9,11 in a spurious letter of Faustina: *ipsa in Albanum cras, ut iubes, mox veniam* (!!).

Eādem sc. *operā*: 'at the same time' (Haines) or rather 'killing two birds with one stone'. This adverbial use of *eadem* is found several times in Plautus, in Ter. Haut. 368; Gell. 10,1,3; Tert. Apol. 21,6; Vulg. Iud. 16,24. Schopen, Emendationes II 9, and Haines have rightly seen that it is an ellipsis of *opera*, not of *die*, as Mai and Pepe think, nor of *via* (Priebe) or *hora* (Della Corte); nor is it 'nella stessa mattinata' (Portalupi).

73,14 *dominam*: Faustina.

73,16–17 *et ... deprehendisse*: 'and, in fact, I fancy I have noticed it more to-day' (Haines). *Magis* belongs to *id deprehendisse*, a medical term: 'to diagnose', as e.g. Cels. 2,7,35 *suppuratio ... sic deprehendi potest.*

73,17 *aequiorem ... facit*: 'she makes me less anxious' (Haines).

73,18 *obtemperanter*: this adverb occurs here for the first time, then in Prud. Perist. 2,112, Augustin. Civ. 16,25 and in later writers.

73,19 *quod*: *delector quod* is later Latin: Nepos 14,3,4; Val. Max. 7,3 ext. 1; Apul. Met. 10,18,4. With acc. cum inf. 84,17M. Note the ellipsis of *venire* and *te esse*; a similar colloquialism e.g. Plaut. Trin. 5 *operam dare promittis*; Ter. Andr. 401 *pollicitus sum suscepturum*. See at 61,12f.

73,21 Chronology of V 27 and the answer V 28: as there is no trace of rhetorical studies, Naber dates these letters 145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147; Cortassa 146/7–161. Domitia Lucilla is still alive, so we should date them with Champlin 139–156 or rather 145–156. See at 82,7.

73,22 *manseris*: 'come hai passato la notte' (Portalupi), not 'how you are keeping' (Haines). That *manere* means 'to spend the night' is shown by *noctem transmisisse* 73,25. Already Cicero has *manere* in this meaning, yet always with *in* or *apud*, e.g. Tull. 55 *qui in villa manserunt*. The absolute use of the verb is colloquial: Greek κοιμᾶσθαι is translated in the Itala versions by *manere*, in the Vulgata by *dormire*. See TLL s.v. and E. Löfstedt, Philologischer Kommentar zur Preregrinatio Aetheriae, Uppsala 1911 (= 1936), 176.

Before M. Haupt (1867), editors read *domi, nescire cupio.*

Cervicum: Fronto often complains of a pain in the neck: 74,2; 74,5; 74,11; 74,17; 77,15; 104,6; 164,22.

73,25 *cibum*: see at 74,7f.

73,26 *ago levisime*: 'I am doing very nicely' (Haines); see at 28,3f. and 73,3.

Ferat: praesens pro futuro, see at 54,18.

73,27 *proxima*: 'your late anxiety' (Haines). See at 11,18. *Proximus* refers to the near past, in a lost letter.

74,1 Chronology: there is only one indication: *domina* is Domitia Lucilla, who died c. 156, see at 82,7. So Champlin rightly dates this letter 139–156. Naber 145; Brakman 149; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147.

74,2 *cervicum*: see at 73,22.

Pede: on Fronto's podagra see at 265,29 and Table of Matters s.v. Fronto.

74,4 Chronology: this letter is not the answer to the preceding one. The dating is that of V 29; only in his Chronology, Haines dates it 147–161; Cortassa 146/7–161.

74,5 *tertia die*: with numerals, *dies* in other passages is always masculine: 84,7; 104,5; 116,6; 131,6. See at 24,19–21 and Index Latinitatis s.v. dies.

Remiserint: especially with *dolor* this verb is used intransitively since Cicero; also 74,17.

Erit quod: 'there will be reason to'; see at 40,6f.

74,6 *lavi*: 'I have had a bath' (Haines); see *balneo* 74,18. Particularly the perfect is used in this sense by comic poets and in later Latin; in Fronto 74,13M. 63,4 and 235,9 Marcus has *lotus*. Fronto is less colloquial: *lavari* 137,7 and *lavatus* 210,17. See at 58,6–17.

74,7 The first *et*: 'too'.

74,7–8 *cibi*: Marcus had a weak stomach: 61,6f.; 62,15; 70,14–16; 73,25; 74,13; 234,7. Cass. Dio (of a later period in Marcus' life) 71,6,3–4 τροφὴν βραχυτατήν, καὶ ταήτην ἐν νυκτὶ ἀεί, λαμβάνειν . . . τοῦ τε στομάχου καὶ τοῦ θώρακος φαύλως εἶχεν. 71,24,4 οὔτε τροφὴν ἄλυπον οὔθ' ὕπνον ἄφροντιν λαβεῖν δυνάμενος. Dailly & Van Effenterre suppose that he had a gastric ulcer, see at 64,2f. and Table of Matters s.v. Marcus.

Libente stomacho is remarkable: not predicative *libens* is used only in the expression *libente animo*.

74,10 Chronology of V 31 and the answer V 32: Naber dates these letters 145; Brakman 149; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 145–147; Cortassa 146/7–161. Champlin is right in dating the letters 139–156 (Domitia Lucilla is still alive, see at 82,7).

74,11 The first *quom*: Schopen, Ebert and Haines read *quod*; Portalupi and Cortassa keep *quom* and translate 'che', which is correct: explicative *cum* with subjunctive, as 88,2; see at 14,1 and Hofmann-Szantyr 642.

Cervices: see at 73,22.

74,13 *lavi*: see at 74,6.

Cibi: see at 74,7.

74,17 *cervicum*: see at 73,22.

Remiserunt: see at 74,5.

Animo bene fuit: 'it did me good'. *Bene esse* is often used since Plautus; see at 67,22 and 80,20.

74,17–18 *quom . . . cognovi*: 'now I see', see at 14,1.

74,19 Chronology: Naber dates this letter 145; Brakman 149; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 148–149; the only thing to go on, however, is again *dominam* (Domitia Lucilla), so we must date this letter, with Champlin, 139–156.

74,20 *inguinis*: 'pain in the groin', as 74,23; 83,16; 104,6.

Quo: 'whereto': 'all the pain from the back and loins has concentrated itself there' (Haines); cp. Cels. 2,7,29 *in aliquam partem (corporis) id malum incumbit.*

A refers to *cubuit*, not to *dolor.*

74,22 Chronology: again the ancient editor connected two letters written on different occasions: he was led astray by *cognosco, illo spatio* and *inguina* (in the preceding letter we find *inguen*). The clue for dating these letters is *parvolae* (75,3). They must be Marcus' two oldest daughters, Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina and Annia Aurelia Galeria Lucilla. Faustina was born on 30 November 147 and Lucilla on 7 March 149 (see Birley, Mark Aurel 191 n. 58; not 148, as A. Stein, PIR I² Annia 707, and Pflaum, Les gendres 31f.). Other daughters can hardly be considered, since they were not born until 159, when Faustina and Lucilla were not *parvolae* any more (A. Stein, PIR I² Annia 697, thinks that Fadilla should be included). There is one difficulty, however: Marcus does not send his mother's regards, but this can be explained by the fact that he is staying in a villa outside Rome during the autumn (*adhuc* 75,3), while Domitia Lucilla may have stayed in Rome because of her physical condition. So the most plausible dating seems to be between 7 March 149 and c. 155 (Domitia Lucilla died c. 156). Naber dates the letters 145; Brakman 149; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 148–149; Champlin and Cortassa between 7 March 149 and 161; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 293, c. 149. See at 81,27.

74,23 *doluisse* with acc. respectus also 179,5 *oculos*. Before Fronto this accusative concerning parts of the body is only used by Scrib. Larg. 170 *latus dolentibus*, then by later medical writers. Marcus 235,5 is the only one to use it with *animum.* See at 3,9.

Cognosco: 'I understand', not necessarily from Fronto himself, so it is not 'you tell me that' (Haines).

On *inguina* see at 74,20.

75,1 *hoc* = *huc*, as in old Latin, Cicero's letters, Petronius and other writers, mostly with the variant *huc*, so it may be colloquial. See at 98,17; L. Pepe, Studi Petroniani, Napoli 1957, 114.

75,2 *cedere* with dative, as Cels. 4,6,6 *cedere remediis morbum.*

75,3 *aestivos*: 'summary': it is vintage time or autumn.

Calores: the plural indicates a lasting situation, see Hofmann-Szantyr 18.

Experimur: 'we are experiencing' (Haines) in the sense of 'suffering', as opposed to *frui*, not synonymous with *frui*, as G. Meyer, TLL s.v. experior, thinks.

75,3–4 *dixisse liceat*: Quint. Inst. 8,3,37 *si quid periculosius finxisse videbimur, quibusdam remediis praemuniendum est: ut ita dicam, si liceat dicere.* Almost always *licet* is connected with the aoristic infinitive *dixisse*, seldom with *dicere*, see E.B. Lease, Zur Konstruktion von licet, Archiv 11, 1900, 20; Hofmann-Szantyr 351f.; TLL s.v. licet; and at 81,19; 86,11; 194,4; 218,17; 250,7; 262,4.

75,4 *salubritate*: 'healthy weather' (Haines).

Temperie: 'temperature' (Haines).

75,6 Chronology of V 35 and the answer V 36: Naber dates both letters 145; Haines, Chronology, 147–161 (he erroneously assumes that they may refer to Fronto's proconsulate [see 166,19ff.], which he dates 155, while it should be 157–158), edition 148–149; Champlin dates V 35 between 7 March 149 (?) and 161, and V 36 139–161; Cortassa 146/7–161. In his edition, Haines regards Ad Pium 5 (an undatable letter) as the letter Marcus wants Fronto to write. This may be true but cannot be proved; Hanslik, Anordnung, objects that it is hardly conceivable that Fronto would ask Marcus if he ought to write to the emperor because he could not attend the reception on such an important day as the commemoration of Pius' accession to the throne (10 July). However, Fronto does not apologize to Pius when he is unable to be present at the emperor's New Year's reception (77,22ff.) or on another social occasion (82,11f.). We know that Pius was not very strict about these matters, see at 3,25f. So if we link Caes. V 35 and 36 to Ad Pium 5, we should date the letters 139–160, or even 139–161. The only year that is out of the question is 143: on 10 July Fronto was consul and not ill.

75,7 *de*: the usual expression is *notum facere alicui aliquid*. Marcus is the only one to use *de*, by analogy with *admonere de*, *nuntiare de*.

75,12 Chronology of V 37 and the answer V 38: Naber dates these letters 145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147; Birley, Mark Aurel 165, 146; Cortassa 146–147, whereas Brakman, Hanslik (Anordnung) and Champlin rightly saw that these must be early letters because Marcus still does homework for Fronto: 139–145, though closer to 145 than to 139, see 75,20f. Schopen, Emendationes II 10, and Birley, o.c. 165, suppose that V 37 is the answer to V 43.

75,13 *prodormivi*: see at 9,13.

Misi: 'I send you herewith', an epistolary perfect like *scripsi* 55,23M.

Consul: Fronto takes a hypothetical case, but Marcus wants to have more historical data for his controversia. Since Caesar and Augustus, Roman emperors tried, often in vain, to prevent senators from appearing in the arena as venatores or bestiarii; and also in Marcus' time there were praetors *qui in harena pugnassent* (Vita Marci 12,3); see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 30; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 19f.; M. Nowak, Die Strafverhängungen der Censoren, diss., Breslau 1909, 71; E. Schmähling, Die Sittenaufsicht der Censoren, Stuttgart 1938, 91; J. Aymard, Essai sur les chasses romaines des origines jusqu'à la fin du siècle des Antonins, Paris 1951, 96. Marcus is embarrassed by the facts given by Fronto: *quinquatribus, populo Romano spectante* and *apud censores expostulatur*. Hence his *an Romae*? For he knows of only one example of such a fight, the case of M'. Acilius Glabrio, cos. 91, whom Domitianus made fight a lion in his villa Albana: Cass. Dio 67,14,3 τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα . . . κατηγορηθέντα . . . ὅτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' ᾧ που καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἔσχεν, ὅτι ὑπατεύντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ νεανισκεύτα (Iuvenalia) ὠνομασμένα καλέσας λέοντα ἀποκτεῖναι μέγαν ἠνάγκασε. Iuv. 4,99–101 *profuit ergo nihil misero (Acilio), quod comminus ursos* (!) *figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena venator*. But this Acilius Glabrio did not appear in a public spectacle in Rome, and he was not

denounced in front of the censors. Fronto may have been inspired by Glabrio's case, but here he makes it far worse by letting his consul fight in Rome coram publico; what he wants is to stir Marcus' imagination, not to give a historical account. A similar case is 40,7: Marcus has to write a simile on an island encircling another island, like Aenaria. Marcus wants more geographical information, but Fronto replies (40,13f.) that it is not geography he wants but a simile. See also at 77,10. Nowak and Schmähling have missed the point: they believe that in Caesar's time some consul had fought a lion in public. (Incidentally, Glabrio's grandson was Fronto's colleague in the senate.) On Fronto's controversiae see at 42,16.

75,14 *manicam*: 'armguard', not 'coat of mail' (Haines). The word is always in the plural (except Plin. Nat. 28,157), because soldiers and gladiators wore it on both arms; here apparently only on the right arm: he was *nudus*, says Iuvenalis.

Inter iuvenes: the Iuvenalia or ludi iuvenales. Originally, such private festivals were organized by Nero (Tac. Ann. 14,15,1; 15,33,1; Cass. Dio 61,19,1) for young singers and reciters (see also Vita Gord. 1, 4).

Quinquatribus: again Fronto deliberately mixes up facts; *(Domitianus) celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervae, cui collegium instituerat* (Suet. Domit. 4,4), but here he uses the word Quinquatria in the usual sense, a popular fête in honour of Minerva on 19 March; see G. Wissowa, Religion 131; 203f.; 375; Eisenhut, Quinquatrus, RE XXIV; K. Ziegler, Quinquatrus, Kleine Pauly (1972).

75,15 *expostulatur*: 'he is denounced before the censors' (Haines). *Postulari apud* is a legal term, e.g. Cic. Or. frg. A VII 3 *apud praetores*; Tac. Ann. 3,10,1 *apud consules*. Schopen's conjecture has been generally accepted. Only Ellis, The Correspondence 26, and C. Meyer, TLL s.v. expostulo, have their doubts: they believe that the subject of *postulat* could be the consul, but the whole tenor of the passage is that the consul's behaviour is disgraceful. *-ur* could easily fall out at the end of the page.

75,16 As he often does, Fronto uses Greek terminology when speaking of rhetoric; he adopted it from his Greek teachers, see at 17,8. Διασκευάζειν (also 142,2) is *elaborare* in Latin, and it is this word that Marcus uses 27,8 and 102,5. The verb rather refers to the quantitative aspect of a suasoria or controversia, whereas αὔξειν denotes the quality, see Lausberg, Handbuch 145ff.; 531f.; and Anon. Techn. 230 p. 393,10 αὔξησίς ἐστι λόγος μεῖζον ποιῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα. So we had better not translate 'put into shape and develop' (Haines). The same terms 142,2 and 151,19. Fronto does not use the term *amplificare*, but *augere* as a rhetorical term we find 141,22 and 144,13. According to Clarke, Rhetoric 136, Fronto shows little interest in such writings, but see 68,11; 77,3–6; 77,10–14.

75,17 *dominam*: Domitia Lucilla.

75,18 *rescriptum*: see at 165,1.

75,19 *An* introduces here and 51,26 an open question, whereas *num dicis* means 'you don't mean, do you?' Modern translators have misunderstood Marcus' second question: 'forse alludi a' (Portalupi). Elsewhere *an* always introduces a question to which the answer will be negative: 88,25;

107,13V; 116,12; 133,5 (marg. b); 135,6; 143,4 (marg. f); 220,7; 229,1. *Num* always expects a negative answer in direct questions, often in emotional ones: 5,18; 40,12; 132,7f.; 141,21; 229,5f.; 230,14. See at 49,3 and 241,24 and Index Latinitatis s.v. an and num.

In Albano: Albanum is not a town but an ager; therefore Cicero always speaks of *in Albano*, and so does Domitianus in a letter CIL IX 5420 *datum ... in Albano*; Suet. Dom. 4,4.

75,19–20 *sub Domitiano* is later Latin, used since Velleius and Seneca; see Ed. Wölfflin, Archiv 12, 449f.; Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 611f.

76,1 *irascatur*: the most plausible translation seems to be 'one gets angry about it', with *factum* as subject. This means that we here have *irasco aliquid*, which is found nowhere else, but cp. *gaudere aliquid*, *indignari aliquid*, *gravare aliquid*. This is the interpretation of R. Novák, Wien. Stud. 19, 1897, 247, who compares Gell. 7,2,5 *delicta non suscensenda... sunt*, and of the translators: 'in such a theme it will take more time to make the fact credible than to treat it with the indignation it deserves' (Haines), 'sia creduto anziche ci si arrabbi' (Della Corte), 'perché il fatto, piuttosto che indisponente, sia credibile' (Portalupi). It does not help much that the active form *irascere* exists, though with the meaning *irasci*: Pompon. Com. 30 *noli, quaeso, irascere*, and Epiphan. In evang. 27. Unlikely seems the assumption that *factum* is not subject of *irascatur*: 'one gets angry', as *venitur*, *vivitur*, *altercatur*, *statur* Ter. Eun. 271, *potestur* Enn. Ann. 611; see Hofmann-Szantyr 288.

Ὑπόθεσις: 'subject' (Haines), 'theme'; see at 40,5 and 49,10.

Ἀπίθανος: Quint. Inst. 2,10,5 on *suasoriae* and *iudiciales materiae*: we must beware of those who are *supra fidem*.

76,2 *baluceis*: the general meaning of *quod* etc. must be 'because it is quite different from the one I had asked for' (in a lost letter). The conjectures by Mai, Schopen and Heraeus are based on 77,13. The reading *haud plena baluceis* by Ebert, Synt. 48, has been adopted by Timpanaro, Spigolature 241f., and Il nuovo Frontone 376, and by Portalupi[2]. It is based on the assumption that Marcus compares his literary theme with the work of a gold-washer. According to the Glossaria, a *bal(l)uca* is a χρύσαμμος, a 'grain of gold', cp. Veget. Mulom. 1,20,2 *auri balucae siliquam*, and Plin. Nat. 33,77 calls a minute piece of gold *balux*. But neither *baluca* nor *balux* are ever used metaphorically; besides, if we follow Ebert, we should expect *quales*, not *qualem*. K. Vretska, Anzeiger f. d. Altertumswiss. 11, 1958, 20, accepts my suggestion βαλοῦ γ' εἰς, but I still believe with K. Ihm, TLL s.v. balux, that it is 'incertum, quid lateat'.

76,3 Chronology: the ancient editor put this letter together with V 40 because of the *vindemiae*, but we must be careful not to connect them. Who is the *domnula*? We cannot say with Hanslik (Anordnung) and Cortassa that here Marcus has only one daughter: he has only one sick daughter. According to Watson, Hanslik, Pepe, Champlin and Cortassa, it is the eldest daughter Faustina (see at 74,22), born on 30 November 147; Mommsen sees in her the second daughter, Lucilla, born on 7 March 149, and according to A. Stein, PIR I[2] no. 697, it is Fadilla, born c. 159. We could even add Domitia Faustina, who was born before Fadilla. As we have no further

clue, we can only date this letter, with Cortassa, between 30 November 147 and 161. It is impossible that Marcus would call his wife *domnula*: this word always indicates a child, see at 73,10. Yet Mai[3]; Brakman; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 85; Ida Kapp, TLL s.v. domnulus; and Marache, Mots 86, think that she is Marcus' wife Faustina, and that the letter must be dated after 145, when Faustina married Marcus. The birth dates of Marcus' children have only recently been established (see Birley, Mark Aurel 422), so older datings of this letter are obsolescent: Naber 145; Brakman 147; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147; Hauler in his inedita 146–147; Hanslik, Anordnung, 146–148. Champlin dates it c. 150. Either Marcus or the children are staying in the country, probably the children.

76,4 *vindemias*: Fronto had a villa near Lorium (see at 51,20; 60,16), at Surrentum (see at 266,1–3) and a *suburbana* (see at 175,22), which may be the same as the one near Lorium. The plural *horti* (76,8) indicates a larger piece of ground used for agriculture, outside Rome. Cic. Verr. II 2,87 and 4,121; Nepos, Att. 14,3; and Tac. Ann. 14,53,5 distinguish between *horti* and a *suburbanum*, the latter probably with mansion. So the *horti* 76,8 are not Fronto's *horti Maecenatiani* in Rome (see at 20,11), as Haines, Farquharson l.l. and Portalupi assume. Champlin, Fronto 23, supposes that both in 76,4 and in 76,8 Fronto's villa *in Aurelia* is meant, see at 60,16. The *horti* 116,5 are undefinable. See Table of Matters s.v. Fronto. On vintage see at 60,17.

Laetas: 'rich', not 'happy' (Haines) or 'serena' (Portalupi).

76,5 *domnula* occurs here for the first time; also 226,10 and Salvian. Epist. 4,13.

Commodiora: 'things taking a more favourable turn', rather than 'that she is better' (Haines).

76,7 Chronology: see at 76,3. For those who connect V 40 with V 39, Faustina is Marcus' daughter, the *domnula* 76,5. But I think that Faustina is Marcus' wife: *mane cotidie deos appello* and *pro tua salute optare ac precari* seem to point to the approach of childbirth, cp. 178,9. Faustina had her first child on 30 November 147, and Domitia Lucilla (*domina* 76,11) died c. 156 (see at 82,7). So this letter was written between 147 and 156, a little before V 60, see at 82,16. If Faustina is Marcus' daughter, the dating is the same; if she is his wife, who just happens to be ill (as 72,10), we should date the letter 145–156.

76,8 *commode valeo*: the same expression Liv. 42,38,10; Plin. Epist. 3,20,11; Fronto 5,16 and 81,3.

Insisto: 'I can stand', see at 63,14.

76,9 *in sinistro pede* belongs to *dolore*, not to *insisto*, as Kröner, TLL s.v. insisto, thinks.

Deos: see at 43,2.

Scio: cp. 78,4.

76,12 Chronology: Naber and Watson date this letter 145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147; Birley, Mark Aurel 166, 146; Cortassa 145/6–161; but Brakman, Hanslik (Anordnung), Portalupi and Champlin are right in dating it 139–145: Marcus is engaged in writing controversiae or suasoriae for Fronto.

76,13 *ego adeo*: 'as far as I am concerned' (Haines) I have finished my writing'. On *adeo* see at 60,13. *Perscripsi*: perfectum praesens.

Tu has been accepted by all modern editors, but Mai's *et* has been adopted by J.B. Hofmann TLL, s.v. et, in the sense of 'et ideo', 'et itaque', as e.g. Tac. Hist. 2,19,2 *minus turbidos et imperia accipientes.*

The librarius had to make a fair copy, see at 28,20. Roller, Das Formular 283 n. 70, is mistaken: 'es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um das übertragen von Auszügen, die M. Aurel bei seiner Lektüre anfertigte'.

76,14 *ex mea sententia*: 'to my liking', a colloquial expression: Plaut. Cist. 126; Men. 273; Merc. 370; Truc. 964; Cic. Fam. 2,7,3. *Procedit ex sententia* 79,11M is not colloquial. See also at 110,11; 176,9.

76,15 *iste*: 'miserable', see at 60,23.

Aliquantulum . . . *mihi*: 'has bothered me a good deal' (not 'un po' [Portalupi]). Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 thinks that it is a quotation from some poet, because *detero* with dative—'to be detrimental to', 'to be in somebody's way'—has a poetical ring: Hor. Sat. 1,10,69 *si (Lucilius) foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum, detereret sibi* and, more like our passage, Sil. 7,247 *quantum detritum est famae (Hannibalis).*

Aliquantulum seems to be colloquial: Plaut. Merc. 640; Ter. Phorm. 655; Haut. 163; Rhet. Her. 4,9,13; 4,56,69 (?); Liv. 38,5,8; and, after Marcus, Gellius and some later authors.

76,16 *petam*: this letter is lost. Apparently Marcus is staying in a villa outside Rome.

76,18 *nomen* . . . *censor*: Marcus has already finished his controversia or suasoria (*perscripsi* 76,13 and *scripsi* 76,18). He only wants to know the name of the tribunus plebis, in order to fill it in before his secretary makes a fair copy. His *mitte mihi* is not answered in the followeing letter, so we may very well doubt if V 42 is the answer to V 41. *Mitte aliud quod scribam* (76,13) is not necessarily answered by *rescribo* (76,21): the ancient editor often tries to connect letters which were written on different occasions. We know one thing for certain: in V 42 Fronto presents a new subject for a controversia, together with the necessary data. Again, it deals with a *nota censoria*, though it has nothing to do with the theme Marcus had already finished, and the case of *Acilius censor* is not the same as that of the *censores* (plural) of 77,5. We do not know of a censor named Acilius, but B. Borghesi, Oeuvres complètes IV, Paris 1865, 32–40, compared the list of the Acilii we know with our list of censors and its lacunae (see now R.V. Cram, The Roman Censors, Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol. 51, 1940, 71ff.), and in 64 BC we do not know the name of L. Aurelius Cotta's colleague; as M'. Acilius Glabrio was consul in 67 BC, he may well be the missing censor. For the friction between the tribune Lucilius (77,3) and the censors, Borghesi refers to Cass. Dio 37,9,4 ἐμποδισάντων σφᾶς (the censors) τῶν δημάρχων (the tribuni plebis) πρὸς τὸν τῆς βουλῆς κατάλογον (album senatorium) δέει τοῦ μὴ τῆς γερουσίας αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν. Borghesi's thesis is supported by Cardinali, Memorie de'censori e de'lustri di Roma antica, in his Dissertazioni della Pontificia Acad. Romana IX 1840, and by Monique Dondin 126ff. Suolahti 476 and 645–649 regards Borghesi's thesis as possible but unprovable.

Yet they all think erroneously that V 41 and V 42 deal with one and the same case. C. de Boor, Fasti censorii 93 (followed by P. Willems, Le sénat de la république romaine I, Leuven 1878, 420f.), has rightly seen that the case of Acilius and that of M. Lucilius are not the same, but he does not believe that the unknown Acilius must be M'. Acilius Glabrio: we might as well consider the consul of 150 and 114 BC M'. Acilius Balbus. Moreover, he points to the fact that, according to Cassius Dio, there was no lectio senatus in 64 BC, so there could not be a nota censoria either; a rather rash conclusion, see Dondin o.c. 136ff. De Boor decides for M. Atilius Regulus, who was censor in 214 BC with P. Furius Philus: they were both very severe on the defeatists during the Punic War and came into conflict with the tribune L. Caecilius Metellus (Liv. 24,43,2–3). Furius died in office, Atilius abdicated. Cichorius, Untersuchungen 21f., also sees in V41 and V42 the same case: *Acilius* he regards as a mistake by Marcus, tacitly corrected (!) by Fronto's *censoribus* 77,5. F. Münzer, too (M. Lucilius, RE XIII [1927]), regards *Acilius* as corrupt: he might be one of the Atilii who were censors in 247 and 234 BC, notably the censor of 214 BC M. Atilius Regulus. Atilius is also the reading of O'Brian Moore, Senatus, RE Suppl. VI (1935). See E. Pais, Ricerche III 117. We can only conclude that V 42 is not the answer to V 41, and that *Acilius* must stand.

Inposuit notam is not an official term (Sen. Epist. 6,5 is different): usual is *imponere ignominiam, contumeliam, culpam.*

Quem scripsi cannot mean 'of whom I wrote' (Haines); it is 'whom I have finished writing' (perfectum praesens), a brachylogy for 'whose case I have finished'; see at 42,14f. Dondin 131 n. 1 saw the difficulty but did not find the solution.

76,20 Chronology: 139–145, see at 76,12.

76,21 *libellum*: not 'plico' (Portalupi), but 'letter' (Haines); see at 50,15; 20,19.

76,22 *ad agendum*: 'to plead' (Haines); see at 82,14.

Ibam only seems to be used instead of a pluperfect, see Hofmann-Szantyr 317.

Me habeo: see at 64,1.

Tamen connecting two principal sentences is *sed tamen*; also 91,18; 139,8; 141,3. See Kühner II 99; Hofmann-Szantyr 496.

77,1 *ulcusculum . . . est*: 'the nasty tumour is still pretty deep'. Cels. 5,28,12 *ex eiusmodi abscessibus et ex aliis ulcerum generibus fistulae oriuntur. id nomen est ulceri alto, angusto, calloso*; Plin. Nat. 30,120 *caventes exulcerationem altam.*

Dominam: Domitia Lucilla.

77,3 On controversiae in Fronto's teaching see at 42,16.

M. Lucilius: see at 76,18. Mai quotes S. Pighius, Annales magistratuum Romanorum, for a tribunus plebis Lucilius in 93 or 92 BC. At any rate, he must have lived in the republican period; Haines dates him 94 BC, see Niccolini, I fasti 438f. Several Lucilii have been suggested: Borghesi (see at 76,18): M. Lucilius Rufus who was triumvir monetalis at the beginning of the first century BC; Babelon, Déscription historique et chronologie des monnaies de la République romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies

sulaires II, Paris 1866, 150f.: the brother of M. Lucilius Rufus; H.G. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I, London 1910, 224: the son of the same M. Lucilius Rufus; Cichorius, Untersuchungen 21f., and M. Nowak, Die Strafverhängungen der Censoren, diss., Breslau 1909, 39, suggest that he may be the father of the poet C. Lucilius and was tribune in 147 BC, a thesis rejected by F. Münzer, M. Lucilius, RE XIII (1927); O'Brian Moore, Senatus, RE Suppl. VI (1935), dates M. Lucilius 247–214, though he must have lived after 167 BC because he is not mentioned by Livy. Haines was wrong to assume that Caes. IV 13 is the answer to this letter, hence his conjecture 68,10.

77,3–5 If the college of tribunes is unanimous in its decision, a tribune has the *ius coercendi* and the right to arrest even a magistrate (the *ius prensionis* of Gell. 13,12,4); but if only one tribune disagrees, the action is illegal (Liv. 2,44,3). The tribune had personally to lay hands on the prisoner (*prensio*), hence *ipsius vi*. See Mommsen, Staatrecht I[3] 145; 289; II[3] 378; Lengle, Tribunus, RE VI 2 (1937).

Ipsius vi = *sua ipsius vi*, as Caes. Gall. 1,1,1 *qui ipsorum lingua Celtae... appellantur*; Fronto 111,7 *nulla ipsius culpa*. In his edition, Haines has *ipsusque*, misled by Brakman I 20.

In carcerem compegit must have been borrowed from Plautus; the usual expression is *in carcerem (de)ducere, conicere, condere*. Note the alliteration.

77,5 *divide causam*: Rhet. Her. 1,3,4 *divisio est per quam aperimus quid conveniat, quid in controversia sit* (the so-called propositio) *et per quam exponimus, quibus de rebus simus dicturi* (the so-called distributio); 1,10,17 *causarum divisio in duas partes distributa est: primum per narrationem debemus aperire, quid nobis conveniat cum adversariis... quid in controversiis relictum sit... deinde cum hoc fecerimus, distributione uti debemus; ea dividitur in duas partes, enumerationem et expositionem* etc.; Cic. De orat. 2,80 *exordiri... deinde rem narrare... post autem dividere causam aut proponere*. This *divisio* Cicero and Quintilianus usually call *partitio*, Hermogenes, Inv. 3,1 προκατασκευή. See at 180,21. The same use of *dividere* 130,4; 141,23.

77,6 ἐπιχείρησον: 'attempt to prove', rather than 'try your hand on' (Haines), which would require a dative; cp. Diog. Laert. 4,28 (Ἀρκεσίλαος) πρῶτος δὲ καὶ εἰς ἑκάτερον ἐπεχείρησε, and it is what Marcus calls (68,12) *diversa tueri*. See at 6,2.

77,8 Chronology: Naber and Birley, Mark Aurel 165, date this letter 145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147; Cortassa 145/6–161. Brakman and Champlin, however, date it 139–145, because Marcus is still doing his homework for Fronto. His slight criticism points to 145 rather than 139, so I date the letter 143–145; see at 5,21. Schopen II 10 and Birley, Mark Aurel 165, believe that Caes. V 37 is the answer to this letter: *qualem petieram* 76,2 would then refer to *quaere clamosam* ὑπόθεσιν 77,13. But *domina* 77,12 is Domitia Lucilla, who died c. 156, not Marcus' wife Faustina, as Birley believes: *domina* is almost always Domitia, so we may say that this letter was written before the spring of 145, when Marcus married Faustina.

77,9 *si... amasti*: see at 86,22.

77,10 *uberem materiam*: again a controversia, see at 42,16. *Uberem*: 'copioso' (Portalupi), see at 57,13. Marcus is afraid that Fronto will not give him detailed information on the subject, see at 75,13. *Uberem materiam* is more or less the opposite of ἐπιφωνήματα, and *uber* is not the same as *grandis*, ἁδρός, as Haines thinks.

77,10–11 *oro*... ἱκετεύω: a remarkable accumulation of synonyms; cp. Lys. Or. 18,27 and 21,21 καὶ δέομαι καὶ ἀντιβολῶ καὶ ἱκετεύω, but it is hardly a quotation.

77,11 *in illa centumviralei* refers to a lost letter of Fronto. Ἐπιφωνήματα: 'exclamations' (Haines) in the sense of 'empty phrases', 'vapourings'; it is not the rhetorical term defined by Quint. Inst. 8,5,11 *(est) epiphonema rei narratae vel probatae summa acclamatio*; see also 11,1,52; Dionys. Hal. Ars 10,18; Demetr. Eloc. 106; 109; Hermog. Inv. 1,5; Sen. Contr. 1 praef. 23. What Marcus means is that Fronto has provided more cry than wool. See at 148,14.

77,12 *ubi = in quo.*

77,13 *clamari* and *clamosam* refer to the *uber materia* which requires energy and enthusiasm. Quint. Inst. 5,13,2 points out that the defence is more difficult than the accusation: the defence must squirm and wriggle, whereas the prosecution *recta fere atque, ut sic dixerim, clamosa est actio.* There the tone becomes pathetic: Rhet. Her. 3,13,23 *continuatio est orationis enuntiandae adceleratio clamosa.*

Fave mi: see at 2,13.

Ὑπόθεσιν: 'subject' (Haines), see at 49,10.

77,14 Chronology: the only certain indication is *domina mater* who died c. 156. Naber dates the letter 145; Haines, Chronology, 144–147, edition 145–147, but Brakman and Hanslik (Anordnung) have rightly seen that it is an early letter (139–145), for Marcus is doing his literary exercises for Fronto, probably closer to 139 than 145. Champlin 139–145.

77,15 *a*: 'in the elbow' (Haines), see at 83,16. Planc. Cic. Fam. 10,15,2 *ab equitatu firmus* is different: 'as far as the cavalry is concerned'.

Cubito: pain in the elbow, also 42,1 (a letter of 139–140) and 85,2 (undatable).

Cervice: the singular also 164,22 and 24; elsewhere alwaus the plural. For his pain in the neck see at 73,22.

77,16 *nimia*: 'very great', not 'too great' (Haines).

Ita: see at 225,4.

77,16–17 *in*... *induxi*: 'I have come to the conviction', a perfectum praesens; the expression is frequently found since Plautus.

77,17–18 *nec*... *nisei*: 'I don't care if you hate me, if only'. Against Haines it must be stated that *nisi* has a positive meaning: it refers to *nec deprecor*, not to *oderis*. See Kühner II 413f.

77,20 *anima*... *potior*: Cic. Tusc. 3,72 *quod in amatorio sermone dici solet, ut quisquam plus alterum diligat quam se.* So e.g. Cic. Sest. 45 *mihi semper fuit mea carior vita*; Fam. 14,7,1 *(Tulliola) nobis nostra vita dulcior est.*

77,21 Chronology of V 45 and the answer V 46: Marcus has only one daughter, Faustina. She was born on 30 November 147. The next daughter, Lucilla, was born on 7 March 149. So these letters were written

on New Year's Day of 148 or 149. Datings before Champlin and Cortassa are unreliable.

77,22 *annum novum faustum*: Plin. Nat. 28,22 *primum anni incipientis diem laetis precationibus invicem faustum ominamur*; Sen. Epist. 87,3 *annum novum . . . faustum et felicem reddo bonis cogitationibus*. Fronto cannot attend the New Year's reception: see at 75,6 and 3,25.

Ad with *prosper*: cp. Liv. 25,27,4 *satis prosperos ventos ad traiciendum in Siciliam habuit*. See at 134,8f.

77,23 *cum . . . tum*: see at 55,21f.

77,24 *metui* with infinitive: see at 2,3.

77,25 *turbae et inpressioni* ('crush'): a hendiadys. On a reception, Iuv. 3,244f. *magno populus premit agmine lumbos qui sequitur*.

77,25–26 *perendie . . . videbo*: on 1 January sacrifices were offered and vows made for the welfare of the state, an old republican custom (Liv. 21,63,7; Ovid. Fast. 1,71ff.) which lived on during the empire (Tac. Ann. 4,70,1; 16,22,1). It was perhaps under Augustus that it became customary to take vows on 3 January *pro salute principis*: Tac. Ann. 4,17,1 *pontifices eorumque exemplo sacerdotes, cum pro incolumitate principis vota susciperent*; Gaius, Dig. 50,16,233,1 *post kalendas Ianuarias die tertio pro salute principis vota suscipiuntur*; Plut. Cic. 2,1 ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ τῶν νέων καλανδῶν, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες εὔχονται καὶ θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. Cass. Dio 59,24,6 τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἐχούσῃ συνῆλθον. The passage in Fronto shows that the emperor led in prayer and that this ceremony was less crowded than the reception on New Year's Day (78,5f.). See J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung VI², Leipzig 1885, 266; Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 811.

77,27 *dominam*: this is one of the last letters mentioning Domitia Lucilla.

78,1 Chronology: see at 77,21.

78,2 *et*: the answer, by return of post, imitates a dialogue, cp. e.g. Plaut. Curc. 687 *te volo::et ego te volo*.

78,3 *ad usum . . . devertant*: 'turn to your advantage' (Haines). *Devertere* in the sense of transitive *vertere* is very unusual; Plautus and Terence have *di bene vortant*; Verg. Aen. 2,191 *di . . . omen in ipsum convertant*.

78,4 *bene . . . velis*: *bene optare* is stronger than *bene velle* and is found only in Sen. Epist. 94,53, whereas *bene velle alicui* occurs in Plautus, Ennius, Terence, Lucilius, Catullus and then here and 216,14 *bene velle ac bene precari*.

Scio as 76,9.

Te with emphasis.

78,5 *a*: *cavere* with nude ablative 249,17M.

Consuluisti: 'hai avuto riguardo a' (Portalupi), not 'you have consulted' (Haines).

Idem: the same happening.

78,6 *functa est*: *fungi* with a thing as subject also e.g. Ovid. Met. 2,480 *manus . . . officio pedum fungi*, and Fronto 170,13.

78,7 *nescio an*: see at 111,17.

Dominam: Domitia Lucilla.

Cratia is, of course, Fronto's wife, not his daughter, as Pepe thinks. See at 113,4 and 235,11.

78,9 Chronology of V 47 and the answer V 48: these letters were written before 156: Domitia Lucilla is still alive (78,14 and 78,25; see at 82,7). *Matronam* (78,26; see at 64,21) is apparently the only daughter Marcus has at this time; it is the little Faustina, who was born on 30 November 147. The next daughter was Lucilla (born on 7 March 149), so these letters were written in 148 or 149. Fronto's daughter Cratia was born c. 142, see at 61,5. The year of Fronto's birth is unknown: sometime between 90 and 100, see Champlin, Fronto 137f.; his birthday probably was in October, see at 86,8. This means that Fronto is now in his early fifties (see at 81,20 and 87,12). Older datings of these letters can be omitted, as they are not correct. Portalupi dates them 148–149; Cortassa 146/7–161; Champlin c. October 148.

78,11 *sollemnis*: 'yearly' (Haines).

78,12 *firmitas*: a few years back (2,2) Marcus felt a lack of spontaneity in his love for Fronto. See at 111,17. *Aetas*: 'la durata' (Portalupi).

78,16 *rescriptum*: see at 165,1.

78,17 *quaecumque... omnia* is abundant.

78,18 *ibi... cum*: 'there... when', almost identical with *tum... cum.*

78,19–20 *tam*: in later Latin, *tam* with adjective or adverb sometimes has the meaning of a superlative, see Hofmann-Szantyr 592. So *tam valide* 192,10. See at 135,13–15.

78,20 *bonus ac benignus*: see at 21,2. Verus is here eighteen or nineteen years old. Marcus' leniency towards him must date from this period. See at 92,8f.

78,21 *cum* is almost 'in spite of' (Haines), as e.g. Tac. Hist. 1,16,3 *cum invidia quamvis egregii erimus*; Apul. Apol. 100,7 *te cum tuo luctu at maerore deseruit.* See at 199,12f.

Hac referring to the first person also 86,13M; 86,26; 165,4P; 235,7; and so 153,5 *hanc magistrorum manum*: 'to which I belong'.

Cupientem: participles with genitive often since Plautus and Ennius.

Absque te, 'apart from you' (Haines), is archaic and colloquial. Plautus and Terence use *absque* only with pronouns, e.g. Plaut. Bacch. 412 *absque te esset, ego illum haberem*, 'were it without you' (hardly a conjunction, as Lommatzsch, TLL s.v., and Hofmann-Szantyr 258 assume). See also 261,16. Since Ps. Sall. In Tull. 3 (or perhaps since Cic. Att. 1,19,1) it is used with substantives: 'without'. See Ed. Wölfflin, Rhein. Mus. 37, 1882, 97, and Archiv 7, 1892, 476; J. Praun, Absque, Archiv 6, 1889, 199.

78,21–22 *satis superque*: this alliteration is frequent since Plautus; with genitive also Cic. Lael. 45.

78,22 *aegritudinem*: in old and classical Latin, this word is used for psychic afflictions (so 72,14M); since Mela and Pliny the Elder also for bodily defects. Hence Augustin. Civ. 14,7 p. 16 D. *de tristitia..., quam Cicero magis aegritudinem appellat,... aegritudo vel dolor usitatius in corporibus dicitur.* 184,12 it means 'misery'. Cic. Marc. 25 *satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae*, and Fronto 87,12 *sat vitae est.*

78,24–25 *suavis... saviata*: two cognate words, a pun with alliteration. Plautus has formed the word *suavisaviatio* (Bacch. 116; 120; Pseud. 65); Apul. Met. 6,8,3 *savia suavia.* For *saviatus* see at 8,19.

78,25 *dominam*: Domitia Lucilla, see at 78,14.

Fer osculum: osculum ferre only occurs in Plaut. Amph. 716; *ferre amplexum* Liv. 2,40,5.

78,26 *matronae*: the little Faustina, not Marcus' wife, as V. Bulhart, TLL s.v., assumes.

79,1 Chronology of V 49 and the answer V 50: V 49–52 are letters of recommendation, just as the first ten letters of Ad amicos I. Here there are at least two *parvolae* (79,12), so these letters must have been written after the birth of Marcus' second daughter Lucilla (7 March 149). As the daughters Domitia Faustina and Fadilla were born in the late fifties, the eldest daughter, Faustina, was not *parvola* at that time; thus we must assume that only Faustina and Lucilla are meant, not Fadilla as well, as A. Stein, PIR I[2] no. 697, thinks. The *parvolae* send their love to Fronto, which means that they are not in the cradle any more; therefore I date the letters 153–156: in 153 the youngest daughter is four years old, and in 156 the oldest is nine. There are no greetings to or from Marcus' mother Domitia Lucilla, who died c. 156, but this does not necessarily mean that the letters were written after her death. Champlin and Cortassa date them between 7 March 149 and 161. Earlier datings are of no consequence where Marcus' children are concerned.

79,2 *Q. Saenius Pompeianus* was farmer of indirect taxes in Africa. We have his epitaph CIL VI 8588 = Dessau 1463: *conductor IIII publicorum* (sc. *vectigalium*) *Africae*, where *quattuor* refers either to four districts or to four kinds of taxes. His bookkeeping was examined in Rome by the imperial procurator a rationibus. Pius was very strict in these matters: Vita Pii 6,1 *procuratores suos et modeste suscipere tributa iussit et excedentes modum rationem factorum suorum reddere praecepit*; 7,8 *rationes omnium provinciarum adprime scivit et vectigalium*; Medit. 1,16 Marcus praises Pius' ταμιευτικὸν τῆς χορηγίας ('l'oculata amministrazione delle finanze pubbliche' [Cortassa]). See also at 162,10. Whether this examination of the books took place regularly is not known. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 1[2] 978; II[3] 1019; J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung II 269ff.; Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian, Berlin [3]1963, 78; 84, 90f.; Memelsdorff, De archivis 25; Rostowtzew, Geschichte der Staatspacht 402; de Laet, Portorium 247ff.; 262 n. 6; 391 n. 5; 402; Fr. Vittinghoff, Portorium, RE XXII 1 (1953); A.K. Bowman, Phoenix 36, 1982, 280; H. Volkmann, Portorium, Kleine Pauly (1971).

Letters of recommendation often begin with the name of the person recommended: this attracts the reader's attention, especially when he finds a pile of letters on his desk. So often Cic. Fam. 13 and Plin. Epist. 4,4; 10,85–87 and Fronto 79,25; 199,2 and the letters Ad amicos I 2–10. See Kelly, Roman Litigation 60, and Cugusi, Evoluzione 113.

79,3 *plurimis causis*: this abl. instrumentalis seems to mean 'business matters' rather than 'from many causes' (Haines). It is not far-fetched to assume that Fronto owned properties in his native country Numidia and that he had entered into relations with Saenius. This is confirmed by *nostram*: Fronto and his brother Q. Cornelius Quadratus.

79,4 *patre*: Marcus had much influence over Pius: Vita Marci 6,7.

79,8 *rescriptum*: see at 165,1.

79,10 *promeruit*: see Index Latinitatis s.v. The emperor had vast domains in Africa, see Hirschfeld o.c. 125ff.

Ex indulgentia principis became a set phrase at this time: Gaius, Dig. 24,1,42; Hermog. Dig. 27,1,41 pr.; Men. Dig. 49,16,5,4; CIL VIII 51. According to Cass. Dio 70,2,1; Vita Pii 2,7; Vita Avid. Cass. 11,6; Vita Hel. 7,10; Eutrop. 8,8,3; Pausan. 8,43,5, it was his indulgence and religiosity that gave Antoninus the surname Pius.

Obsecundare: see at 42,12.

79,11 *ex sententia*: 'to your liking', 'favourably', as Turpil Com. 137; Val. Ant. Hist. 59; Cic. De orat. 1,123. See at 76,14.

Gaudia: see at 32,9f.

79,14 Chronology: this letter was written shortly before Fronto had to give up a proconsulship of Asia: 157–158; see at 166,19.

79,15 *provincia*: Asia.

Themistocles: unknown.

79,16 *Apollonius* of Chalcedon was Marcus' and Verus' teacher of Stoic philosophy; see 266,20 and Vita Marci 2,7; 3,1; Vita Pii 10,4; Vita Veri 2,5. Marcus had a high opinion of him: Medit. 1,8; 1,17,4. It is not improbable that his lessons started in 146 or shortly after; see at 67,16 and A. Stein, Apollonios 929, PIR I^2 (1933).

Dicat: see at 57,20.

Eum sese: 'that he is the very man', with ellipsis of *esse*, see at 61,12f. Klussmann's *eumpse* is unlikely: Fronto does not use the suffix *-pse* or *-pte*.

79,17 *filium Apollonium*: unknown.

79,18 *demonstratus*: 'recommended' rather than 'presentato' (Portalupi), as 170,6 and 189,2; cp. Plin. Epist. 3,3,5 *videor ergo demonstrare tibi posse Iulium*.

Velim with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Restrictive *quod possis*: 'as much as you can', with colloquial ellipsis of *facere*. 80,2M *quod poteris*; 178,15 *quod possum*. Cp. Ter. Haut. 416 *quod potero adiutabo senem*; with gen. partitivus Cato, Agr. 33,1 *quod eius poteris*; Liv. 39,45,7 *quod eius sine bello posset*. See at 61,12f. and at 49,2; 91,9; and Index Latinitatis s.v. quod.

Bene facias: 'befriend him' (Haines).

79,19 *ius et aequom*, 'law and equity', is a frequent combination (not borrowed from Ennius, as Schwierczina, Frontoniana 21, thinks): Enn. Trag. 135 and 161 Klotz; Ter. Haut. 642 *neque bonum atque aequom*; Cic. Caecin. 80 *ius et aequi et boni rationem*.

Paratissimum: 'fully at hand'.

79,21 *propria*, 'personal', belongs to *fides*, not to *quaeque*, as Haines and Portalupi think.

Fides ac religio, 'your honesty and conscience', a frequent combination, especially in Cicero: Verr. 2,78; 2,175; Caecin. 103; Cluent. 129; Deiot. 16; Q. Rosc. 7; Papin. Dig. 22,5,13. Accompanied with other substantives Cic. Verr. 4,144; Mur. 10.

Peto with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

79,24 Chronology: 'Αρίδηλος was apparently a Greek slave, the paedagogus of little Fronto, one of his *eductores* (178,22). *A pueritia* is not 'since I

was a boy' (Haines), but 'since he was a boy' (so Della Corte). *A studio perdicum* (see 178,20) points to an age of five to ten. If Fronto was born c. 95 (see at 25,3), Aridelus became his mentor c. 100–105, when he himself was still a puer, say fifteen years old. So Aridelus was born c. 85–90. This means that it must be an early letter: in 140 Aridelus was in his fifties, an age which gave him a last opportunity to become a procurator (compare the case of Appianus 168,7ff.). Therefore I date this letter 139–145. At any rate, the letter was written before Domitia Lucilla's death c. 156: *dominam saluta* 80,4; see at 82,7. A good paedagogus could count on his pupil to help him in later years: Cic. Lael. 74. It is not clear how Fronto's paedagogus became *libertus vester* (of the imperial house, as 116,15). Naber dates the letter 144; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 153–154; Champlin 139–161.

79,25 *iste* and the present *reddit* indicate the person who delivers a letter himself: Plaut. Persa 510 and 520 *isti... qui tibi tabellas adfert*; Cic. Att. 2,11,1 *isti puero*; or the person recommended 111,14. On this way of delivering letters see Cugusi, L'epistolografia 408.

Curavit: 'has taken care of'; cp. Plaut. Cas. 44 *orat ut eam (puellam) curet, educet*; Varro, Men. 142 *cum... in schola curarer*.

79,26 *perdicum*: see at 178,20 and W. Richter, Steinhuhn, Kleine Pauly, (1974).

Procuravit: unlike former editors, Champlin, Fronto 170 n. 50, has rightly seen that we should keep *procuravit* as a wordplay: 'he has cared for you well in the past, now he wishes to be an actual "caretaker"'; it is not 'die Beförderung von einer Prokuratur zur andern' (Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 53). *Procurare* with dative also Plaut. Stich. 94; Senatus consultum ap. Gell. 4,6,2; Arnob. 3,23. For *curare* with dative see at 232,8.

80,1 *ex forma*, 'according to the rules', a legal term found for the first time in a letter of Hadrian CIL III 411,14, then in Gaius, Inst. 1,160; Ulp. Dig. 50,7,3; Call. Dig. 42,1,31; and in other legal texts; also in Gell. 13,15,1 and several times in Tertullian. See at 10,20. Older and more frequent is *ex formula*; see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 1², Leipzig 1877, 896 n. 1: 'nach dem für das Avancement der Beamten festgestellten Schema'; Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten³ 431; J. van der Vliet, Archiv 10, 1898, 387; L. Faletti, Note sur l'emploi du terme forma dans les textes juridiques, Mélanges Fournie 219ff.; H. Devijver, Hermeneus 55, 1984, 208. Champlin, Fronto 102, wrongly questions the reading *ex forma* and its meaning. We know nothing about the rules of promotion for the liberti who worked in the imperial service, but since Hadrian their promotion was probably bound by strict rules, like that of the equites; Sen. Epist. 101,6 speaks in general of *procurationes officiorumque per officia processus*.

Suo loco ac iusto tempore confirms our interpretation: 'in view of the rank (he holds now) and the requisite seniority'. Note the wordplay with *forma* in the next line and the allusion to the meaning of the name Aridelus; see at 176,18. On *iusto tempore* see at 110,6.

80,2 *quod poteris*: see at 79,18.

Cognosces = *recognosces*.

80,3 *fuerit*: see at 11,24.

80,4 *dominam*: Domitia Lucilla.

80,5 Chronology of V 53 and the answer V 54: Pius and the young Verus (born December 130) have each delivered a speech in the senate. All scholars agree that these speeches were probably held when Verus became quaestor (153) or consul (154). See at 267,8. Only Naber thinks that it was the speech Verus held when he assumed the toga virilis; however, that happened in 136, before the beginning of our correspondence. Marcus' mother is still alive; she died c. 156, see at 82,7.

80,6 *facti virtus*: 'the quality of the act', an expression found nowhere else. This is the only passage in our correspondence where a speech by Pius is mentioned. See at 123,1–10.

80,7–8 *dicta . . . facta*: there is a proverb *dictum ac factum*, e.g. Ter. Andr. 381; cp. Cic. Tusc. 5,47 *orationi autem facta similia*; Liv. 6,14,2 *non . . . orationes modo . . ., sed facta*. See at 162,1 and 216,13 (marg. f).

80,8 *fratris*: on Verus' eloquence, Vita Veri 2,7–8 *amavit autem in pueritia versus facere, post orationes. et melior quidem orator fuisse dicitur quam poeta, immo, ut verius dicam, peior poeta quam rhetor, nec desunt qui dicant eum adiutum ingenio amicorum atque ab aliis ei illa ipsa, qualiacumque sunt, scripta*. See at 118,12; 132,7; 159,12.

Delectavit: see at 144,14.

Ornata et cordata: paronomasia or wordplay: 'polished and politic' (Haines). *Cordatus* is nowhere else used of a speech.

80,9 *certum habeo*: both Fronto and Marcus (80,15) always do their best not to notice Verus' poor qualities, see at 92,8f. and 103,8f.

80,10 *rescriptum*: see at 165,1.

80,12 *fuerat* = *erat*, see at 37,11.

Vespera: see at 52,7.

80,13 *die crastino*: see at 24,19–21.

Parem: cp. Cic. Orat. 123 *rebus ipsis par et aequalis oratio*.

80,14 *mihi*: 'in my opinion' (Haines). It is not to be connected with *gratiarum actio*, as Mommsen, Chronologie 213, supposes.

80,15 *meditandum*: see at 151,24.

80,16 *vale mi*: see Proleg. LXXVIII and at 2,13.

80,17 Chronology of V 55 and the answer V 56: Naber dates these letters 142; Hauler in his inedita 147; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 154–156; Portalupi 154–155; Cortassa 146/7–161. The only indication we have is Domitia Lucilla (81,8 and 81,15), who died c. 156, see at 82,7. So, with Champlin, we must date the letters 139–156. Birley, Mark Aurel 198, thinks that possibly Fronto's illness is the same that caused him to give up his proconsulate in 157–158, see at 166,19. Marcus is not in Rome: 81,4.

80,18–19 This passage has raised some difficulties: Fronto seems to describe symptoms of cholera, whereas actually he is speaking of an outbreak of three different illnesses: first he had gastro-enteritis, then a heart attack and in addition to that a stroke. We should certainly keep *tum* and not regard the consecutive *ut* as a consequence of cholera: cholera is only the disorganization of the humour supply (χολαί) of the human body. Cels.

4,18,1 describes the symptoms: *facienda mentio est cholerae, quia commune id stomachi atque intestinorum vitium videri potest; nam simul et deiectio* (diarrhoea) *et vomitus est; praeterque haec inflatio est, intestina torquentur, bilis supra infraque erumpit, primum aquae similis, deinde ut in ea recens caro lota esse videatur, interdum alba, nonnumquam nigra vel varia. ergo eo nomine morbum hunc χολέραν Graeci nominarunt.* The consequence of this cholera is *ut vocem amitterem, singultirem.* 'Next (*tum*) I was oppressed by tightness of the chest' ('I struggled for breath' [Haines]), moreover (*postremo*) my pulse was giving way' ('my circulation failed' [Haines]; cp. Ovid. Pont. 1,6,36 *vena deficiente*). This last symptom Fronto sees as a separate illness (stroke?), though it may have been caused by the heart attack. See at 167,14.

Angerer: we could justify keeping *agerer*, 'to be vexed', by referring to the poetical use of this verb in Ovid. Amor. 3,4,34 *hic metus externae corpora gentis agat*; Val. Flacc. 5,15 *(Tiphyn) agit violenta lues*; 7,143 *turbat agitque sopor (Medeam)*; in late prose, Augustin. Civ. 14,26 p. 54,6 D. *corporis partes non ageret turbidus calor*; Vindic. Epist. Pent. 1 *diversis morborum aguntur incommodis.* But *angere*, 'to choke', 'to stifle', seems more appropriate. So with *guttur* Verg. Aen. 8,260; Ovid. Met. 9,78; Sil. 13,584; with *fauces* Verg. Georg. 3,497; Plin. Nat. 8,100 the substantive *angor*; Apul. Apol. 50,5 epilepsy *strangulatione modice angit*; Paul. Fest. 8,3 associates *angor* with angina pectoris.

80,19–20 *venae deficerent*: a medical term: Cael. Aurel. Acut. 3,2,8 *pulsus defectio quam Graeci ἀσφογμίαν vocant.*

Pulsus venarum is a common term in medical texts.

80,20 *animo male fierit*: 'I felt rotten' rather than 'I became unconscious' (Haines). It is a colloquial expression: Plaut. Mil. 1331; Rud. 510, but also Lucr. 3,597. Cp. *animo male est* Plaut. Curc. 312; Ter. Ad. 655. The opposite in Cic. Tusc. 1,86 *Pompeio* . . ., *cum* . . . *aegrotaret* . . ., *melius est factum*; Epist. Alex. 64 *postquam ex vulneribus melius factum est*; Plaut. Cist. 73 *bono animo es: erit isti morbo melius.* See at 74,17.

Conclamatus sum: 'I was lamented for being dead', as e.g. Liv. 4,40,3; Apul. Met. 1,6,2 *domi tuae iam defletus et conclamatus es*; 2,27,2.

80,21 *balneo aut frigida*: 'a warm bath or cold water' (Haines); see at 82,9. *Frigida* with the ellipsis of *aqua* is colloquial since Plautus.

80,22 *fovendi*: see at 1,16.

Tempus aut occasio is a set phrase, often in Plautus and also in Caes. Civ. 2,14,1; Cic. Flacc. 85.

Nisi adversativum: 'only'. It seems to be colloquial, occurring chiefly in Plautus, Terence and in Cicero's letters. See Kühner II 415; Hofmann-Szantyr 668. See at 2,6f.

Vesperam: see at 29,1.

Micularum: 'crumbs of bread'. Before Fronto the word occurs only in Cels. 2,5,3.

81,1 *cum vino destillatum*: 'sprinkled with wine' rather than 'soaked in wine' (Haines). Transitive *destillare* usually means 'to pour drop by drop', see 194,14; only here and Paul. Nol. Epist. 19,3 it means 'to sprinkle with'. The same meaning—though metaphorical—this word seems to have 125,11 *destillata responsa*, 'answers given point by point'. In colloquial Latin the

preposition *cum* is sometimes used instead of the abl. instrumentalis, but here an accompanying element is still perceptible: 'I swallowed a little bit of bread with some drops of wine on it'. See Hofmann-Szantyr 259.

81,2 *reciperavi: recipero* often in MSS and inscriptions, also 64,8M; *recupero* 124,4 (marg. c); 184,14.

81,3 *commodissime valeo*: see at 76,7f.

Clarius clamito; the alliteration does not imply that this is a quotation from some ancient source, as Ehrenthal 38 thinks. Cp. Plaut. Poen. 1146 *clarus clamor* and Amph. 1120 *voce clara exclamat.*

81,4 *vehiculo vectari*: etymological figure.

Destino: see at 54,18.

Silicem: metonymy for 'the flint paving' (Haines). For the singular cp. Liv. 38,28,3 *viam silice sternendam.*

Toleravero: see at 1,10f.

81,5 *quantum pote*: see at 1,6.

Vixero . . . videro: paronomasia. See at 1,10f.

81,7 *desiderantissime*: see at 13,12f.

81,9 Chronology: see at 80,17.

81,10 *post tempus*: 'after such a long time', as *ad (in) tempus*: 'for a short time'.

Censes: brachylogy, sc. *me cupere.*

81,11 *suffugisse* with accusative, also Lucr. 4,360; 5,150; Suet. Tib. 27.

Ago gratias with acc. cum inf. is rare: Ter. Phorm. 596; Tac. Hist. 4,64,1. So *gratias habere* with acc. cum inf. Ter. Andr. 42.

81,16 Chronology of V 57 and the answer V 58: Marcus has at least two daughters (*matronae* 81,27), so these letters must have been written after 7 March 149, Lucilla's birth date. The girls are still very young: *cum plantis illis et manibus* (81,28). Marcus had no other daughters until the late fifties, and at that time Fronto could hardly kiss the feet of the eldest daughter Faustina, who was then about ten years old. On 7 March 151 Lucilla became two, Faustina being three and a half. Therefore these letters refer either to the second birthday of Faustina (30 November 149), or to the first birthday of Lucilla (7 March 150), or to the third birthday of Faustina (30 November 150), or to the second birthday of Lucilla (7 March 151), or to the third birthday of Lucilla (7 March 152), which means that these letters were written between 30 November 149 and 7 March 152. Faustina (81,26) is Marcus' wife, not his daughter, as Hanslik, Anordnung, supposes (see at 81,26); *appella* (81,26) means the same as *saluta*; so, too, 115,13. Hanslik thinks that the third daughter, Domitia Faustina, was born in the early 150s and that the *matronae* are Lucilla and Fadilla (born 159?), but Lucilla would then have been about ten years old, which does not tally with *exosculare cum plantis illis et manibus.* He dates the letters 151–153. Cortassa dates them 154–161, thinking, like Hanslik, that Faustina 81,26 is Marcus' daughter and the *matronae* are Lucilla and Fadilla, and that Fadilla was born c. 154. Haines, Chronology, also sees Lucilla and Fadilla as the *matronae*; in his edition he only notes that Faustina is Marcus' wife, dating the letters 154–156. Champlin dates them between 7 March 149 and 156,

the year of Domitia Lucilla's death (see *dominam* 81,28 and *mater* 82,6). Grimal, Marc Aurèle 292, dates them c. 155. See at 82,7.

81,18 *parentibus*: see at 1,7f.

Gratus . . . probatus: the usual combinations are *gratus—aceptus* and *acceptus—probatus*. Therefore we had better change the first *probatus* of the MS. Studemund, Hauler and Haines follow Cornelissen; Klussmann follows Cassan. On the datives *populo* and *amicis* see at 47,1.

81,19 *loco*: 'posizione' (Portalupi).

Redemisse: inf. perf. instead of present, see at 75,3f.; cp. Iust. 5,4,15 *posuisse cupiunt*. 'Gladly would I give my whole life' (Haines; abl. pretii).

81,20 *superest*: Fronto is now nearing sixty; see at 78,9.

Vixi: the etymological figure *vitam vivere* is very frequent, see Landgraf, De figuris etymologicis 22 and 67.

81,20–21 *in integrum redigi*: literally 'to bring back to its original and good condition'. The expression does not occur elsewhere. Usual is *in integrum restituere, reddere.*

81,21–22 *in solutum dependi*: 'be expended as the (re)payment (of a debt)' (Haines), a legal term, cp. Iulian. Dig. 12,1,19,1 *si eandem pecuniam is, qui in creditum vel in solutum acceperat, alii porro in creditum vel in solutum dederit. In solutum dare* also Ulp. Dig. 4,4,40,1; 46,3,45 pr.; Paul Dig. 41,3,4,17; *in solutum accipere* Sen. Benef. 2,26,2; 7,16; *inputare in solutum* Sen. Epist. 8,10. For *dependere vitam* cp. Sen. Epist. 76,28 *animam*; Lucan. 8,101 *caput*. The substantive *solutum* stands for *solutio* (cp. *promissum, optatum*), see Hofmann-Szantyr 156f.; 393. Mai, Naber and A. Gudeman, TLL s.v. dependo, read the impossible *insolutum*; it was corrected by R. Ellis, Journ. of Philol. 1, 1868, 18.

Potest for *posset*, as 261,10 *potuit* for *potuisset*; see Kühner I 172; Hofmann-Szantyr 327f.; and at 162,12.

Cumprimis: see at 67,6.

81,23 *pedibus*: because of his gout.

Scilicet: 'of course'.

Quando with causal meaning: 'since' (Haines), not 'se' (Portalupi); see at 6,8.

81,24 *procedunt*: wordplay with *concedendum* and the double meaning of *procedunt*. A similar pun with the compounds of *cedere* Cic. Rosc. Am. 73.

Aquarum: see at 2,9.

81,24–25 *si . . . notum*: a much used phrase in epistolography; see the examples given by Cugusi, Evoluzione 76.

81,26 *meis verbeis appella*: 'rivolgi i miei omaggi' (Portalupi), not 'give a message from me' (Haines). It is clear that Marcus' wife is meant. Lehnert, TLL s.v. appello, combines 81,26 with 48,14 under the chapter 'adloquor', 'adfor', but Plaut. Amph. 712 and Cic. Phil. 13,4 show that it is sometimes the same as *salutare*; so 115,13. 208,10 *appellare* means 'to address'. *Meis verbeis*: 'in my name', 'from me', e.g. Plaut. Bacch. 731 *quid scribam? salutem tuo patri verbis tuis*; Mil. 913 *quem (anulum) ego militi . . . darem tuis verbis*; Cic. Att. 5,11,7 *velim Philiam meis verbis consolere*; 16,11,8 *meis verbis savium des*; Fam. 15,8 *si uxori tuae . . . meis verbis eris gratulatus*. It is the same as *meo nomine*, see Tyrrell & Purser at Cic. Att. 5,11,7.

81,27 *matronas*: see at 64,21; 78,26.

Nostras: see at 90,2.
Soleo: see 67,13.
81,28 *dominam*: Domitia Lucilla.
82,1 Chronology: see at 81,16.
82,2 *esto . . . sit*: see at 107,5–8.
82,3 *difficulter*: see at 112,15.
82,5 *si dei volent*: see Index Sacral Formulas and Cugusi, Evoluzione 82.
82,7 Chronology of V 59 and the answer V 60: it is generally accepted that V 60 is the answer to V 59, but there is a problem: 82,9f. seems to speak of an ulcerating knee, whereas 82,18 speaks of a pain in the knee and in the groin. Haines tried to solve the problem by translating the latter passage by 'the pain in the knee and the swelling', and Champlin by stating that V 60 is not the answer to V 59. The solution is that *inguem* 82,10 does not mean 'groin' but 'swelling' and that Marcus 82,18 failed to see this, as Naber, Prol. XXIII, has pointed out. The only clue we have for dating V 59 is *dominam saluta*: Domitia Lucilla died c. 156. So we should not date it with Champlin 139–161. As to V 60, we have two data: Domitia Lucilla still being alive (82,21) and the *partus Faustinae*. However, it is not clear which child she is expecting: her eldest, Faustina, was born on 30 November 147, her second, Lucilla, on 7 March 149; in the 150s she had three sons and two daughters. Birley, Mark Aurel 191, supposes that we have to do here with the *filia* of 83,22, but this does not help; so we must date the letters November 147–156 (c. 156 Domitia Lucilla died). She is mentioned in our letters of 139 onwards (40,9; 42,23; 44,19; 51,26). The last letter mentioning her name is 81,28, written between 30 November 149 and 7 March 152, see at 81,16. In 82,18 she cannot manage for herself, or whatever *infirmitas* means. So it seems that V 59–60 were written not much later than 151: from Medit. 1,17,5 we may conclude that her *infirmitas* prevented her from keeping in touch with the outside world: τὸ μέλλουσαν νέαν τελευτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὅμως οἰκῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη. We know that in 155 she was still alive (CIL XV 1090, see Birley o.c. 192). If our interpretation of Medit. 1,17,5 is correct, τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη could be 153–156, which means that V 59–60 were written between November 147 and c. 153. If Domitia Lucilla was fifteen years old when she gave birth to her first child Marcus (26 April 121), she must have been born c. 106. Thus the νέαν τελευτᾶν becomes clear: she died at the age of about fifty. Leschi, Domitia Lucilla 81ff., assumes that she was born towards 105 and died towards 155; Portalupi[1] 220 n. 98 dates her death towards 156; Portalupi[2] 240 n. 102 follows C. Kappelmacher, RE Domitius no. 105, dating it towards 155; Marie-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, Prosopographie I 290f., before 161. (The Lucilla in Marcus' Medit. 8,25 is not Domitia Lucilla, as stated by Cortassa.) Naber and Watson, Marcus Aurelius 36, date the letters 140 (Watson repudiates the historical order of Vita Marci 6,4–6); Brakman 147; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 154–156 (according to him, the expected child may have been Domitia Faustina); Champlin between April 145 (Marcus' marriage!) and 156; Cortassa November 147–161.

82,8 *balneis*: according to Varro, L.L. 9,68, and Charis. Gramm. I 99,3, *balneae* are public baths and *balneum* is a private bath. This corresponds approximately to Fronto's (and other writers') usage: Fronto has *balneae* for baths in general and public baths 58,7; 155,2; 227,18; 228,20. The singular *balneum* is used for a private bath or bathroom 1,16; 34,13M; 63,4M; 74,18; 80,21; 84,9; 93,23; 137,8; 187,7; and it indicates the caldarium and the tepidarium. Here *balneae* are the two bathrooms with hot and tepid water and air.

Sellula: 'sedan chair' (Haines), as in Tac. Hist. 3,84,4.

Ut adsolent seems to indicate that it was not done owing to Fronto's gout or any other illness. Fronto is here between fifty and sixty years old. In Petron. 28,4, Trimalchio returns from his bath *lecticae impositus*.

Advehunt: this verb is quite common since Liv. 27,28,13.

82,9 *ostium balnei*: the translation 'the scorching entrance to the bath' (Haines) is hardly satisfactory: in a bathroom the temperature may rise considerably, but a hot door seems very unlikely. *Ostium balnei* is the oven mouth of the bath, of the praefurnium. See Blümner, Die römischen Privataltertümer 428 and 431 n. 4; Mau, Fornax, RE VII (1910); W.H. Gross, Praefurnium, Kleine Pauly (1971). The incident related here may have decided Fronto to build a new bathroom whose entrance was less close to the fornax; see at 260,1–5 and 263,37.

Genum: upon first consideration it seems that this is a dittography and that we should read *genu*, but the note in the margin proves that *genum* was also found in other MSS of Fronto (see Proleg. XXXVIIf.). The nominative *genum* is not found elsewhere, the accusative *genum* is sometimes found as a varia lectio, see TLL s.v. The fourth declination tends to change into the second: we have *gelum* instead of *gelu*, cp. Priscian. Gramm. II 210,16 *antiquissimi inveniuntur in -um quoque proferentes*, and Venant. Fort. Spur. 1,62 seems to have the ablative *geno*. No one has ventured to alter the MS reading here, particularly because the next line has *inguem*. See Rönsch, Itala 260ff.; Neue-Wagener I^3 244; and Haines, who read *inguen*, though there are indications that the vulgar tongue may have used *inguem*, especially when it means 'swelling': *inguem* is found in the Glossaria, and Afran. Com. 218 (Non. 149,22) the MSS have *inquem*; Lucil. 1195 one MS has *inguem*. Substantives ending in *-em* may seem to be non-existent, but we find *sanguem* for *sanguis* and an accusative *inguinem*; see G. Landgraf, Die Accusativform inguinem bei Ennius, Archiv 9, 1898, 446; W. Heraeus, Archiv 12, 1902, 87. Here *inguem* does not mean 'groin' but 'swelling' (Haines), not 'un gonfiore all'inguine', as Portalupi has in her first edition (in the second edition she omits 'all'inguine'), and *inguen ex ulcere exsistit* is a medical expression: Lucil. 1195 *inguen ne existat*; Seren. Samm. 686 *sin autem existet duratis glandibus inguen*; cp. Cels. 2,7,10 *si mulieri inguen et febricula orta est, . . . ulcus in vulva est*; Plin. Nat. 23,163 *inguen* (*inguem* varia lectio) *si intumescat ex ulcere.* Cicero uses it metaphorically: De domo 12 *si utrumque fuit ut et fames stimularet homines et tu in hoc ulcere tamquam inguen existeres, nonne fuit eo maior adhibenda medicina, quae et illud nativum et hoc oblatum malum sanare posset?*

Remarkably enough, both in Cicero and in Fronto (74,20; 74,23M; 83,16; 104,6; see at 82,7) *inguen* is always 'groin'; only in De domo and here in Fronto it means 'swelling'. See Neue-Wagener I[3] 243.

Visum . . . *ut* occurs since Ter. Phorm. 619; Cicero uses *ut* only after *ita visum est.* See Kühner II 223; Hofmann-Szantyr 646.

82,11 *patri*: apparently Fronto is unable to attend a reception; see at 3,25f. and 75,6.

Lectulo: see at 51,19.

82,12 *indicabis*: futurum pro imperativo, see at 19,7.

Si tamen: 'but only if' (Haines). 'provided that', as 137,4 and 202,14. It occurs since Bell. Alex. 63,5 and Ovid. Met. 10,323. See Kühner II 429; Hofmann-Szantyr 673.

Etiam: 'besides'. *Etiam* repeated also 174,8.

Adsistendum: this technical term occurs only in later Latin: Tac. Dial. 39,3; Plin. Epist. 7,6,3; 10,81,1; Ulp. Dig. 6,1,54; 26,7,25 etc.

82,14 *C. Aufidius Victorinus* (see at 176,5) is here about thirty years old and not yet married to Fronto's daughter Cratia (see at 61,5). He belonged to Fronto's contubernium (see at 172,5) and Fronto helped him to prepare his speech in court.

For *noster* see at 90,2.

Aget: 'will do the pleading' (Haines). *Agere* absolutely used also 36,7; 38,9; 39,9; 39,14; 76,22; 185,17; 185,22; 231,8.

82,15 *dominam*: Domitia Lucilla.

82,16 Chronology: see at 82,7.

82,17 *opto* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

82,19 *adpropinquatio* occurs only here and Cic. Cato 66.

82,20 *confidere dis*: Medit. 6,23 ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλοῦ. 6,30 αἰδοῦ θεούς. See at 43,2.

82,22 Chronology: Naber dates this letter 140; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 154–156; Champlin 139–161. Because *dominam saluta* refers to Domitia Lucilla, we must date the letter 139–156.

82,23 *dies*: for the gender of *dies* see at 24,19–21.

Proficisci: to one of his villas.

82,24 *recte fore* is often found since Plautus and Ennius. In a different sense 52,9f.

82,26 *genum*: see at 72,7.

83,1 Chronology: Naber dates this letter 140; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 154–156; Champlin 139–161; Cortassa 146/7–161; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 288, c. 155. Champlin is right: the letter is undatable and we should not jump to the conclusion that it is the answer to the preceding one: 82,23 we have *genus dolorem*, here rheumatism in the fingers. The fact that Marcus does not send his mother's regards does not necessarily point to a date after 156. Cp. at 82,7. If we compare other passages in which Pius and Marcus participate in the vintage (29,12 in 141; 62,17 in 141–143; 34,3 and 61,21 in 143), it seems probable that this letter's date is much closer to 139 than to 161.

83,2 *denique*: 'if never before', as 42,18M.

Opto with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

83,3 *in id tempus*: 'up to the very moment'.

Litterae: 'characters'. On autographs see at 38,4. 90,10 Fronto dictates because of rheumatism in his right hand, see at 63,14. Cic. Fam. 16,15,2 *accepi tuam epistulam vacillantibus litterulis, nec mirum tam gravi morbo*; Att. 6,9,1 Atticus' letter shows a σύγχυσιν *litterularum* owing to fever.

83,3–4 *obambulans dictavi*: Cic. Att. 2,23,1 *haec dictavi ambulans*; Sen Epist. 15,6 *gestatio . . . studio non officit: possis legere, possis dictare . . . quorum nihil ne ambulatio quidem vetat fieri*. Physical exercise is often recommended by Celsus; see also 74,7 and Sen. Epist. 78,5 *medicus tibi quantum ambules, quantum exercearis monstrabit*.

83,4 *ratio corpusculei*: 'the state of my wretched body' (Haines). See at 84,17.

83,5 *vindemiarum*: see at 29,12.

Gratiam: 'the charm'.

Nunc seems to be a slip.

Sentiam with double accusative (*integram* is used predicatively) also e.g. Cic. Off. 1,124; Fin. 2,6; Hor. Epist. 2,1,134; 2,2,162; Val. Max. 5,3 ext. 3.

83,8 Chronology of V 63 and the answer V 64: Naber dates these letters 140; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 154–156; Champlin 139–161; Cortassa 146/7–161. *Dominam* is Domitia Lucilla, so we must date the letters 139–156: see at 82,7.

83,9 *vos*: Pius and Marcus.

Istos: 'these past days' (Haines), see at 11,18.

Salutavi: see at 3,25f.

83,12 *salubre*, 'reliable', is not found elsewhere with infinitive, but cp. *firmus, fortis, idoneus* and *aptus* with infinitive.

Tuus: see at 42,20.

83,13 *quiescat*: cp. Cels. 4,20,3 *si dolor non quiescit*; Vulg. Iob 16,7 *non quiescet dolor meus*.

83,14 *iuvent* with *ut* does not occur elsewhere, but *adiuvare ut* is quite common.

83,15 Chronology of V 65 and the answer V 66: Naber dates these letters 140; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 148–149; Cortassa 146/7–161. There are no clues, so we must date the letters with Champlin 139–161. Because of *iterum*, Haines puts this letter after V 33 and 34: 74,20 *dolore inguinis sum arreptus*. But 104,6 (a letter probably written in 139–145) Fronto has also a pain in the groin. If Haines is right, we should date the letters 139–156.

83,16 *arreptus sum* sc. *dolore*.

Ab: 'on one side of the groin'. Cp. Plin. Nat. 24,77 *instillavit dentium dolori a contraria aure*; 25,166 *suco ab altera nare quam dolebat infuso*. See at 77,15 and 217,4.

83,17 *rescriptum*: see at 165,1.

83,18 *mi*: Marcus and Verus never use the plain vocative *magister*. See Crit. app. 26,2.

83,19 *erimus*: see at 64,4.

83,21 Chronology of V 67 and the answer V 68: we have the same problem of 82,7: it is not clear which daughter is born here. *Dominam* (83,25) is Domitia Lucilla, who died c. 156; see at 82,7. So three daughters may

be considered: Faustina (born 30 November 147), Lucilla (born 7 March 149) and Domitia Faustina (born in the 150s). Therefore we must date the letters December 147–156. Champlin and Cortassa date them late 147–161. Haines opts for Domitia Faustina and dates them 154–156, Pepe opts for Faustina. As for Cratia (84,2), see at 61,5. All wrong is R. Hanslik on Domitia Faustina, Domitius 20, Kleine Pauly (1967).

83,22 *decem tanta*: 'ten times as much' (Haines). The use of *tanta* is much disputed. There are three types: *multo tanta amplius* (Plaut. Bacch. 310?; Men. 800; Rud. 521; Stich. 339; Gell. 4,9,14?; 12,2,14?; Apul. Met. 7,15,2; 10,21,1; Apol. 42,1; Socr. 11; cp. Flor. 18,29 *multo tanta praestat*; without comparative Apul. Apol. 3,11 *multo tanta ex animo laborat*. With quotientiva: Plaut. Men. 680 *bis tanta pluris pallam*; Persa 153 *ter tanta(?) peior*; Cic. Verr. 3,225 *quinquiens tanta ... amplius*. With cardinalia as here, Plaut. Bacch. 1034 *sescenta tanta reddam*; Trin. 530 shows that *tanta* is neutrum plur.: *tribus tantis illi minus redit*. See Kühner I 403; Löfstedt, Syntactica I^2 288ff.; Hofmann-Szantyr 136. *Decem tanta* is colloquial: the usual expression would be *decies tanto magis* or *decem partibus magis*, see at 60,21. *Decem* is a typical number, cp. e.g. Plaut. Bacch. 128 *si decem habeas linguas*; Prop. 3,15,8 *vix memini nobis verba coisse decem*. See at 42,19.

84,2 *tui similis*: see at 35,22.

84,3 *conciliatrix*: 'endearing'. Verbals are often used as adjectives: Cic. Lael. 37 *conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio*.

84,4 *utriusque nostri* seems to be a contamination of *similitudo nostri* and *similitudo utriusque nostrum* (as 110,19). Kühner I 598 has only this example of *utriusque nostri*. Elsewhere *nostri* is always gen. obiectivus: 113,6; 117,6; 171,10; 174,9. According to Ehrenthal 24, *utriusque nostri* depends on *conciliatrix*.

84,6 Chronology of V 69 and the answer V 70: Naber dates these letters 141; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 154–156; Cortassa 146/7–161. However, we must follow Champlin 139–156 (Domitia Lucilla is still alive [84,11 and 84,22; see at 82,7]). Marcus' date of birth was 26 April 121.

84,7 *quod* should not be altered: it is often used to indicate time: Plaut. Amph. 302 *iam diu est quod ventri victum non datis*; Bell. Hisp. 37,3 *quarto die navigationis quod*; Quint. Inst. 10,3,14 *tertium iam diem esse quod*; Plin. Epist. 4,27,1 *tertius dies est quod*; Fronto 166,14 *erit ... tempus aliud quod*; Apul. Met. 1,24,6 *diu est quod* etc. See Kühner II 271; Hofmann-Szantyr 580; and at 104,5.

Morsus and *profluvius* are medical terms, e.g. Scrib. Larg. 189 *stomachi dolores morsusque*. This is the only passage where Fronto complains of diarrhoea. See at 65,2 and 242,13.

84,8 *prodire*: 'leave the house', 'go out' (Haines).

84,9 *suadent* with infinitive also 199,8; with *ut* 222,9; with acc. cum inf. 39,16.

Balneo: a hot (see at 82,9) bath is also recommended by Cels. 4,23,3 and 4,26,2 against diarrhoea.

84,11 *dominam*: Domitia Lucilla.

84,14 *hunc ... sollemnem*: 'this your solemn day' (Haines). *Tuus* is almost the same as *tibi*, cp. Liv. 22,39,21 *neque occasioni tuae* ('favourable to you') *desis neque suam occasionem hosti des.* Naber and Pepe draw the incorrect conclusion that Fronto's birthday is meant, 27 April. See at 86,8. Brakman II 34f. had already corrected Naber's view.

84,15 *utique*: see at 55,6.

Pro: 'on your behalf' (Haines). *Pro* tends to take on the meaning of *de*; *securus pro* also Sen. Dial. 2,2,1; Tac. Hist. 4,58,1; Agr. 26,2. See Kühner I 515; Hofmann-Szantyr 271.

84,17 *si dicendum est*: 'if I may say so'. Quint. Inst. 8,3,37 *si quid periculosius finxisse videbimur, quibusdam remediis praemuniendum est: ut ita dicam, si liceat dicere.* The TLL does not present an example of *si dicendum est.*

Delector with acc. cum inf. is rare; it is found since Cic. Ad Brut. 1,2,4.

Querellam corpusculi: 'a complaint of the poor body'. Traian. Plin. Epist. 10,18,1 *sine querela corpusculi tui.* A. Cameron, Class. Quart. 61, 1967, 421 n. 1, wonders if Marcus borrowed this expression from Pliny or from the imperial archives, but see 83,4M *ratio corpusculei. Querela* is often found in medical literature, e.g. Sen. Nat. Quaest. 3,1,3; Cael. Aurel. Acut. 3,5,54; Chron. 5,10,107. The form *querella* often occurs in MSS and in inscriptions.

84,18 *intercessisse*: 'to present itself', as e.g. Gaius, Dig. 39,4,13,3 *nec dolus eius intercessit*; Apul. Met. 11,28,2 *duritia paupertatis intercedente.* See at 110,10.

Spero de occurs e.g. Plaut. Mil. 1423; Ter. Haut. 671; Cic. Att. 9,7,1; Nepos, Milt. 1,1.

84,20 *provenisse alvum*: 'the diarrhoea came up'; see at 65,2.

Consulto: 'artificially'.

84,21 *movere alvum* is a medical term since Cato, Agr. 114,2 and 115,1; Cels. 1,10,2; and elsewhere. As remedies against constipation, doctors prescribed cabbage (Cato, Agr. 156,1; Plin. Nat. 20,96), wine (Cato, Agr. 114,1; 115,1), mallow (Plin. Nat. 20,29), extract of chicken brain (Plin. Nat. 29,79) and milk (Plin. Nat. 28,124).

84,23 Chronology of V 71 and the answer V 72: Naber dates these letters 141; Haines, Chronology, 147–161, edition 154–156; Cortassa 146/7–161; but all these datings are arbitrary and there is no reason to suppose with E. Klebs in his article on M. Cornelius Fronto, PIR I[1] no. 1106 (1897), that the physical complaints mentioned here caused Fronto to renounce his proconsulate of Asia (167,18ff.). With Champlin we cannot but date the letters 139–156 (Domitia Lucilla is still alive, see at 82,7).

84,24 *miseras*: Plaut. Poen. 1003 speaks of a *misera bucca*; Plin. Nat. 29,136 of *miserae aures*, but it is not colloquial: Verg. Georg. 3,483 *miseri artus*; Lucan. 4,413 *miseri dentes.*

Calui: 'ho avuto la febbre' (Portalupi), see at 73,11.

84,27 *primum et praecipuum*: see at 21,2.

84,27–28 *desisse ... colligo*: the fever only lasted *per noctem.*

84,29 *aspelletur*: 'to dispel' seems to be the best solution; it occurs a few times in Plautus and Terence and in the Itala. Hilary of Poitiers has it in

the form *apellere*. The subject is in *quod ad fauces adtinet*, the dolor faucium. This means that *brevi* is adverb and *temperantia* ablative, not 'by a little abstinence' (Haines). Haines follows Schopen; Della Corte keeps *appelletur* and translates 'un po'di tempo ci si attenga alla temperanza'; Pepe, too, keeps *appelletur* (from *appellere*), 'approderà', and so does Cortassa: 'con un breve periodo di astinenza si arriverà in porto'. Portalupi, in her first edition, derives it from *appellare*: 'si faccia appello per qualche tempo all'astinenza'; in her second edition: 'si eliminerà in breve astenendoti dal parlare' (?).

Adplenior: the adjective *adplenus* (*applenus*) is not in our lexica, but Beck's conjecture is convincing: the adverb *adplene* occurs since Hieron. Vita Pauli 4, see TLL s.v. applene; the textual tradition of this adverb has often been bungled. *Adplenior nuntius* means 'fuller information', not 'una notizia più soddisfacente' (Pepe and Portalupi), nor 'un più lieto messaggio' (Della Corte).

85,1 Chronology: this letter is undatable: Champlin 139–161. Naber dates it 141; Haines, Chronology, 147–161; edition 144–145.

85,2 *umerum*: see at 265,29.

85,3 *denique*: 'therefore', 'consequently'; see at 10,6.

Mea manu: see at 38,4.

85,4 Chronology: this letter is not the answer to V 73, as Pepe thinks: the only thing the two letters have in common is Fronto's suffering from rheumatism. It is the longest letter of book V, and the ancient editor put it here in order to conclude the book with a letter of some interest. All commentators agree that it is an early letter: Naber dates it midwinter (see 85,15) 141; Haines 140–143; Hanslik, Anordnung, and Champlin date it to the early 140s; Cortassa 139–146/7. Marcus is staying at his villa in Centrum Cellae (see at 51,19) and invites Fronto to pay him a visit; Fronto may have been at his villa near Lorium (see at 76,4), but another attack of rheumatism prevents him from coming to Centum Cellae. In the meantime Marcus has returned to Rome (85,12), where his rhetorical studies suffer by his work in court (85,10). At 67,16 we have seen that in 146 he was an assessor, and here it looks as if he has only recently started working for the adminstration of justice. So we must date the letter 139–145, a period also suggested by the affectionate salutation *Have mi magister optime*, cp. 38,11 (of 140–142), 42,4 (December 139), 43,1 (140–142), 50,8 (143–145), 61,5 and 62,7 (October 143), 63,12 (147–148) and 249,1 (139). Portalupi also dates the letter before 146.

85,5 *Egone ut studeam*: a colloquial ellipsis of a principal sentence such as 'do you want me to?' Cp. Plaut. Truc. 441 *egone illam ut non amen?*; 758 *egone ut haec mihi patiar fieri?*; Ter. Phorm. 304 *egone illam cum illo patiar nuptam?*; Cic. Tusc. 2,42 *egone ut te interpellem?* See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 51, and at 225,3. On *-ne* see at 48,7.

85,6 *non*: see at 42,20.

85,8 *quis alius nisi*: see at 10,9.

85,11 *eximunt*: 'take up' (Haines).

Γνώμην: maxim, see at 40,5 and 44,2.

Nudiustertianum: 'the day-before-yesterday's' (Haines). The word occurs here for the first time, later in Ambrose, Augustinus and other writers.

85,12 *locum communem*: a short proof in argumentation with a general relevancy, see at 156,17.

In itinere: the distance between Centum Cellae and Rome was sixty-nine miles.

Adtrivimus: 'we have trifled away'. Marcus is the first to use this verb metaphorically in this way.

85,12–13 *difficile est ut*: see at 39,13.

85,13 *vespertinam*: see at 52,7.

Inquis: see at 36,15.

85,14 *longa*: i.e. by going to bed very early.

85,14–15 *et . . . quidem . . . sed* is a combination of later Latin: 'aye . . . but' (Haines). It is found in Val. Max. 4,8,1; Mela 2,92; Plin. Nat. 8,6; Tert. Anim. 16,1. Fronto has 164,14f. *et . . . et tamen*, which occurs since Ter. Andr. 633.

85,14 *multi somni*: see at 32,7. Schwierczina, Frontoniana 46, refers for his conjecture to *exsomnis*, *insomnis* and the like. In this period Marcus was a sound sleeper, but occasionally we hear that he did not sleep well at all, see at 9,12 and 69,41.

85,15 *cubiculo*: see at 40,4.

Exseri: 'put my hand outside the bed-clothes' (Haines), in order to write.

85,16 *dum*: 'because'; see at 161,22.

85,17 *litteras*: 'literature' (Haines). Apparently Marcus had asked Fronto to bring along some books by Cato, Cicero or Sallust.

Apud Portum: until Trajan built his villa in Centum Cellae there was nothing but a Hundred Huts. Plin. Epist. 6,31,15 *villa . . . imminet litori, cuius in situ fit cummaxime portus*, and 17 *habebit hic portus et iam habet nomen auctoris*, viz. *portus Traianus*. Itin. Anton. Aug. 300,6 *iter a Roma per portum Centum Cellas M.P. LXVIIII; in portum M.P. XVIIII.* See L. Banti, Traianus portus, RE VI 2 (1937), and at 40,7. The reading of m^2 *apud Porcium* has been defended in vain by Ellis, The Correspondence 19: 'I gave you some trouble over a passage of Cato, as circumstances prove', and by A. Klotz, TLL s.v. apud: 'in the eyes of Porcius'. On the use of *apud* see at 6,8.

85,18 *valeant . . . vales*: pun.

85,18–19 *vel . . . tamen*: 'be it . . . yet'.

85,20 *gaudium*: see at 9,15.

Domina: Domitia Lucilla.

85,22 See Proleg. XXXVI and at 187,10.

86,1–2 We have only a very few, and very short, letters of the 150s (Ad M. Caes. V 34; V 49–50; V 51; V 53–54; V 57–58), and after the intimate period 139–145 Fronto and Marcus slowly drifted apart: Marcus resumed his philosophical interests, while state affairs largely claimed his attention. However, after his accession to the throne the correspondence with Fronto received a new impulse: he remembered the carefree days of the early 140s and again felt a certain longing for the good old Fronto and his rhetoric; see Ad Antonin. 105,13ff. and at 67,16. The letters Ad Antoninum are not arranged in chronological order; the ancient editor has put two letters before the others to demonstrate the good understanding between Fronto and his emperor.

86,8 Chronology of I 1 and the answer I 2: the twins T. Fulvus Aurelius Antoninus (86,17) and L. Aurelius Commodus were born on 31 August 161, when Verus had not yet left Rome for the East (spring 162); therefore Mommsen; P. von Rohden, RE I 2280 (1894); Haines, Chronology; and Maria Astarita, Cronologia, date these letters 161–162. Naber; Monceaux, Les Africains 214; Watson; Brakman; Dorothy Brock; Haines in his edition; and Pepe date them 162. There are indications, however, that we should date them October 161, with Hanslik, Anordnung; Champlin; Portalupi; and Cortassa: the recess of the senate is over and Marcus returns from his autumn holidays in Lorium to Rome (86,20f.); the earthquake of Cyzicus (89,3) seems to have taken place in the spring of 161, and it is hard to believe that Marcus and the senate took action only in 162. Besides, the twins still have a wet-nurse (90,3).

86,9–11 Note the solemn words of this prayer formula; see at 163,22f. Felicita Portalupi, La presenza 100, sees here a reminiscence of Hor. Carm. 4,11,17 *iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque paene natali proprio*, but this is not so, see at 29,5. Ehrenthal 40 thinks that there may be a hexameter in the next lines: *Sponte dei iuvisse volunt et dignum ope <ducunt>*. On *iuvisse* see at 75,3f.

86,13 *numerato*: the imper. fut., too, seems to have a solemn ring; see at 107,5–8.

Hunc tuum: see at 78,21. *Hic tuus* does not occur elsewhere.

86,14 *inibi*: see at 29,3.

Dominum: Fronto uses *dominus* for Pius, Marcus and Verus, *domina* for Domitia Lucilla and Marcus' wife Faustina. Once he uses *dominus* for his brother: 110,27. The vocative *domine* is also used for Pius, Marcus and Verus, and for his friends as well: 173,4; 173,13; 176,10; 185,14; 189,10; and perhaps 165,16; for his son-in-law Aufidius 176,10; 178,8. Marcus addresses Fronto 105,10 as *domine magister*. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 761ff.; M. Bang in Friedländer's Sittengeschichte IV 82ff.; K.J. Neumann, Dominus, RE V 1 (1903); TLL s.v.; H. Volkmann, Princeps, Kleine Pauly (1972); and at 96,4. For *domnula* see at 73,10.

Πάθει: 'passionately' (Haines).

86,15 *perennem multis annis*: abundant.

86,16 *filiae* . . . *generi*: as noticed by Maria Astarita, Cronologia, it is remarkable that Fronto's wife Cratia is not mentioned; yet she was still alive in 161, see at 113,4.

Nepotum: at 61,5 we have seen that Cratia junior married Aufidius Victorinus c. 157 (Haines dates the marriage too late: c. 160). This means that in the autumn of 161 Fronto had two grandsons: M. Aufidius (Victorinus) Fronto, probably born 158–159, and C. Aufidius Victorinus, probably born 159–160; see at 178,7.

Nostra Faustina is, as 65,4, the daughter; cp. *pullus noster Antoninus*. Dorothy Brock, Birley and Champlin think that it was Marcus' wife and that *reficit sanitatem* refers to her recovery from childbirth, but in that case we would expect *reficit vires*. Faustina junior is here almost fifteen years old, probably engaged—if not married—to Cn. Claudius Severus. According to Birley, Mark Aurel 189, she was in poor health, though we only have 65,4 (when

she was a little baby) and this passage to corroborate it. Yet, if he is right, this could be one of the reasons why it was not she but her younger sister Lucilla who married L. Verus; see Birley o.c. 212.

86,17 *pullus*, 'chick' (Haines), is a colloquial pet name: Fest. 243 *puerum quem quis amabat pullum vocari solitum*; Schol. Pers. 3,16 *quos qui nutriunt blandientes columbos et pullos et passeres* (see at 63,2) *vocant*; Plaut. Cas. 138 *meus pullus, passer*; Hor. Sat. 1,3,45 *appellat paetum pater et pullum*; Suet. Cal. 13 the crowd calls the little Caligula *pullum et pupum*; Fronto 91,15 calls the twins *pullulos*, and this same diminutive in Apul. Met. 8,26,4. T. Aurelius Fulvius Antoninus died at the age of four: Vita Comm. 1,4.

Aliquo as abl. mensurae (= *aliquanto*) occurs here and 87,29 for the first time, then in the Digesta and in later authors; see TLL s.v. aliquis.

Lenius: 'his cough is less hoarse'.

Quantum: see at 47,9

86,18 *quisque*: apart from the children mentioned in this letter, it is Lucilla who then was twelve years old and the little Fadilla who was born in the second half of the 150s (according to P. von Rohden, Annius, RE I [1894], and Portalupi, she was born c. 150, which seems too early; Birley, Mark Aurel 422, dates her birth 159?, maybe a few years too late).

Nidulo: Rufus Verginius called his country house *senectutis suae nidulum* (Plin. Epist. 6,10,1); Hieron. Epist. 47,3 *plurima (opuscula mea) evolaverunt de nidulo suo*; Vulg. Iob 29,18 *in nidulo meo moriar.*

86,18–19 *iterum . . . porro*: originally, *iterum atque iterum* is only used by poets since Vergil and Horace. In prose, for the first time in Plin. Pan. 28,6. Marcus is the only one who adds *ac porro.* See at 118,13f.

86,19 *bene vale* often occurs in Plautus, twice in Terence. In letters, Cicero himself never uses it, but his correspondents do: Fam. 7,29,2 and 11,28,8. Fronto has it once: 161,16. Further in some later writers.

86,20 *Cornificiae*: her full name probably was Annia Aurelia Cornificia, after her aunt Annia Cornificia Faustina. See A, Stein, Cornificia 13, RE IV (1900), and at 72,23. It is unlikely that Fronto would be present at her anniversary if she was a baby in her cradle; so Birley's dating of her birth 160? (Mark Aurel 422) seems to be rather late; he is followed by Marie-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, Prosopographie I 261; Portalupi's dating 159 is more likely, but 158 cannot be excluded.

Lorium: according to the Vita Comm. 1,2, the twins were born at Lanuvium, a remarkable concurrence with Pius, who was born in the *villa Lanuvina, educatus Lorii in Aurelia, ubi postea palatium extruxit cuius hodieque reliquiae manent* (Vita Pii 1,8).

86,21 *vexes: se vexare* is 'to take the trying journey to Lorium' (Haines). Hofmann, Umgangssprache 157, sees it as a calculated conversion of the usual *se conferre*, 'sich hinbemühen'. An interesting note in Gell. 2,6,5–6 *vexasse grave verbum est factumque ab eo videtur quod est vehere, in quo inest vis iam quaedam alieni arbitrii . . . qui fertur et rapsatur atque huc atque illuc distrahitur, is vexari proprie dicitur.* Did Marcus see it as an etymological figure?

86,21–22 *post diem natalem* belongs to *fac . . . quiescas*, not to *sequitur*, as Ebert, Synt. 16; Kühner I 259; Portalupi; and Cortassa assume.

86,22 *si me amas*, a formula often found in Cicero's letters, in Plautus

(Trin. 244), Terence (Haut. 1031), Horace (Sat. 1,9,38), Petronius (98,8). In our correspondence 60,19f.M; 69,41; 77,9M; 111,21; 189,4. See J. Priebisch, De sermonis cotidiani formulis quibusdam veterum Romanorum, diss., Erlangen, Halis Saxonum 1908, 39.

Nox quae sequitur: an isolated nominative like *bona salus* etc. in Fronto's answer 86,26f. and *verecundia . . . quae* 234,9M. Cp. e.g. Plaut. Men. arg. 1 *mercator Siculus, quoi erant gemini filii, ei . . . mors optigit*; Cato, Agr. 34,2 *ager rubicosus . . . ibi lupinum bonum fiet*. See Kühner II 586; Hofmann-Szantyr 27ff.

Fac quiescas: see at 37,11 and 60,17.

86,23 *sine . . . cogitatione*: 'senza pensare ad alcun dovere incombente' (Cortassa): Fronto might feel obliged to come and see Cornificia. *Officium* is not 'business' (Haines). *Cogitatio* with gen. obiectivus also e.g. Quint. Inst. 4 praef. 7 *cogitatione suscepti muneris fatigor*.

86,25 Chronology: see at 86,8.

86,26 *huic*: *hic* refers to the person who is speaking or writing a letter, see at 78,21. Cp. Plaut. Merc. 996 *hunc senem para me clientem*; Ter. Ad. 906 *vin tu huic seni auscultare?*; Sen. Epist. 104,2 *in hoc sene et adulescentem esse*.

Ut tu appellas: though Fronto is not his teacher any more. See also 266,6.

86,26–27 *bona salus . . . omnia bona*: a symploce. The isolated nominatives emphatically enumerate the themes Fronto wants to write about; cp. Plaut. Pseud. 64ff. *nunc nostri amores, mores, consuetudines, iocus, ludus* etc. etc. . . . *harunc voluptatum . . . distractio . . . venit*. *Seni huic* is resumed by *mihi* and the nominatives are summarized by *quae*; the postposition of *ea* emphasizes *quae tu scribis*: 'things of which you write that you have prayed just for them'. Haines follows Klussmann, and Novák follows Studemund.

86,27 *sollemnissimo*: the superlative occurs here for the first time, then in Apuleius, Tertullian and others.

87,2–3 *meque vobis* for *quibusque me* is not uncommon, see Kühner II 325; Hofmann-Szantyr 565f.; and at 5,23M; 40,11–20.

87,3 *transdidi*: see at 236,19.

Prae vobis dulcius is, strictly speaking, a contamination; Cicero, for instance, says Fam. 4,4,2 *prae nobis beatus*, but in colloquial Latin the comparative is used: Plaut. Epid. 522 *me minoris facio prae illo*, and so Gell. 1,3,25; Apul. Met. 8,4,4; 8,21,1; Charis. Gramm. 147,17 B.; and other late authors. See Hofmann-Szantyr 112 and at 132,16.

87,4 *tametsi*, 'anche se' (Portalupi), with potential subjunctive, as 37,8 and 65,20. *Tametsi*, though, Fronto always uses with indicative: 47,3; 118,10; 186,1; 211,11; 212,15; 220,6. *Tametsi* with irrealis 134,18 and 139,19. *Etiamsi* is not used by Fronto; Marcus has it 5,11 with indicative and 85,10 with subjunctive; so Verus 113,19.

Quantum: the correlation *totidem . . . quantum* is found only here (Kühner II 459; Cato, Agr. 114,1 *quantum . . . vini, tot vites* is different), but it should not be altered; cp. combinations such as *tot . . . quotiens, tantum . . . quam* and *tantopere . . . quam* 87,7–9 and 115,12f., the latter also found in Cic. Fin. 1,11. Perhaps *tot . . . quam* 192,7.

87,5 *precibus precari*: Landgraf, De figuris etymologivis 25, has found this

figure only in Geraldus de Gualterio 13 *iugiter precibus precari*. See at 115,18. *Coniunctis precibus* is not found elsewhere.

87,6 *florentes . . . prospere potentes*: note the rhyme and the alliteration in a prayer. *Florens ac potens* also Cic. Dom. 49. Plin. Epist. 10,52 *ut te (dei) . . . incolumem florentemque praestarent*; Hieron. Epist. 126,3 *incolumes vos et prolixa aetate florentes Christus . . . tueatur. Prosper* with dative also Cic. Rep. 6,17; Liv. 23,26,1; Tac. Hist. 4,71,3.

87,7–9 *tantopere . . . quam*: see at 87,4.

87,8 *Forte Fortuna*: an old expression since Plaut. Bacch. 916. See Neue-Wagener I[3] 735; W. Eisenhut, Fortuna, Kleine Pauly (1967).

Impetratum cupiam: Plin. Epist. 2,13,2 *quod impetratum maxime cupio*. See at 182,8f.

87,9 *adfatu* is a poetical word; in prose it is used since Ps. Quint. Decl. 15,9.

87,10 *quam mihi diutissime* and *eique ego rei*: hyperbaton.

87,12 *ceteras res alioqui*: abundant, see at 46,21.

Sat vitae: Fronto is now about sixty-five years old, but he ventilated the same complaint ten years ago, see at 78,22. When Cicero was sixty-two he wrote Att. 14,21,3 *sed mihi quidem* βεβίωται.

87,14 *spopondi*: 'preannunziai' (Portalupi[1]), 'mi promisi che tu fossi' (Portalupi[2]), not 'guaranteed' (Haines).

Acceptum: see at 47,1.

87,16–17 *rursum . . . noluisse*: see at 67,16. *Interdum* here and 87,27 = *interim, interea*; also in Cels. 3,15,4.

Nihil offuit: non obest with infinitive occurs since Cic. Fam. 9,13,4, but it is relatively rare.

87,17 *vos*: Marcus and Verus. For Marcus see at 87,26, for Verus at 80,8 and 267,8.

87,18 *amplectar*: cp. Cic. Phil. 10,18 *si amplecterer virtutem*; Att. 1,13,4 *(nos) diligit, amplectitur, amat*.

87,19 *praecipuum . . . proprium*: the same alliteration Cic. Fam. 4,15,2; see at 21,2.

87,20–21 *itidem ut . . . ita*: the same abundance Plaut. Curc. 690 *ita . . . itidem ut*.

87,21 *nostrae sectae*: 'school' (Haines) in the sense of 'principles'. *Secta* is especially used for philosophers, physicians and for scientists and artists in general. It is hardly correct to conclude with Portalupi that this passage proves that Fronto regarded himself as the founder of the archaistic school. His primary starting-point is the use of the correct word, which may be—but must not be—an archaic word. Nowhere he presents himself as the founder of a school, and it was not he who started the archaistic movement. Not until the fifth century the Frontoniani are mentioned as a school, see 272,10. In the domain of rhetoric, *secta* is used by Sen. Contr. 10 praef. 15 *Turrinus pater multum viribus dempserat, dum Apollodorum sequitur ac summam legem dicendi sectam putat* (Bornecque translates 'sa méthode', Winterbottom 'sect'). *Secta* is a school in Quint. Inst. 3,1,22 *neque enim me cuiusquam sectae*

velut quadam superstitione imbutus addixi; 5,13,59 on Theodorus and Apollodorus: *inter duos diversarum sectarum velut duces*. See also *sectator* 3,24 and at 199,15. The *elocutio novella* 151,4 has nothing to do with *secta*. *Nostrae*: 'of me and my congeners'.

87,22 δέ interferes with the syntactical order, as 189,7.

87,24 *recordatio . . . quod tibi conscius es* is abundant. *Conscius* with infinitive: see at 56,7.

87,25 *habet* stands for *se habet* and is colloquial. Before Fronto it is found in Plaut. Cas. 338; Epid. 696; Ter. Ad. 365; Phorm. 429 (Priscian. Gramm. III 327,18 notes: *habere pro esse . . . Terentius in Phormione*); and in Celsus. Pius 162,4 has the more correct *ita se res habet*, Marcus 64,1 *sic me habeo*, and Fronto 76,22 *commodius me habeo*. See at 14,27; 67,26; 228,11. Other transitive verbs used intransitively are *convertere* 63,7M; 106,12; *oblectare* 227,17?; *porrigere* 216,8; *promovere* 49,9; *recipere* 61,12M; 241,23. See Grammatical Index s.v. reflexive use.

87,26 *ingenio*: Fronto praises Marcus' natural talent for rhetoric 1,8; 5,20; 19,9; 42,1; 44,9; 49,5; 54,2; 93,1; 106,10; 148,16; 224,17; see also 276,8f.; 276,25.

87,27 *fuerit*: see at 11,24.

Interdum: 'for a time' (Haines) or 'in the meantime'; it seems to indicate a longer period, see at 67,16.

Concessarit: 'have given it the go-by' (Haines). W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1; Priebe I 13; Hofer; Lannoy; and Marache, Mots 30, regard it as an archaism: we find it in Plaut. Asin. 290 and Poen. 219, and several times in Tertullian. See at 114,21; 1,10f.

Restiterit: 'to stop short'.

87,28 *confecerit*: see at 1,10f.

87,29 *setius*: 'more slowly', 'later', 'somewhat less quickly' (Haines), not 'in modo un po'diverso' (Portalupi). Fest. 462 *setius a sero videtur dictum: Accius in Amphitryone* (93).

Aliquo: see at 86,17.

Minus tamen nihilo: '(he will complete it) nevertheless all the same'. *Minus* with emphasis: the usual expression is *nihilo minus tamen* (Ter. Haut. 1012; Caes. Civ. 3,17,4; Arnob. Nat. 1,37) or *tamen nihilo minus* (Cic. Cluent. 76; Fam. 13,15,2; Att. 11,12,1; Caes. Civ. 3,18,5).

88,1 *adfectum*, 'gifted' (Haines), as Cic. Planc. 80 *omnibus me virtutibus adfectum*.

Lite: lis with genitive is found only here and Gell. 14,5 tit. *lis atque contentio grammaticorum*. Note the assonance *lite—bile*.

88,2 *Victorini*: he is here a fellow pupil of Marcus (Vita Marci 3,8) and a contubernalis of Fronto, see at 176,5.

Bile: 'spite'.

Adiurare with accusative is 'solemnly assure', as Liv. 43,14,5 and 250,1M.

Cum explicativum: 'that', 'when I said that' (Haines), 'affermando che' (Portalupi). See at 14,1; 74,11.

88,3 *tum*: 'at that time', c. 145–146; see at 67,16.

88,3–4 *ille meus Rusticus Romanus*: Romanus is not a name: 'that genuine Roman Rusticus'. Of all Marcus' Stoic friends, Q. Iunius Rusticus is the only one to appear in our correspondence; see Birley, Mark Aurel 169ff.; Champlin, Fronto 119f.; and at 266,20. *Meus* indicates that he was on friendly terms with Fronto, see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 137. They both disliked a strange religion like Christianity. See on Rusticus Medit. 1,7 and Vita Marci 3,3.

88,4 *vitam... dederit* is not taken from a poetical source, as Ehrenthal 36 supposes; it is a proverbial expression, cp. Petron. 57,10 *cuius pluris erat unguis quam tu totus es.*

Dediderit... devoverit: 'who would surrender and sacrifice' (Haines), not 'che avrebbe offerto volentieri e sacrificato' (Portalupi). On the potentialis see at 1.10f. *Vitam dedere* also Cic. S. Rosc. 8; cp. Sall. Or. Cottae 10 *voveo dedoque me pro republica.* Note the alliteration.

88,5 *tristis*: 'reluctantly'; see at 46,14; 66,16; 208,8.

88,6–7 *omnibus... extiterunt*: a similar reproach to Cicero 57,8ff.

88,7 *clauderes*: see at 49,5f.

88,9 *verstiuntur*: the speech as a garment also 19,3f.; 154,15; 158,7; 215,17; Cic. De orat. 1,142; 3,199; Brut. 274; Quint. Inst. 8 praef. 20.

Nec mediocriter laborandum: the same litotes Cic. Att. 10,15,4; Balb. Cic. Att. 9,7b,3. See at 47,9.

Procerae: Fronto is the only one to use it metaphorically.

88,10 *indecorius*: this comparative occurs only here.

Cinctae: 'trimmed'; see at 215,18.

Seminudae: again, Fronto is the only one to use it metaphorically, see at 210,5.

88,11 *meministi* with genitive: see at 29,5.

88,11–14 *orationis... epistulam*: see at 3,12. Mai[2] thinks that the *longiuscula epistula* is one of the letters De eloquentia. According to Naber and Mommsen, Chronologie, the letter is lost, but Haines, Chronology; Birley, Mark Aurel 124; Champlin; and Portalupi correctly identify it with Ad Caes. IV 3 p. 56, one of the oldest letters of our collection, written in 139. Hanslik, Anordnung 31f., dates Caes. IV 3 too late (144) and his arguments against an identification are not valid. As for the speech Marcus held in the senate, Naber refers to 41,2 and Caes. V 1–4, see at 40,1; 69,40; 70,3. Mommsen supposes that it is the speech Marcus held when entering upon his duties as a quaestor on 5 December 138; P. von Rohden, Annius Verus, RE I (1894), accepts this view but also refers to the speeches 41,2 and 50,23. Haines regards the speech as the one Marcus held when he became Caesar on 10 July 138. The implication of all these suggestions is that Fronto became Marcus' teacher in the second half of 138, which is not very likely, see at 93,12, and therefore Champlin, Fronto 168 n. 20, leaves the question undecided; Birley l.l. is silent about the nature of the speech. It seems probable that Marcus held it in 139 as consul designatus. We see here that Fronto kept copies of his letters, cp. Proleg. LXI and 102,12; 116,16–18; Cugusi, L'epistolografia 415.

88,12 *utriculi* can be a wine- or a water-skin (*uter*) but also the diminutive of *uterus*: Marcus may have used it to indicate his protected position as Caesar; cp. the image 40,11ff.

Ad exemplum adcommodandum: 'for the application of an analogy'. See at 65,23.

88,13 *dignitate*: on Marcus' respect for the senate see 50,23; Medit. 8,30; Vita Marci 10,1–9; Vita Avid. Cass. 12,3–4.

88,15 *qua*: see at 159,1.

88,16 *audaciter*: see at 122,15.

Eo: 'to that purpose'; cp. Cato, Agr. 22,3 *eo sumpti opus est HS LX*; see at 10,9; Hofmann-Szantyr 208f.

Opus est often has a neutral pronoun (*quod*) as subject; see Kühner I 338.

88,17 *nostra*: plur. modestiae, as 110,20; 113,6; 168,26; 177,1; 180,12; 202,13. See at 90,2.

88,18 *verborum lumina*, 'the sparks of words', has become a rhetorical term for the choosing and arranging of words (see at 56,15) since Rhet. Her. 4,23,32; Cicero uses the expression several times and it is also found in Quint. Inst. 8,5,34; Tac. Dial. 22,3; Fronto 119,9; 148,19; 215,19 *novissimos in epigrammatis versus habere oportet aliquid luminis*, which may be compared with Quint. Inst. 8,5,2 *lumina . . . praecipue . . . in clausulis posita sententias (vocare solemus)*.

88,19 *quamquam* with indicative: see Index Latinitatis s.v.

Velificaris = *velificaveris*.

88,20 *sipharis*: 'a small topsail', σίφαρος. Isid. Orig. 19,3,4 *siparum genus veli unum pedem habens, quo iuvari navigia solent in navigatione, quotiens vis venti languescit*. Latin *supparum* was, via *siparum* (often in Seneca), wrongly identified with the Greek σίφαρος. Fronto is the first to use the aspirated form. Whether the nominative is *sipharus* (cp. *supparus*) or *sipharum* is not clear. Tert. Apol. 16,8 and Nat. 1,12,16 has *sipharum*. See A.E. Housman, Class. Quart. 13,149ff. *Sipharis et remis* is regarded as a proverb by V. Szelinski, see Nachträge zu Otto 244.

Vela pandere: the same image Quint. Inst. 6,1,52; 10,3,7. It is a poetical expression. Another nautic image 267,4f.

88,21 *necessitas*: see at 67,16.

Impulit with infinitive instead of *ut* is rare and occurs since Vergil.

Lembos et celocas: 'rowing- and sailing-boats', i.e. small boats which do not go very fast. *Celox* (κέλης) should have the accusative *celoces*; unless it is an error by the scribe, it may be a conversion of the third declination into the first (*celoca*), like in Greek words such as *schema, lampada, cratera*.

88,23 *proxuma epistula*: lost.

88,24–25 *cum maxime*, 'more than ever' (Haines), is elliptic for *ut cum maxime*: Priscian. Gramm. III 336,20 *nostri cum maxime pro* ὅτι μάλιστα *frequenter ponunt*. We find *nunc cum maxime* also Plaut. Mil. 1153; Ter. Ad. 518; Cic. Cluent. 12; Cato maior 38; Liv. 29,17,7. *Cum maxime* also 132,11. See at 91,2 and Kühner II 480.

88,25 *florere . . . adolescere*: hysteron proteron.

88,28 *ita multa*: see at 1,11.

Oris: 'countenance' (Haines).

88,29 *nimirum*: 'in fact' (Haines).

89,1–2 *imperatoribus*: the emendation of Schopen and Cornelissen is not necessary if by *viventibus* we understand 'contemporaries' (Haines). *Ne compararem* is not the same as *ne comparem*: *ne* stands for *nedum*, 'leave alone that', 'Heaven forbid that', as in Cic. Fam. 9,26,2; Sall. Cat. 11,8; Liv. 3,52,9; Tac. Ann. 11,30,3. See Kühner II 68.

For the repetition of *quisquam* see at 40,13; 40,14; 47,3.

89,2 *figurationibus*: *figuratio* for *figura* (σχῆμα) is a rhetorical term: Quint. Declam. 380; 385; Proc. Dig. 50,16,124; Priscian. Gramm. III 38,4; 186,14. In Fronto also 149,20 and 150,9. See at 177,22f.

Quae: attractio relativi to *schemata*, but 96,21 *figuras*... *quas Graeci* σχήμαια *vocant*. See at 105,15M and 260,14.

89,3 *schemata*: the Latin form is found in Petron. 126,8; Mart. 3,68,7; and several times in Seneca's Controversiae and Quintilianus' Institutio, but not in Cicero: Brut. 141 σχήματα *enim quae vocant Graeci*. See at 177,22f.

Ne longius repetam: 'not to go further back' (Haines).

Cyzicenorum: Cass. Dio 70,4 and Zonar. 12,1 date the earthquake which destroyed Cyzicus with its magnificent temple during Pius' reign. Our passage indicates that it must have happened in the last month(s) of his reign. If we have correctly dated this letter to October 161 (see at 86,8), *proximo senatu* must fall on 13 August 161, the last session of the senate before the holidays, as Champlin, Chronology, has rightly seen. Pius died on 7 March 161; then it was the task of Marcus and the senate to take care of the reconstruction of the city; there is no reason to assume with H.-G. Pflaum, Historia-Augusta-colloquium, Bonn 1964, 113, that the Annii Veri were patroni of Cyzicus. A. Hermann, Erdbeben, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum 1105, dates this earthquake of Cyzicus to 155, which is out of the question. See Capelle, Erdbebenforschung, RE Suppl. IV (1924), and Bowersock, The Proconsulate of Albus 291. In 166 the temple of Cyzicus was inaugurated with a speech by Aristides. See at 133,1f.; 143,4 (marg. f).

89,4 *figurasti*, 'to embellish with a figure' (Haines), is in later Latin a rhetorical term: Quint. Inst. 9,1,9 *tam*... *translatis verbis quam propriis figuratur oratio*, and Fronto 150,11. See at 177,22f.

89,5 παράλειψιν: Fronto uses not yet the term *praeteritio* which we find in late authors. Charis. Gramm. 372,19 B. and Serv. Aen. 8,483 write *paralipsis*. See at 89,26.

89,5–6 *praetereundo*... *dicendo*: to avoid *praeteriens*, Fronto uses the abl. gerundii instead of a part. praesens; see at 50,10.

89,7 *sociorum*: the Cyzicenes were socii of Rome since Tiberius.

Aerumnas: see at 204,1f.

Perpetua: see at 39,7.

89,8 *recta*: 'straightforward'. Both *perpetua* and *recta* render the λέξις εἰρομένη of Aristot. Rhet. 3,9,1–2. Quint. Inst. 10,5,8 opposes the *figura declinata* to the *oratio recta*, and 5,13,2 *recta fere atque*... *clamosa est actio* (of the prosecution); *hinc* (of the defence) *mille flexus et artes desiderantur.*

Exaggerandas is a rhetorical term, often in Cicero and Quintilianus; Fronto 141,22; 149,5. See at 75,16. How to use a strong argument Fronto shows 39,11.

89,9 *deinde*: note the change of indirect speech to direct speech; see Kühner II 548f.

89,12 *moverit*: see at 144,14.

Ecquid: see at 132,7.

89,13 *formam*: the 'form' of a clausula in a Ciceronian sentence. Cic. De orat. 3,171 *continuatio verborum* (= περίοδος) . . . *collocationem primum, deinde modum quendam formamque desiderat*; 3,199 *de numero atque forma*; see also Orat. 204; Quint. Inst. 9,1,10 *forma sententiae*. See at 17,18. On *Tullianae* see at 20,4.

89,14–15 *ut . . . saviatur*: a man in love adores even the imperfections of his beloved. Ehrenthal 45f. sees here a quotation from an old comedy:

> ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – *ut quisque amore quémpiam*
> déperit <proinde> éius etiam sáviatur naevolos.

Timpanaro, Alcuni citazioni 307, rightly rejects a quotation: it is a proverbial sentence found also in Plato, Resp. V 474 d–e; Lucr. 4,1153–1170; Cic. Nat. deor. 1,79 *nobis qui concedentibus philosophis antiquis adulescentulis delectamur, etiam vitia saepe iucunda sunt. naevos in articulo pueri delectat Alcaeum* (frg. 58 B. but there no naevus is mentioned); *at est corporis macula naevos, illi tamen hoc lumen videbatur*; Hor. Sat. 1,3,38–54; Ovid. Ars 2,657ff. See also Hor Sat. 1,6,67 *velut si egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos*, and the passages quoted in the Nachträge zu Otto. In spite of Felicita Portalupi, La presenza di Orazio 99, Fronto does not have in mind the passages of Horace; see at 29,5; 201,10ff.

Amore deperire aliquem, 'to be madly in love with someone', is colloquial: Plaut. Cist. 131; Catull. 35,12; and Marcus 249,6.

Quempiam: in Fronto *quispiam* is found only here. And the diminutive *naevolus* occurs here for the first time; later in Gell. 12,1,7; Apul. Mund. 5.

89,16–17 *eloquentia*: see at 50,3.

89,17 *inde . . . de loco superiore* is abundant; cp. Plaut. Amph. 1000 *inde . . . de supero*.

89,18 *excelsiora: celsiora* in the margin is just a note, not a variant, as Timpanaro, Contributi 384, and Il nuovo Frontone 373, assumes.

89,20 *obvia . . . optima*: assonance. See at Stylistic Index s.v. assonance.

89,21 *facile*: 'readily' (Haines). Bannier, TLL s.v., renders it wrongly by 'sine dubio'.

89,24 *scribemus*: see at 133,1f. and 153,1f.

89,24–25 *coram conloqueremur*: the same alliteration Hieron. Epist. 67,5 *si coram inter nos conloqueremur* (vis-à-vis *litteris*, as in Caes. Gall. 5,11,2; Ulp. Dig. 3,3,1,1).

89,25 *ut voluisti*: 86,21.

Ut . . . postulabat is a frequent expression: Cic. Tusc. 5,94; Fam. 16,18,1; Plin. Nat. 28,53; Paul. Dig. 26,7,24 pr.

89,26 and 90,28 Late grammarians confuse παράλειψις and παράλη(μ)ψις (*paralem[p]sis*), but they mean *paralipsis*. See TLL s.v. and at 89,5.

90,1 *liberum tuorum*: at the end of 161, Marcus had six children: Faustina, Lucilla, Fadilla, Cornificia and the twins Antoninus and Commodus.

90,2 *pullo nostro*: Aurelius Antoninus, see 86,17. *Nostro*: 'dear to you and me' or 'our mutual friend': 7,15; 15,6; 17,19; 54,23; 55,15; 64,23M; 82,14; 183,3; 183,13; 184,16; 185,8; 187,7; and even *filio nostro* 185,14. See at 259,9f. *Cirtensis nostri*. For *noster* as plur. modestiae see at 88,17; see also at 108,9.

Sedaverit: 'calmeranno' (Portalupi), not 'will have quieted' (Haines), see at 1,10f.

Dies: 'weather' (Haines).

90,3 *nutrix*: in the imperial age, babies were nourished in upper circles by a wet-nurse. See the invective Tac. Dial. 28f.(from Chrysippus' Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς?); Gell. 12,1,17; and W. Braams, Zur Geschichte des Ammenwesens im klassischen Altertum, Jenaer Medizinhist. 5, Jena 1913, 8f.; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 268; Th. Hopfner, Amme, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum I (1950). Marcus, too, had a wet-nurse: Medit. 5,4. See at 93,8.

Vescatur: not 'he' (Haines) but the wet-nurse. In a late book on medicine, Paulus of Aegina, Epit. 1,2, gives prescriptions for the food a nurse should take.

90,4 *fovendis* is not correct: read *fovendi*, 'to cure the throat'. Mai's *fovendis* was adopted by F. Vollmer, TLL s.v. foveo, by Rubenbauer, TLL s.v. medela, and in my second edition. *Fovendi* is retained by all other editors, by Allen, Coniecturae 1841,17, by Wulff, TLL s.v. faux, and by R. Heine, TLL s.v. lac. See at 32,11 and 185,11. If we read *fovendis*, we have *remedium* and *medela* with dative, as in Caecil. Com. 120; Cato, Agr. 159; Min. Fel. 7,6; Apul. Met. 9,18,2; 10,19,3.

Lacte: on the medical use of milk see Plin. Nat. 28,72–75.

90,5 *Cyzicena* = *pro Cyzicenis*, as *Bithyna* 180,8.

Fas est also 27,4M; 46,7; 139,6; 146,16; 241,18; *ius fasque est* 154,7.

Obsecro: Fronto's memory has failed him: *deos obsecrare* occurs several times in Plautus and Terence, in Enn. Scaen. 41; Afran. Com. 170; and in prose since Aug. Suet. Tib. 21,7. Marcus has it 43,11. So there is no reason to assume with Mai[2] and Priebe II 6 that Marcus here had in mind Plaut. Bacch. 1025 *si me fas est obsecrare abs te, pater*. Hofmann, Umgangssprache 130, thinks that a formula like *di, obsecro vos*, as in Ter. Phorm. 740, had fallen into oblivion in Fronto's time. And I do not believe the suggestion by Eugénie Herrman, TLL s.v. obsecro, that Fronto is here thinking of Cicero's speeches, where *deos obsecrare* does not occur.

90,6 *resecrari*, 'to conjure' (Haines), is an archaism: Plaut. Aul. 684 and Persa 48.

90,7 *me . . . fugerit*: cp. Plaut. Bacch. 36 *me fugiet memoria*; Liv. 9,44,3 *memoriane fugerit (scriptores)*. See at 1,10f.; 51,13.

90,9 *dolor*: see at 182,13.

90,10 *qui*: see at 60,7.

Inpedierit with *ab* is comparatively rare; with gerundive only Cic. Balb. 47 *a republica gerenda*. The form *impedierit* also in Cic. Part. or. 134; Fam. 5,12,8; Vitruv. 4,5,1. See Grammatical Index s.v. perfect.

Dictavi: see at 63,14 and 226,1.

90,11 *mentio: mentionem habere alicuius rei* occurs since Livy and Velleius.
Quin: see at 5,3.

90,12–13 *quod* = *eo quod*: for the omission of the antecedent see at 56,15. We have to do here with *impertire aliquem aliqua re*, not *impertire aliquem aliquid*, as B. Rehm, TLL s.v. impertio, suggests; he compares Apul. Met. 1,2,6 *impertite sermones... curiosum*, but here *sermones* is very dubious. The relatives *quod* and *quos* are restrictive: 'as far as'. Hence the subjunctives *animadverterim* and *legerim*. Cp. Cic. Tusc. 5,55 *omnium eloquentissimi, quos ego audierim*; Quint. Inst. 10,1,98 and 10,1,118 *eorum quos viderim*. See also at 1,15; 104,7; 91,9 *quod ego sciam*.

Neque etc.: the acc. cum inf. depends on *animadverterim*.

Figura: see at 177,22f.

90,14ff. In 164 BC Cato delivered a speech against those who accused him of having abused public money as a commander in Spain or in Sardinia. This speech was held in the senate or in the assembly (*vestrorum* 90,22), not before the censors, as P. Fraccaro, L'orazione di Catone 'De sumptu suo', Studi stor. per l'ant. class. 3, 1910, 378ff., assumes. In this speech Cato simulates a conversation with his secretary (90,20 *noli scribere*; 90,23 *dele*), wondering which parts of a speech he held a few years earlier (*De ea re quod sponsionem feceram cum M. Cornelio*) he could use now to his purpose. We have no further information on either speech. M. Cornelius must have been one of Cato's adversaries, the circle of the Scipiones. It has been supposed that he was M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis (see Münzer, Cornelius 15, RE IV [1900]) or the same Cornelius against whom Cato held his speech *Contra Cornelium apud populum* (p. 60 Jordan; frg. 162 Sblendorio). The fact that Fronto presents as title *De sumptu suo* may point to the original version of the speech, not to the later version in Cato's Origines. See the extensive commentary on this speech in Maria T. Sblendorio-Cugusi's edition 405–421 and Havet, Sur un discours 79f., and Fr. Miltner, M. Porcius Cato Censorius, RE XXII 1 (1952).

90,15 *caudicem*: Varro ap. Non. p. 535,11 *antiqui plures tabulas coniunctas codices dicebant*; Sen. Dial. 10,13,4 *plurium tabularum contextus caudex apud antiquos vocatur.* Later the Romans used *caudex* for tree-trunk and *codex* for book. The fact that Cato speaks of a bundle of waxed tablets implies that the *sponsio* with M. Cornelius had not been edited.

90,16 *de ea re quod*: cp. Cic. Nat. deor. 2,131 *benignitas naturae, quod tam multa... gignit*; Caes. Gall. 1,14,3 *iniuriarum... quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam.* See Kühner II 271; Index Latinitatis s.v. quod.

Sponsionem: the nature of this 'solemn agreement' is not known.

90,17 *perlecta*: documents were not read by the barrister himself but by an official of the court, the *lector* or *recitator*, see e.g. Cic. Inv. 2,139; De orat. 2,223; Cluent. 140; Verr. 4,53; 5,54; Quint. Inst. 6,3,44.

90,20 *per ambitionem*: 'in order to win favour'; this expression occurs here for the first time, later in Sallust, Livy and others.

Dilargitus: 'to deal out'. Our lexica mostly translate it as 'to give away liberally', 'ho donato largamente' (Portalupi), 'to scatter' (Haines).

Attat: 'ho! ho!', a colloquialism only occurring in Plautus, Terence and Accius.

Noli noli: gemination.

Scribere: viz. in his new text. The word has been criticized because the sentence was already in his sponsio cum M. Cornelio.

90,21 *numquam ego*: Schaefer's conjecture has been adopted by Naber, Jordan, Havet, Haines, Portalupi and Sblendorio. In my first edition I had just *numquam*, with Mähly, Mommsen and Della Corte.

Praefectos: in 171 BC the senate appointed two patroni in order to investigate the complaints of the inhabitants of Hispania citerior, Cato and P. Cornelius Scipio, deciding *ne praefecti in oppida sua ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur* (Liv. 43,2,12).

90,22 *inposivi*: Cato uses both forms: *posui* and *posivi*; the latter Agr. praef. 1 and 4. *Imposivi* also Plaut. Rud. 357 and Varro, L.L. 8,8. See at 91,5 and 91,7,

Bona liberos: Schaefer, Eckstein, Haines, Malcovati[1] and A. Ernout, Rev. de Philol. 30, 1956, 149, add *coniuges* after *liberos*; Castiglioni in Malcovati's second edition adds *servos* (not *coniuges*).

90,24 *manubias*: Gell. 13,25,26 *praeda dicitur corpora ipsa rerum, quae capta sunt, manubiae vero appellatae sunt pecunia a quaestore ex venditione praedae redacta*. According to Vel. Gramm. VII 50,3, Caesar wrote *manubiae*, Augustus *manibiae*. Verr. Flacc. frg. 8 Funaioli prefers *manibiae*. For Cato's attitude in this matter see Plut. Cato 10,4 and Catonis Apophth. 26.

90,25 and 91,2; 91,4 *istuc*: see at 231,6.

90,26 *nihil eo minus*: Allen's conjecture has been adopted by Haines, Della Corta and Portalupi; Naber and Havet follow Jordan.

Recitato: Meyer, Oratorum Rom. fragm., has a full stop after *opus est*, but *opus est* with an ablative of a part. perf. pass. is common in older Latin, see Kühner I 764; Hofmann-Szantyr 123 and 393. Cato also has it Agr. 2,6 and frg. 118 Sblendorio. See at 63,19.

90,28 *mire*: in this way, scholiasts indicate a notable passage; also 141,31; 185,23; 238,28.

Paralempseos: see at 89,26.

91,1 *evectionem*: 'a pass to travel post' (Haines), a purism for *diploma* (see at 11,14). After Cato the word only occurs in late Latin, especially in the Codex Theodosianus and Iustinianus where *diploma* is also avoided.

Datavi: this verb also in Plautus, the elder Pliny and in a few late authors, e.g. Optat. App. 3 *data evectione*.

Symbolos: 'authorization papers', 'warrants' (Haines). The word occurs since Plautus, mostly masculine. See Neue-Wagener I[3] 806.

91,2 *perge* with infinitive: 'go on erasing'.

Uti cum maxime: 'totally', an elliptic expression (sc. *deles*). So Ter. Hec. 115 *Bacchidem amabat ut cum maxime*. In Cic. Quint. fr. 2,5,4 the origin of the ellipsis is clear: *domus celebratur ita ut cum maxime* sc. *celebratur*. See Kühner II 480 and at 88, 24f.; 148,15f.

91,3 *pro vino congiario*: 'by way of wine largesse', not 'money for wine-largess' (Haines). It was usual that a commander gave his officers and functionaries a *congiarium* (wine money, cp. *salarium*) as a bonus for special services. What Cato means is that he never gave money to his friends, with the pretext that it was a *congiarium*. The adjective *congiarius* is found only here.

See Mommsen, Staatsrecht I³ 300. See at 213,14.

Apparitores: 'my attendants', the staff of a commander or governor. See Habel, RE II s.v.

Disdidi: Lucr. 6,2 has of *dido* the perfectum *dididerunt. Disdidi* must derive from **disdo*. After Plautus, Cato and Lucretius the verb *dido* is very rare.

91,4 *malo publico*: 'by damaging the state'.

Usque ad lignum: 'down to the wood' (Haines) of the waxed tablet. The expression seems to have become proverbial, cp. Hieron. Epist. 9,1 *non praepeti litura, sed imis, quod aiunt, ceris erasisti.*

91,5 *vide sis* (to his secretary; *sis* = *si vis*) is a colloquial formula of older Latin; see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 132f.

Siet: Cato uses *siet* and *sit*, see Sblendorio 221.

Uti: 'as' (causal), cp. e.g. Plaut. Pseud. 278 *in pauca, ut occupatus nunc sum, confer quid velis.* Originally this *ut* was used with *esse*, later also with other verbs, as here and Caes. Gall. 5,43,5; 6,7,7. See Kühner II 451f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 635. Haines reads *ubi* with Haupt.

91,6 *fecissem*: the subjunctive of indirect speech, whereas *capiebam* is 'on the ground of which I had a right to gain gratitude'.

91,7 *ne invidiae siet*: 'lest it should bring odium upon me' (Haines). The same dat. finalis Pompon. Atell. 8; Cic. Verr. II 3,144; 5,19.

Inductum est with infinitive *licere*: 'it has become the fashion' (Haines). Cato is the only author who uses impersonal *inductum est.*

Inpoene: elsewhere Cato has *inpune*: Agr. 5,2; frg. 122 and 201 Sblendorio. Fronto himself has *impune* 212,17. See at 90,22; 91,5.

91,9 *quod sciam*, 'as far as I know' (Haines), is a frequent expression since Plautus. See Kühner II 307 and at 110,21.

91,10 *legi*: see at 69,42.

91,11–12 *principium ... exorsus*: abundant.

Figura: see at 177,22f.

Usual is *(ex)ordior ab*; here the abl. instrumentalis is used, as often in later Latin; see Kühner I 494.

91,14 Chronology of I 3 and the answer I 4: the twins Antoninus and Commodus were born on 31 August 161. Here they eat bread (91,21f.) but cannot yet speak (91,25). This points to late 162, a period when the roads are *lubricae* (91,17), so October-December 162. 92,7 Marcus asks Fronto to write to Verus, who is now in the East. He left Rome in the spring of 162 (see at 114,14). How long the journey took him is not known; probably he arrived in Antiochia late 162, which agrees with our dating of these letters. Moreover, we have *nepotem tuum saluta* (92,10). When Aufidius Victorinus went to Germany, he left his eldest son M. Aufidius Fronto with his grandfather in Rome. Victorinus left in 162 (see at 178,7), which again proves that these letters were not written in late 161, as Champlin thinks. Mommsen is the only one who dates them 162. Haines, Chronology, 161–162; Cortassa 162–163; all others 163: Naber; Brakman; Dorothy Brock; Haines, edition; Hanslik, Anordnung; Portalupi; Maria Astarita, Cronologia. From 92,2 we may deduce that Marcus is in Rome, and that Faustina and her children are in Lorium.

91,15 *pullulos*: see at 86,17.

Quod quidem: a restrictive relativum in parenthesis: 'and this indeed is the most welcome sight I have ever seen'. See Kühner II 307; Hofmann-Szantyr 560. *Qui quidem* 114,23V is not in parenthesis and has causal meaning. Because of the alliteration *vita* ... *viderim*, Ehrenthal 36 supposes that it concerns an adoption of an old source, comparing Ter. Phorm. 367 *at quem virum! quem ego viderim in vita optimum.*

91,16 *tibi*: see at 35,22.

Simili similius: this traductio or polyptoton was almost certainly taken from Plaut. Amph. 446 *nihil hoc similist similius*; see at 51,6. Cp. Plaut. Capt. 644 *nihil* ... *invenies magis hoc certo certius*; see at 193,2.

Conpendium: on his way to his villa in Aurelia (see at 51,20), Fronto takes a short cut to Lorium.

91,17 *usque* with town names: see Ed. Wölfflin, Usque mit Accusativ, Archiv 4, 1887, 54.

91,18 *tamen*: in spite of the effort it requires; see at 76,22.

Exadvorsum is an archaic adverb; the form *exadvorsum* is found in Plautus and Terence, *exadversum* in Cato, Suetonius and Apuleius. Here it means 'full face', contrary to in profile (*sive* ... *convertissem*). Marcus himself is not in Lorium.

Locupletius: 'on more sides', 'più completamente' (Portalupi), not 'in more places' (Haines) which led me to the false *locuplicius*. Kemper, TL s.v. locupleter, classifies our passages under 'copiously', 'abundantly', but the places he quotes differ considerably from Fronto's. The comparative of the adverb occurs here for the first time. *Sive* ... *sive* explains *locupletius*. See at 37,5–7. Our passage clearly contradicts the rumours *Commodum* ... *non esse de eo* (sc. *Marco*) *natum, sed de adulterio* (Vita Marci 19,1).

91,20 *colore* ... *forti*: see at 194,4.

Panem: white bread made from wheatmeal, and plain bread made from barleymeal.

Bene: see at 62,16.

91,21 *regius*: see at 67,14.

Cibarium: the *panis cibarius* or *secundarius* was the best bread among the *panes sordidi*: Isid. Orig. 20,2,15 *cibarius est qui ad cibum servis datur nec delicatus*. See J. Marquardt & A. Mau, Das Privatleben der Römer II^2 419; A. Mau, Bäckerei, RE II (1896); H. Blümner, Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künsten bei den Griechen und Römern I^2 1912, 78.

Philosopho: Socrates, Diogenes and the Cynics ate μᾶζα: Plut. frg. p. 39 no. 14 Dübner; Ps. Crates, Epist. 14 Hercher; Lucian. Tim. 56; Porphyr. Abst. 1,47. See J. Haussleiter, Der Vegetarismus in der Antike 1935, 171ff., and Brot, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum II (1954).

Prognatus: see at 58,21.

91,22 *quaeso* introduces a solemn prayer, see at 43,17; 37,11. Rhythm and alliteration are characteristic of such a prayer, as in Cato, Agr. 141,2 *te precor quaesoque uti* ... *tu fruges, frumentum, vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris*. See at 86,9–14. It is not a hexameter taken from an ancient poet, as Ehrenthal 42 supposes: *Salvu' sator sit, salva sient sata, salva seges sit,*

and it was rejected by K. Sittl, Jahresb. ü. d. Fort. d. class. Alterthumswiss. 55, XVI 1888, 240. See at 201,10ff. *Sator* is poetical: Pacuv. Trag. 295 *aeternum deorum sator*; Cic. Tusc. 2,21 verse 1080: *caelestum sator*; Verg. Aen. 1,254 and 11,725 *hominum sator atque deorum*; Mart. 10,28,1 *annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi*, a passage showing that it is unusual to use *sator* for an earthly father.

Sata, 'the seed sown' (Haines), are Marcus' children. *Satus*, 'son', and *sata*, 'daughter', are also poetical. The neutrum plur. indicates both sexes.

Seges: 'the seed coming up', not 'the soil' (Haines). Inc. Trag. 173 Klotz the word is used for the armed men arising from the dragon's teeth.

91,23 *etiam* refers to *audivi*, *quoque* to *voculas*, so it is, strictly speaking, not abundant. *Etiam quoque* is often found in Plautus, Terence and many other authors; it seems to be colloquial rather than archaic. W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1, erroneously assumes that Fronto has it from Plautus, and Hofmann-Szantyr 523 see it as an archaism. See Kühner II 53; 637; TLL s.v. etiam.

91,24 *lepidum illum et liquidum*: the alliteration and the i-sound imitate the children's *pipulus*, and the letter *l* accentuates the sweet situation; cp. J. Marouzeau, Traité de stilistique latine, Paris 1962, 27. *Liquidus* is often used for the sound of little birds.

91,25 *pipulo*: in Plaut. Aul. 446 (and perhaps Mil. 584) the word means 'screech', and in both passages the MSS have *populo*, as here m[1]. Tert. Monog. 16,5 speaks of *infantes pipiantes*, 'screeching babies'. Varro, L.L. 5,103, derives it from *pipatu pullorum*, which shows that it is here 'the tiny piping' (Haines), 'peeping', 'chirping'. It is, of course, not an archaism, as Schwierczina, Frontoniana 19; Hofer; Lannoy; and Marache, Mots 94, think, but a nursery word; see W. Heraeus, Archiv 13, 1904, 171.

91,26–27 *oculeis . . . auribus*: cp. Sen. Epist. 6,5 *homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt.*

92,1 Chronology: see at 91,14.

92,2 *quom* identicum: Birley, Mark Aurel 232, correctly: 'ich habe meine kleine Söhne durch deine Augen zu sehen bekommen'. *Quom* is not 'when' (Haines) or 'quando' (Portalupi). The next *cum* is 'when' (Haines). See Kühner II 330; Hofmann-Szantyr 622f.; and at 66,16; 235,3f.

92,3 *ama, amas*: an epistolary formula, see at 38,3.

92,4 *istos nostros*: see at 1,10.

92,5 *iucunditas* of someone's language also Cic. Rep. 5,11 *Menelao . . . fuit suaviloquens iucunditas*; Quint. Inst. 10,1,96 of Horace; 10,1,101 of Livy; 10,1,113 of Cicero.

92,6 *produxit* with *ut* also Rhet. Her. 1,3,4 and Sen. Dial. 11,8,3. Usually *ut* is combined with *adduco, induco* and *perduco.*

92,6–7 *nos ceteros*: 'nous autres', as Plaut. Aul. 330 and Liv. 9,9,19 *vos ceteri.*

92,7 *peto* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Scriptites: see at 91,14.

92,8 *valde volt*: the same alliteration Caes. Cic. Att. 14,1,2 *quidquid vult, valde vult.* On *volt* see Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

92,8–9 Marcus was determined not to admit any of Verus' shortcomings; see at 78,20; 80,9; Vita Marci 8,13; 12,8; 15,3; Vita Veri 4,11; 5,8; 8,9.

92,10 *nepotem*: see at 178,7.

92,11 Chronology: this letter *litteris tuis nuper ad me scriptis . . . respondet* (92,13), quoting Antonin. I 4 (92,20). So it was written late 162; see at 91,14.

92,12 *Ante . . . relatum*: 'first done, then entered' (Haines). Fronto wants to give the matter due consideration before putting his answer on paper. A principle of bookkeepers is that an entry (*relatum*) should not be made until business had been settled (*gestum*). Cic. De orat. 2,280 *cum Scaurus accusaret Rutilium ambitus, cum ipse consul esset factus, ille repulsam tulisset, et in eius tabulis ostenderet litteras A.F.P.R. idque diceret esse Actum Fide P. Rutilii, Rutilius autem Ante Factum, Post Relatum, C. Cannius . . . cum Rufo adesset, exclamat neutrum illis litteris declarari; quid ergo?, inquit Scaurus, Aemilius Fecit, Plectitur Rutilius.* This witty passage proves that *Ante factum, post relatum* was proverbial (see at 48,3) and not borrowed from Cicero, as Schwierczina, Frontoniana 30, thinks. In their commentary on Cicero's De oratore (Leipzig [5]1878), Piderit and Adler erroneously translate 'schon früher verausgabt, aber erst unter einem späteren Termin eingetragen'; the same explanation is given by A.S. Wilkin's edition, Oxford 1892, and in the Budé edition of E. Courbaud, Paris 1927. *Factum* and *gestum* do not mean 'paid' but 'done', and as such the expression has nothing to do with the *codex accepti et expensi. In tabulas* or *in codicem referre*, 'to enter', is used since Cicero. Thilo, Der Codex 90f., correctly translates 'erst das Geschäft, dann das Protokoll'. For older interpretations see Thilo.

92,15 *menti . . . offerebant*: 'came into my mind' (Haines).

92,15–16 *supino rostro*: 'beak in air' (Haines), a proverb (*ut dicitur*, see at 48,3) indicating that one makes too light of his task. The proverb is found only here, but cp. Hor. Sat. 1,6,5 *naso suspendis adunco*, 'giving oneself airs', Plin. Nat. 11,158 *infra eas* (sc. *genas*) *hilaritatem risemque indicantes buccae, et altior homini tantum, quem novi mores subdolae inrisioni dicavere, nasus*, and Quint. Inst. 11,3,69 *deiecto (capite) humilitas et supino adrogantia . . . ostenditur.* See A. Ernout & R. Pépin, Pline l'Ancien, Histoire Naturelle XI, Paris 1947, p. 168.

92,16 *senatus dies* does not occur until Vell. 2,35,1 and Val. Max. 2,1,9. See at 35,1M.

92,17 *semul*, archaic for *simul*, occurs since Plautus. (In the crit. app. read Pease for Pearce.)

92,17–18 *ut cum sole ventus*: a far-fetched image. Haines supposes that Fronto means that as the wind finds freer entrance to our bodies when the sun has caused us to lay aside our wraps, so toil makes itself more felt when joy has relaxed our energies. Slightly different is the explanation by Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 93f.: I experienced the toil in the senate so much the more intensely because it penetrated me along with joy, as the wind with sunshine. I think that Fronto made a mistake and that he wanted to say *ut cum vento sol*: the sun gives more trouble when the wind blows (for then we get a sunburn), just as the toil in the senate is felt more intensely when at the same time our heart is filled with joy.

92,18 *quod*: Rubenbauer, TLL s.v. fraus, erroneously connects the *quod* sentence with *ne fraudi sit.*

Suo tempore: see at 110,6.

92,18–19 *praesto adfuerit*: abundant, see at 57,11. *Adfuerit* = *aderit*, see at 1,10f.

92,19 *veniam*: 'favour' or 'permission' rather than 'indulgence' (Haines), not 'scuse' (Portalupi).

Relationibus: 'motions', a constitutional term (cp. *referre ad senatum*). P. Frassinetti, Athenaeum 54, 1976, 219, rejects 'relazioni' of Portalupi's first edition, but his 'recriminazione' is even worse; yet it is adopted by Portalupi in her second edition. Haines adopts Kiessling's conjecture. Tac. Ann. 13,49,2 *licere patribus, quotiens ius dicendae sententiae accepissent, quae vellent expromere relationemque in ea postulare* ('to ask the consuls formally to bring the matter before the senate').

Ne fraudi sit (a principal sentence): 'that it be without prejudice' (Haines). A *relatio* was permitted on the condition that it was not to the prejudice of the state. Fronto simply means that the reasons for the delay of his letter are no false pretence. *Fraudi ne esto* and *ne fraudi sit* are old legal terms, see TLL s.v. fraus.

92,20 *amas*: Mai, Madvig and Housman prefer *amasti* because of 92,5 and *tute ostendis* (92,23).

92,21 *inquis* at the end of the quotation also 158,1.

92,22 *illo tempore*: see at 67,16.

92,23 *tibi*: see at 47,1.

Tute is not an adverb, as Ebert, Synt. 21, thinks. See at 175,11.

Vide... ne: see at 4,1 and 67,9.

Quaeso: see at 43,17.

92,24 *defrudes*: *defr(a)udare* occurs in old Latin, in Cicero only Fam. 7,10,2 and then in later writers. Priebe I 13 and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 24, regard it as an archaism, but it seems to be colloquial. *Se defraudare*, 'to wrong oneself', occurs also Plaut. Aul. 724 and Fronto 231,8 *ne te somno defrudes*, 'to rob'.

Detrimentum: 'diminuation' (Haines), as 109,23.

92,25 *velim credas*: see at 37,11.

Certus: cp. e.g. Plaut. Pseud. 685 *certa amittimus, dum incerta petimus*; Cic. Fam. 10,16,2 *cures ut ante factum aliquod a te egregium audiamus quam futurum putarimus*; Planc. Cic. Fam. 10,7,2 *quarum rerum spe ad laudem me vocasti, harum fructu... facias alacriorem*; Sall. Cat. 41,2 *pro incerta spe certa praemia.*

92,27 *Panygyricus*: see at 207,12.

93,1–3 *egone... nonne*: because of the long interval, Fronto uses *nonne* instead of the usual *non*. On *-ne* see at 48,7 and Index Latinitatis s.v. -ne.

93,1 *ingeniei tui*: see at 87,26.

93,2–3 *herba* etc.: Landi, L'autore del Dialogus, and Mazzarino, Brevissime 272, assume that Fronto has in mind Tac. Dial. 9,4 *omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem velut in herba vel flore praecerpta ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem*, but it is a locus communis found first in Cato frg. 196 Sblendorio: *nunc ita aiunt in segetibus, in herbis bona frumenta esse. nolite ibi nimiam spem habere.* Add to the passages quoted by Otto: Cic. Fin. 5,43; Orat. 107; Sen. Epist.

34,1; 121,15; Quaest. Nat. 5,18,3; Tac. Hist. 5,7,1; Ambros. Noe 2,5; Claud. 18,495. See A. Gudeman's edition of the Dialogus, Leipzig [2]1914, 244. The same thought 93,14–16; 106,10f.; 119,5f.; 127,5. See at 30,1.

93,3 *multo multoque*: see at 26,23 and 118,13f.

93,4 *agrestium* often has, also as substantive, the meaning of 'bumpkins'. *Aratorum*: 'farm-hands' (who do not own the land). Note the chiasmus of *omnium*.

93,5–6 *quae* etc.: modern editors translate 'I indeed, being granted all that I wished and prayed for, have been cast and fined in my very wishes and prayers' (Haines). But we can hardly accept the very unusual ellipsis of *eorum* before *quae optavi... compos* (see at 56,15). *Damnare* can be used with the genitive *votorum*, but not *multare* (cp. Naev. Com. 33 *votis me multat meis*). In legal and religious language it is usual to repeat in the principal sentence (*optatorum votorumque*) what is said in the relative sentence (*quae optavi quaeque vovi*). Another peculiarity of legal language is to use both *damnare* and *multare* with accusative (see Hofmann-Szantyr 76). So we must interpret *quae optavi* as *ea quae optavi*, lest this relative sentence be in the air: 'I indeed am cast and fined now in all that I wished and prayed for, being granted all my wishes and prayers'. *Compos votorum* is used since Hor. Ars 76; in Fronto 78,10M; 86,10M; 234,12M. *Optata* as substantive also 182,16. On *vota* see G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, München [2]1912, 381f.

Damnatus sum: perf. praesens.

93,6–7 *in eam multam* etc.: 'to meet that fine I put in my doubled love for you' (Haines), not 'il tuo amore' (Portalupi), see at 42,20. It corresponds to *nonne multo multoque amplius diligam?* Boissonade's conjecture has been accepted by all modern editors, cp. *pecuniam deferre, deferre in aerarium, in censum, in rationes.*

93,7–8 *ut... dimidio*: in the case of a *multa*—which is not the same as *poena*, see Varro, L.L. 5,177; Ulp. Dig. 50,16,131,1—the maximum fine was a half (of the fortune) less one thousand; thus law prevented total ruin.

Multas inrogari is a legal term, cp. *poenam inrogatam* 195,11.

Mille sc. *asses* (or *nummi*, rather than *sestertii*); only here and Iavol. Dig. 35,1,40,5 *mille heres meus dato, mille* is used without a substantive indicating the price. Possibly the abbreviation *A* before *assae* has been dropped. For *A* = *asses* see the inscriptions mentioned in the TLL s.v. as. Instead of *dimidio. assae*, we should certainly not read with Mai[3] *dimidio asse.*

Antiquitus shows that Fronto is quoting Cato's speech Pro Rhodiensibus, inserted in the Origines: *mille minus dimidium familiae multa esto* (Caton, Les origines V 3 e, ed. by Martine Chassignet, Paris 1986, 46: 'que l'amende soit de mille as de moins que la moitié de sa fortune'). Both here and in Fronto, *mille minus dimidium* stands for *mille minus quam dimidium* (or *mille minus dimidio*); for the ellipsis of *quam* see Kühner II 471. For other interpretations of the passage of Cato see Chassignet and Maria Sblendorio-Cugusi's edition of Cato 340. Add to the literature mentioned there: Rudorff, Römische Rechtsgeschichte II 418ff.; Kübler, Iuristisches 592; W. Hillebrand, Multa, RE Suppl. VI (1935).

93,8 *assae nutricis*: a 'dry-nurse'. Schol. Iuv. 14,208 *assa nutrix dicitur quae*

lac non praestat infantibus, sed solum diligentiam et munditiam adhibet: nutricula sicca. Marcus had such a nurse: Vita Marci 2,1. CIL VI 29497 shows that some of them were much respected. The image of a loving nurse has become a locus communis since Hom. Od. 19,483; cp. e.g. I Thess. 2,7. See von Petrikovits, Nutrix, RE XVII 2 (1937); Th. Hopfner, Amme, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum I (1950).

93,9 *suscensere* with acc. cum inf. since Liv. 7,13,9.

93,10 *campo aut foro*: metonymy for political and forensic activities. It was on the Campus Martius that during the republic the comitia were held (not 'playground' [Haines]). Cic. Mur. 44 *in forum et in campum deduci*; 79; Liv. 9,46,11. *In campo, in foro, in curia*: Cic. Catil. 2,1; 4,2; Sen. Dial. 2,12,2; Quint. Inst. 11,1,47.

Tac. Dial. 34,1 *apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille, qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur . . . deducebatur a patre.* See Fronto 186,5f.; 188,8.

Litteratores: teachers of the elementary school, the ludi magistri. Apul. Flor. 20,3 *(in eruditione) prima creterra litteratoris rudimento eximit, secunda grammatici doctrina instruit, tertia rhetoris eloquentia armat.*

Isti is contemptuous, see at 60,23. Professional teachers stood in bad repute, see 153,5f. and Quint. Inst. 12,11,14 *culpa est in praeceptoribus prima, qui libenter detinent quos occupaverunt, partim cupiditate diutius exigendi mercedulas, partim ambitione, quo difficilius videatur esse quod pollicentur, partim etiam inscientia tradendi vel neglegentia.* See at 261,26; 264,7ff.

93,11 *mercedem pendunt*: elementary, secondary and higher education was given by professional, paid teachers, see Cic. Phil. 2,8; 2,43; 2,84; De orat. 1,126; Sen. Contr. 9,3(26),14; Sen. Benef. 6,15,2; Iuv. 7,149; 7,157; 7,228; Petron. 58,8; Plin. Epist. 4,13,5; Gell. 5,10,4; Iulian. Dig. 27,2,4; Auson. 207,10 Peiper. Our passage may imply that Fronto was not paid for his teaching as a rhetor, see at 178,13 and 238,18f.

93,12 *ego . . . accessi*: because of *pueritia* (93,14) it has been assumed that Fronto became Marcus' teacher under Hadrian (so Niebuhr and P. von Rohden, RE I 2238 [1894]). J. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto 1314, and Ussani, Frontone 40, even think that he started his lessons roughly as early as 130; Schwendermann, Der historische Wert 9, and H. Rutledge, Class. Journ. 56, 1960, 101, date the beginning of these lessons about 135; P.L. Schmidt, Fronto, Kleine Pauly (1967) 'in den dreissiger Jahren'; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 73 and 378, dates it 136–137. This must be incorrect: higher education, especially rhetoric, usually started about the age of sixteen, when the toga virilis was assumed, see H.I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, Paris 1948, 360. For his elementary and secondary education Marcus had private teachers, litteratores and grammatici: Medit. 1,4; Vita Marci 2,1–3. However, Fronto was not a grammaticus but a rhetor, so his lessons cannot have started until 136, when Marcus assumed the toga at the age of (almost) fifteen (Vita Marci 4,5), shortly before his adoption by Pius on 25 February 136. We should not be confused by *pueritia* or by 148,17 *primi tui sensus et incunabula studiorum tuorum mihi cognita sunt*, or by 54,1f. where, according to Fronto, Marcus was *ante pubertatem vir bonus, ante togam virilem dicendi peritus.* There are two reasons why we must assume that

Fronto's lessons did not start until 138: firstly, there are no letters that can be dated before 139 (see at 42,4; 44,1; 88,11–14); secondly, Hadrian could hardly be expected to allow the appointment of a tutor whom he disliked (see at 25,3–9; 53,24; 238,11f.). Pius appointed Fronto only after Hadrian's death on 10 July 138, and that for three reasons: Fronto was the most celebrated lawyer and rhetor of his time; his contubernium (a boarding-house for young men with aspirations, see at 172,5) must have impressed Pius; and last but not least, Pius wanted a conservative to counterbalance Marcus' philosophical interests (see at 49,19–50,1; 67,16; 67,26). Fronto was such a man, an amiable pedagogue averse to all philosophy. There is no reason to believe that it was Domitia Lucilla who chose Fronto as a teacher, as J.A. de Groot, Hermeneus 20, 1948 9, 19, supposes. That Fronto was appointed in 138 is generally accepted since Haines, edition I p. XXI.

Curam cultumque: the same alliteration 112,4.

93,12–13 *hunc* ... *qui* is almost *talem* ... *qualis*; cp. 235,15 *has* ... *vices ut* and 105,15M *hoc genus quae.*

93,14–16 The same thought 106,9–11.

93,15 *inluculascit*, 'begins to break' (Haines), occurs only here; cp. *diluculascere.*

93,16 *orbe* ... *disseminata: virtus* depicted as the sun, with dazzling disc and its rays spread out on all sides. *Disseminata* is not a lucky choice, either in combination with *virtus* or as an image of the sun (*sol disseminat radios suos*).

93,17 *luciscentis*: Fronto is the first to use this verb in a poetical metaphor.

Tui: 'my love for you' (Haines); see at 42,20. It refers to *ama me quomodo amasti* 92,4f.

93,18 *dilucula*: A. Gudeman, TLL s.v., regards it as a poetical plural, but it just seems to render every morning's break of day. See at 31,11. The plural is not found in other writers. The margin's *crepusculum* is a mistake.

Quaeso: see at 43,17.

93,19 *amplius* = *magis, plus*, see at 5,18 and 65,22.

93,21 *incipiam* with *ab* and infinitive is not frequent, e.g. Rhet. Her. 3,9,17 *si ab narratione dicere incipiamus.*

Obsequia erga patrem: 'the services rendered', not 'devotion' (Haines). Cp. Vita Marci 6,8 *erat autem in summis obsequiis patris Marcus*; Cass. Dio 71,35,3 τῷ τε Ἀντωνίνῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμμελέστατα ἐδούλευσε.

93,22 *praesentibus officiis*: in the lost part of this letter, Fronto is going to conclude that Marcus' sense of duty as an emperor is even greater than his devotion to Pius as Caesar.

93,23 *iuxta*: see at 179,3.

Balneo: see at 63,3.

93,27 *panygyricus*: see at 207,12.

93,30 *altus*: from *alere.*

94,1 *temet deducere*, 'to deny yourself' (Haines), occurs only here. Usually, *deducere* has *ab* or *de* (as 134,13 and 170,10). *Se diducere* (so Novák) occurs only in Mela 3,69, though in a different sense.

94,1–3 Vita Marci 7,2 *nec praeter duas noctes per tot annos* (138–161) *ab eo* (sc. *Pio*) *mansit diversis vicibus.*

Itineris: 'journey', not 'exercise' (Haines). In the letters Ad M. Caes., Marcus always accompanies Pius to his villas and seaside resorts, even when he does not like it (30,17f.).

Tua tempora habuisse: 'to have the disposal of your own time'.

94,4–12 These letters cannot be dated: 161–167 with Champlin; Haines, Chronology, 161–162, edition 163.

94,9 *Festino*: see at 27,19.

95,1–2 See Proleg. I.f.

95,3 Chronology of II 1 and the answer II 2, and of Ad amicos I 14: Matidia the younger has just died, nearly eighty years old; cp. W. Eck, Matidia, RE Suppl. XV (1978), and Maria Astarita, Cronologia 14ff. She was Hadrian's sister-in-law, an aunt of Pius and a great-aunt of Marcus. Verus (96,4f.) and Aufidius Victorinus (see at 179,10) are a long way from Rome: Verus went to the East in the spring of 162, arriving in Antiochia in the second half of 162; Aufidius left for Germany in 162 (see at 61,5). The letters are usually dated 162 (Haines, Kübler [see below], Pepe, Portalupi and Eck) or shortly after (Astarita, Cronologia, and Amelotti [see below]); 161 by Grimal, Marc Aurèle 294; 161 or later by Brakman; 162–165 by Champlin; 162–166 by Cortassa; and 164 by Birley, Mark Aurel 239. We can prove, however, that these letters were written before Lucilla's marriage to Verus mid-164, so we must date them 162–163. Mommsen, Chronologie, also dates them 162 or shortly after, but he thinks that Antonin. IV 1, where Matidia is still alive (105,8), was written in 162, not 161. Naber erroneously assumes that Antonin. II 1 and 2 belong to Ad M. Caes. book II, see Proleg. I.f.

95,4ff. As to Matidia's last will, our information is defective. We have these two letters and Ad amicos I 14, a letter to which Fronto appended a copy of Antonin. I 1 (180,6). Moreover, we have a legal advice in this matter from Marcus' solicitor Scaevola in Dig. 35,2,26 *lineam margaritorum triginta quinque legavit, quae linea apud legatarium fuerat mortis tempore. quaeso an ea linea heredi restitui deberet propter legem Falcidiam. respondit posse heredem consequi, ut ei restituatur, ac, si malit, posse vindicare partem in ea linea, quae propter legis Falcidiae rationem deberet remanere.* 1. *Quaesitum est, an pretium statuarum Falcidiam pati debeat. respondit debere.* (These last sentences may have nothing to do with Matidia's will.) Scaevola states clearly that the lex Falcidia might be put into effect; so we cannot say with Kübler that it could not be applied to alimony foundations before Severus and Caracalla on the ground of Marcian. Dig. 35,2,89 pr. *divi Severus et Antoninus rescripserunt pecuniam relictam ad alimenta puerorum Falcidiae subiectam esse.* Faustina calls upon Fronto (96,7f.) to appeal to Marcus, for she is afraid *ne quid philosophia perversi suaderet* (180,5). Matidia had no children (probably she never married) and she was a very rich woman who owned villas and estates in and outside Italy. She was a daughter of L. Vibius Sabinus and Matidia Sr. and an aunt of Pius. She had made Faustina her heir (95,18 *uxoris tuae causa*; 179,14 *Augusta*), probably quite some time before her death, in which case she may have left her possessions to Pius, on the understanding that if she outlived him they would go to Marcus' wife Faustina. The *Variani alumni* (179,12) and

haps the *puellae Faustinianae* (see at 95,5) came in for a legacy, as did Marcus' eldest daughters Faustina and Lucilla (95,11), who came into Matidia's jewellery which they had already worn on official occasions (95,12; Scaevola, Dig.). During the last years of her life, Matidia seems to have made a mess of her financial affairs: in a codicil (*codicilli* 180,2 is always a plur. tantum) she had bequeathed large sums of money to persons unknown to us (the *navi et strenui viri* 180,2 are the legatees; 95,10 *quibus*) and their witnesses, but later she cancelled this legacy (*inciderat* 180,3). Immediately after her death, these men appeared with the sealed codicil and claimed their legacy (180,4). According to Faustina, this was sheer fraud (180,3) but, remarkably enough, Fronto in his letter to Marcus does not mention it: either he knew that it was only a rumour, or he must have realized that fraud could not be proved. The codicil brought on another problem: it appeared that, together with the sum of money bequeathed in the codicil, the total of legacies surpassed three-quarters (*dodrans*) of Matidia's inheritance; this was against the Falcidian law, which stipulated that the heir was entitled to one quarter (*quadrans*) of the fortune. In a case like this, the situation was as follows: Faustina could relinquish her right to the *quadrans* and pay out all the legacies, but it appears that she stood firm. Now the praetor had to appoint a curator in order to fix the amount by which the legacies had to be cut down, and the curator had to draw up a list of those *bona* (95,7) which should be put up for auction (*distractis* 95,7), so that the money for the (reduced) legacies could be paid. Apparently the curator chose for the jewels to be sold, and it is at this stage that Fronto's letter was written. The curator's decision met with fierce opposition by Faustina and her daughters: they wanted to keep both the *quadrans* and the jewels. At this point, Marcus could have brought into play his patria potestas, forcing his daughters to renounce the jewellery, but again there was a difficulty: his eldest daughter Faustina was about sixteen years old and probably married to Cn. Claudius Severus. Lucilla, on the other hand, was only thirteen or fourteen and, in spite of her engagement to L. Verus, not yet emancipated. In this situation it is understandable why Marcus asked Verus' advice (96,4–7) and why Scaevola mentioned only one *legatarius* and, of the jewellery, only the string of pearls: it was Lucilla who had inherited the pearls. See at 95,12. But why Lucilla, not her elder sister Faustina? Birley, Mark Aurel 212, puts a similar question: why did Verus marry Lucilla, not Faustina? What was wrong with her? Was she 'ständig kränklich', as R. Hanslik, Faustina 1, Kleine Pauly 2, Nachträge, and Birley 189 suppose (see 65,4)? Anyway, Fronto found himself in an awkward position: as a lawyer, he realized that Faustina and her daughter had a poor chance to keep both the *quadrans* and the necklace, so he could only vent his moral indignation over those who were out for money (180,2), and he may have been right: Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 248ff., devotes three pages to 'Erbschleicher' in imperial Rome. Scaevola's responsum presents difficulties: the first alternative says that Lucilla can *restituere* the necklace to her mother, the heir; the other possibility is the *partis rei vindicatio*: the chain will be divided and Lucilla will get as many pearls as the Falcidian *quadrans* allows. But what

is the effect of the first alternative, the *restitutio*? According to Lotmar (see below), we have to do with the *interdictum quod legatorum*, which allowed Faustina to lay hands on the chain without being saddled with the *dodrans* of the legatees, cp. e.g. Ulp. Dig. 35,2,1,11 *si legatarius possessionem nactus est et non potest avocari ei res, quia voluntate heredis errantis nactus est possessionem, dabitur actio heredi, ut id quod supra dodrantem est, offeratur* (*errantis*: Faustina did not know that, with the pearls, more than the *dodrans* should go to the legatees). But how could Scaevola propose such an unequal choice, and that with the words *ac si malit*? Therefore some Romanists have deleted the words *ac si... remanere*. We do not know what Marcus' decision has been, but he certainly will not have contested the rights of the codicil: Vita Marci 7,1 *existimationis autem tantam curam habuit, ut... hereditates delatas reddens proximis aliquando respuerit*. Papin. Dig. 31,67,10 calls him *iuris religiosissimus*; Aur. Vict. Caes. 16,11 *legum ambigua mire distincta*. See also Cod. Iust. 6,35,11,2 and 3; 7,2,6. Marcus' answer is cryptic: it seems that he is going to accept the inheritance while trying to keep the jewels for his daughters, though not at Faustina's terms. Modern Romanists differ in their interpretation of our case: see the notes of Niebuhr and Haines, and further Schrader, Neuentdeckte Quellen 140f.; Dirksen, Beitrag 248ff.; Lotmar, Zur Geschichte 89ff.; Kübler, Das Perlenhalsband 353ff.; Fr. Schwarz, Die Rechtswirkungen der Lex Falcidia, Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung 63, 1943, 362ff.; G. Boyer, Mélanges J. Magnol 1948, 21ff. (= Mélanges I 1962, 271ff.); M. Amelotti, Il testamento romano attraverso le prassi documentate I, Firenze 1966, 22; 213; Birley, Mark Aurel 239; Champlin, Fronto 70ff.; Sciascia, Il testamento 4073ff.; Laura, Fronto, Epistula II 1,318ff. (very rambling); Grimal, Marc Aurèle 295f.

95,4 *abripere... filios*: since Naber, editors follow Buttmann's conjecture *terrae ut*, and I now think that they are right. *Abripere te filios* does not make sense, whether we take *te* as subject or as object. For *praeut* see at 15,9, and for *ut dicitur* at 48,3. *Terrae filii* is a well-known expression: Min. Fel. 21,7 *ignobiles et ignotos terrae filios nominamus*; Tert. Nat. 2,12,32 *volgo generis incertos terrae filios iactitamus*; Apol. 10,10 *terrae filios vulgus vocat quorum genus in incerto est*. The expression is already found in Cic. Fam. 7,9,3 *Cn. Octavius... tuus familiaris, summo genere natus, terrae filius* ('a Lord Tomnoddy', Tyrrell & Purser), and when this Octavius invites Cicero to a dinner, Cicero answers (Fam. 7,16,2) *oro te, quis tu es?* Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. terra 2, refers to the comic poet Alexis (fourth century BC) in T. Kock's Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta II 108,5 βῶλος, ἄροτρον, γηγενὴς ἄνθρωπος, where γηγενής, according to Liddell & Scott, means 'boorish'. Fronto goes even further by calling these abject people *cellae filios*: children born in the sheds where slaves are sleeping, the *cellas familiae* of Cato, Agr. 14,2. Haines translates very well 'children of the gutter' (not 'sneaks', as Champlin, Fronto 71). See TLL s.v. filius. *Filii* for children is quite frequent: Quint. Inst. 9,3,63 *marem feminamque filios dicimus*.

De, instead of the gen. partitivus, belongs to *tantam pecuniam*, cp. e.g. Caes. Gall. 1,15,2 *pauci de nostris*; see at 21,1.

95,4–5 *Tantam... thesauris... pecuniam prodigei*: alliteration.

95,5 *Antonini... alumna*: Antoninus must be Pius, not Marcus, as Portalupi[1]

and Laura think. In our context, *alumna* is a 'foster-child' (see 179,12), not a 'protégée' (Haines) or a 'parasite' (Champlin, Fronto 71), and certainly not a '"protetta' nel senso di "erede"' (Portalupi[2]). The question is whether this sentence has anything to do with Matidia's will. Dirksen thinks it does: Matidia may have earmarked a large sum of money as a legacy for Pius' *puellae Faustinianae*, a fund named after the elder Faustina: Vita Pii 8,1 *puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustinae Faustinianas constituit.* This fits the female *alumna*, whereas the *Variani alumni* (179,12) were both boys and girls. In this case, *acceperit* stands for the future 'will get' (Haines; see at 1,10f.), which means that Egatheus is still in office under Marcus. On the other hand, Fronto may refer to a precedent: it is bad enough that so much money of Pius' treasury is thrown away (*prodigei* and *accipiat* in the present time because of the continual annual payment) so that Egatheus got nothing (*unde* with subjunctive; 'er habe bekommen' [Kübler], 'sia venuto ad' [Portalupi]). In this period, the Falcidian *quadrans* was not applicable to alimentary funds, so the fiscus would get nothing either.

Nescio quae ista: 'some wretched foster-child'. The same combination Cic. Verr. II 5,79; Sest. 68; Quint. Declam. 293. In 264,11 we have *nescio quid hoc.*

Altilis is said of crammed poultry (see 228,2), metaphorically only here and Plaut. Cist. 305 *dote altili atque opima.* Because of the alliteration, Ehrenthal 38 thinks that this is a quotation from an old source.

95,6 *Egatheus*: in a bilingual inscription, CIL VI 8440 = Dessau 1529, this freedman is mentioned: *T. Aurelius Egatheus imp. Antonini Aug. lib. a codicillis.* We should not, with O. Seeck, Codicilli, RE IV (1900), and Kübler o.c., regard the *a codicillis* as an official who had to investigate whether the emperor could accept an inheritance or a legacy: why should his function be named after the informal codicils and not *a testamentis* or *a legatis*, terms that do not exist? Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten 118 n. 3, thinks that the *a codicillis* was a subordinate to the *procurator rationis hereditatium*, and Portalupi that he was a treasurer: it is more likely that we should take *codicilli* here as rescripts which settled imperial appointments, assents and financial regulations. This is the opinion of E. De Ruggiero, Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romana II 318, and of H. Spelthahn, TLL s.v. codicillus.

95,7 *distractis*: Gaius, Dig. 27,10,5 *curator . . . constituitur, cum clara persona veluti senatoris vel uxoris eius in ea causa sit, ut eius bona venire debeant . . .; curator constituitur distrahendorum bonorum gratia . . . a praetore.*

Lineam: Plin. Nat. 9,119ff. (see also Macrob. Sat. 3,17,15ff.) speaks of a pearl of Cleopatra's worth ten million sestertii, far more than the cost of a private bathhouse, see at 263,41.

95,10 *minus* sc. *pecuniae. Minus* does not stand for *non*, as Ebert, Synt. 25, thinks.

Quibus legatum erat: 'who had come into a legacy'.

An non is not *nonne*, as the translations by Haines and Portalupi suggest, see at 95,14. It means 'or perhaps not', and it is used especially in dialogues or fictitious dialogues, like here. See Kühner II 517.

95,11 *margarita*: the note in the margin agrees with Serv. Aen. I 655

dicimus . . . et haec margarita et hoc margaritum; see also Non. p. 213,25 and Schol. Stat. Theb. 6,62; Neue-Wagener I[3] 820f.; Rommel, Margarita, RE XIV (1930).

Filiabus: as Matidia probably made her will some years before this letter was written, only Faustina (born 147) and Lucilla (born 149) can be considered; other daughters were not born until 159.

95,12 *collos*: masculine *collus* is archaic, *collum* is used since Cicero, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 795. Usually the plural is *colla*, not *collos*. *Collos filiarum* suggests that among the *ornamenta* there was another necklace (destined for Faustina?).

95,13 *ut cuius tandem*: an interrogative sentence in a subordinate clause has usually the interrogative in front, e.g. Ter. Eun. 573 *quid ex ea re tandem ut caperes commodi?* On *tandem* see at 11,13.

95,14 *non adibitur*: if Faustina would refuse to take possession of the inheritance, the nearest agnatus would inherit.

95,14–15 *summo . . . opibus*: Haines and Portalupi regard these ablatives as abl. qualitatis with *femina*, but they are abl. causae with *nobilissima*.

95,15 *intestata*: Ulp. Dig. 38,16,1 pr. *intestati proprie appellantur qui, cum possent testamentum facere, testati non sunt; sed et is, qui testamentum fecit, si eius hereditas adita non est, . . . intestatus non improprie dicetur decessisse.*

95,16 *decreveris* is not quite correct: it was the senate who passed such a resolution, see e.g. Tac. Ann. 6,11,6; Suet. Vit. 3.

Ademeris testamentum: 'you will have robbed her of her will' (Haines, and so Portalupi[2]), not 'se anullerai il testamento' (Portalupi[1]).

95,17 *adhuc usque*: see at 160,8.

95,18 *uxorisne*: on *-ne* see at 48,7.

Inchoabis with infinitive is only found in later Latin, Lucanus, Pliny the Elder etc.

95,19–20 Portalupi[1] and Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 309, incorrectly deny that this is a proverb. Add to the examples given by C. Weyman in Nachträge zu Otto: Sudas s.v. Ἀθηνόδωρος στωικός· ὃν ὁ Σαλούστιος θαυμάζων ἐπὶ σπουδῇ ἔλεγεν ὅτι πυρὶ ἄρα ἐῴκει ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξάπτοντι πάντα τὰ παρακείμενα, and Apoll. Sid. Epist. 3,3,9 *(regum) consuetudinem spectatissimus quisque flammarum naturae bene comparat, quae, sicut paululum a se remota inluminant, ita satis sibi admota comburunt* (see at 272,7). Note the alliteration *longinquis lucebis.*

95,21 *rescriptum*: see at 165,1. Chronology: see at 95,3.

95,22 *ergo* as in a dialogue; cp. Plaut. Trin. 988 *Charmides sum:: ergo ipsusne es?*

95,23 *rationem veram*: see Medit. 3,6; 5,14; 7,55; 9,10; 10,11; 12,29.

95,26 *nullam*: Cicero has *nego . . . ullam gemmam* etc. It appears that our scholiast does not quote Cicero himself but some commentary, because *nullam gemmam* is also found in Serv. Aen. 1,655; see Non. p. 213,29 and Schol. Stat. Theb. 6,62.

96,3 *vides*: see at 28,2.

Quid horae: 'at what point in time', 'how late' (Haines); see at 52,7. *Quid, illud, istud horae* is found in Suet. Nero 26,2; Apul. Met. 1,15,5; 6,12,2; Iul.

Val. 3,30; Querol. p. 34,7. See Kühner I 306. Hofmann-Szantyr are wrong to regard it as an archaism. See at 104,11 and 132,4.

Amicorum: the consilium principis. Though Fronto was an amicus of Marcus, he was apparently not a member of the consilium (against Steinmetz, see at 10,14ff.). Since Hadrian the consilium principis was a permanent college of outstanding senators, knights and lawyers. Pius (Vita Pii 6,11) and Marcus consulted them regularly: Vita Marci 22,3 *semper sane cum optimatibus non solum bellicas res sed etiam civiles, priusquam faceret aliquid, contulit.* 4. *denique sententia illius praecipua semper haec fuit: 'aequius est ut ego tot talium amicorum consilium sequar quam ut tot tales amici meam unius voluntatem sequantur'.* See at 3,25f.; 10,14ff.; 46,19; 184,1 and Vita Marci 11,10; Chr. G. Haubold, Opuscula academica I, Lipsiae 1825 187ff.; Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten 449; Mommsen, Staatsrecht II[3] 834ff.; H.F. Hitzig, Die Assessoren der römischen Magistrate und Richter, München 1893, 29ff.; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 74ff.; M. Bang ap. Friedländer IV 72ff.; J. Crook, Consilium Principis, Cambridge 1955, 66ff.; M. Hammond, The Antonine Monarchy, Rome 1959, 370ff. Under Marcus the following persons were members of the imperial counsel: L. Volusius Maecianus (see at 55,23; Dig. 37,14,17 pr.); Q. Cervidius Scaevola (see at 95,4ff.; Ulp. Dig. 36,1,23 pr.; Vita Marci 11,10; A. Stein, PIR II[2] no. 681 p. 151); P. Salvius Iulianus (see E. Bund, Salvius Iulianus, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 15, Berlin/New York 1975). Fronto's son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus was also a member, but he could not be consulted now since he was in Germany, which is the reason why Fronto keeps him informed 179,10.

96,4 *in hoc tempus*: 'for the time being'; it belongs to *collegi* (K. Wulff, TLL s.v. colligo, and Portalupi), not to *consultationem* (Haines).

Nos: Marcus and the amici, not a plur. maiestatis; see at 108,9 and 114,11.

Moverant: 'which had weighed with us', not 'mi avevano turbato' (Portalupi[1]) or 'mi avevano indotto ad agire' (Portalupi[2]).

Domino meo: Marcus also calls Verus *dominum meus* 102,2; 103,9; 103,14. When he was Caesar, Marcus often spoke of his father Pius as *dominus meus*; see at 86,14.

96,5 *facerem . . . praesentem*: 'do as if he were present', cp. Cic. Brut. 218 *se . . . colloquentem facit*; Att. 2,19,5 *in iis epistulis me Laelium . . . faciam.* The classic definition of a letter is that it is a conversation with an absentee, see J. Sykutris, Epistolographie 192,30ff.

96,7 *orationem* is, of course, a joke referring to Fronto's letter. Pepe and Portalupi actually believe that Fronto delivered a speech in the matter of a lawsuit concerning Matidia's inheritance. Cp. 108,19, where *oratio* is also used for a letter, this time quite seriously; cp. 189,18f. *ut cum epistula coniuncta sit quaedam causidicatio.* See at 108,19 and 102,1.

Faustinae: this is the only passage in our correspondence where Faustina comes to the fore. Apparently she had made contact with Fronto; see at 73,10.

Comfestim: this form is found only here. Before *f*, our MS always has *con-*, with the exception of 122,14 *comfutat*; 130,12 *comfligendum*; 184,11 *comflictandum*; cp. *comvertunt* 154,18.

96,9 *isto*: 'that nasty business'.

Bone et optime: Marcus is the first to use this expression; then Apul. Met. 8,9,7 *boni . . . et optimi consules* (verb); Tert. Paen. 4,5 *bonum atque optimum esse quod* etc.; Adv. Marc. 4,16,7 and in a few biblical passages. Apul. Plat. 2,21 *(Plato) sapientem optimum nominat ac bonum* may be a translation of καλὸν κἀγαθόν. See Wölfflin, Die Gemination 476, and Archiv 10, 1898, 561f.

96,10 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

96,13 This fragment cannot be dated: 161–167, but closer to 167 than 161 because of *praeteritae vitae meae paenitet*; Cp. Ad amic. I 19 and 21.

96,14 *male* in colloquial Latin is *valde* since Horace and Catullus; see Hofmann, Umgangssprache 74; TLL s.v.; and at 37,10; 195,17; 182,5 *pessime*.

96,15 *paenitet*: in a melancholy mood Cic. Att. 3,7,2 writes *non potes (efficere), ut me non nostri consilii vitaeque paeniteat*. See also Cic. Planc. 82 and Augustin. Civ. 2,2 p. 55,8 D. Here Fronto does not speak of his physical condition, as 87,21ff., nor of his moral attitude, see 238,8f. Does it refer to his dissatisfaction with Marcus' philosophical way of life?

96,18 Chronology: this letter is undatable: Champlin 161–167. Naber dates it 161; Haines, Chronology, 163–164, edition 163, and so Portalupi. It seems that Marcus is going to write or to hold a speech on the painful first years of the Parthian War; cp. 97,16 *hoc in scripto*. If that is correct, we must date the letter 161–163.

96,20 On the difference between history and oratory see e.g. Cic. Orat. 66; De orat. 2,64; Quint. Inst. 9,4 *De compositione*; 9,4,129; 10,1,31ff.; Plin. Epist. 5,8; Norden, Kunstprosa I 81ff.

96,21 *figuras*, σχήματα, see at 177,22f.

96,21–22 *illum . . . hunc*: Sallust and Cicero.

96,22 *antithetis*: before Fronto, the Latin form of ἀντίθετον only occurs Pers. 1,86; later e.g. Augustin. Civ. 11,18, who remarks *non est apud nos huius vocabuli consuetudo*. Fronto needs the Latin form because of the ablative. Rhet. Her. 4,15,21 translates the Greek word by *contentio*; Cic. Orat. 166 *haec, quae Graeci* ἀντίθετα *nominant, cum contrariis opponuntur contraria*; Quint. Inst. 9,3,81 by *contrapositum* or *contentio*; Augustinus l.l. has the plurals *opposita* and *contraposita*. See Lausberg, Handbuch 389.

96,23 *honeste compositis*: 'elegantly formulated'; see at 134,2.

Alieni . . . parum: these lines are often quoted in Latin literature, see C. Weyman, Festgabe A. Ehrhard, Bonn/Leipzig 1922, 481; Zimmermann, Der Sallusttext 47f. Cp. Tac. Hist. 1,49,3 *pecuniae alienae non adpetens, suae parcus*; Germ. 31 *prodigi alieni, contemptores sui*; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 3,5,2 *alieni non appetens, sui parcus*; Sed. Op. Pasch. 2,14 *(diabolus) simulator ac dissimulator inventus*. On *satis eloquentiae* etc. see Gell. 1,15,18.

96,24 This note has been taken from 89,2f.

97,1 *paronomasia*: the Latin form occurs here for the first time, later in a few grammarians. The Latin translation is *adnominatio*: Rhet. Her. 4,21,29 *adnominatio est cum ad idem verbum et nomen acceditur commutatione vocum aut litterarum*. See also 4,22,31; Cic. De orat. 2,249; 2,256; Quint. Inst. 9,3,66;

Lausberg, Handbuch 322. A late translation is *adflictio*: Ps. Rufin. Schem. lex. 15. See Index s.v. assonance.

Absurda: see at 47,22.

97,2 *commotissima*: the superlative occurs only here: 'most passionate' (Haines), 'très pathétique' (Marache, Mots 75). Cp. *relictissimus* 216,18.

97,3 *figura*: see at 177,22f.

97,4 ἐπαναφοράν: *iterata verba* at the beginning of a series of clauses. Fronto is the first to use the Latin form because of the ablative, see at 96,22. *Epanaphora* also Mart. Cap. 5,530 and Isid. Orig. 1,36,9. The Latin translation is *repetitio, relatio* and *iteratio*. See Cic. Orat. 135; Part. 21; Lausberg, Handbuch 318ff. Strictly speaking, the simple repetition of a word is not an *epanaphora*, See Index s.v. repetition.

97,4–5 *iterata verba . . . repetat*: if read correctly, it is a tautology.

97,5–9 The *epanaphora* of In Pisonem is not quoted. Fronto's text of Pro Caelio corresponds to the cod. Paris. 7794 (ninth century), not to the cod. S. Victoris (fifteenth century). See Höhne, Die Geschichte 40 n. 114.

97,9 *et* (= *etiam*) *porro deinceps*: Cic. Cael. 13 repeats seven times the preposition *cum*; in 21 the interrogative *quae* is repeated four times; in 34 *quid* three times, *non* four times and *ut tu* three times. K. Schenkl, Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien 26, 1875, 33, has justly rejected Klussmann's conjecture. The abundant *porro deinceps* is found only here; *deinceps* has local meaning, as e.g. Quint. Inst. 9,3,39 *et deinceps*.

97,10 *eodem isto verbo* cannot mean 'with that same word', because in what follows Cicero does not repeat *quis* any more. So this must be one of the first examples of *iste* used as a particle: 'with the same word' (Haines) or 'with a similar word to what you have there'. See Hofmann-Szantyr 192. *Idem iste* seems to have the usual meaning 156,17 *quaesisse te arbitror ex eodem isto loco, quod est* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου.

97,11 *cum . . . agitato*: see at 25,2.

An: see at 138,3.

Pro . . . tumultu: 'compared to all the embellishment and passion' (Haines), see at 134,4.

A Cicerone: 'on the part of Cicero'; cp. Cic. Fam. 5,3,1 *sunt (contumeliae) leves ab eiusmodi homine*; 9,21,1 *nihil tibi opus est illud a Trabea.*

97,12 *medium*: between the quotations of Pro Caelio 13 and 21, rather than 'that neutral phrase' (Haines), as e.g. Plin. Epist. 5,8,9 *huic (historiae) pleraque humilia et sordida et ex medio petita, illi (orationi) omnia recondita, splendida, excelsa conveniunt.*

Inculpatum: 'blameless'; before Fronto, here and 205,11 (marg. d) the word is found only in Ovid. Met. 2,588 and 9,673. See at 264,13f.

97,13 *volgatius*: 'rather banal', as Gell. 5,1,1 *obvias vulgatasque laudes.* Fronto is the first to use the comparative; the superlative already Quint. Inst. 2,4,28.

Ieiunius: 'trivial', 'commonplace' (Haines). *Ieiunus* of a speech is combined with *nudus* by Quint. Inst. 1,218, with *insanis* ibid. 3,66, with *aridus* Sen. Epist. 75,3, with *tenuis* Cic. De orat. 1,4,5; Quint. Inst. 8,3,49 opposes it to *copiosus*; 2,4,3 *narrandi ratio*; Gell. 14,1,32 *sicca et incondita et propemodum*

ieiuna oratione; Macrob. Sat. 5,1,15 *dicendi genus . . ., in quo . . . nec ieiuna siccitas nec laetitia pinguis*. Of the orator, Cic. De orat. 3,16 *ieiuniorem* as opposed to *pleniorem*; Brut. 48; Quint. Inst. 2,5,21 *horridi atque ieiuni*; 2,8,9 *aridum atque ieiunum*; 2,12,11; 10,2,17; 12,10,13.

97,14 *dictio*: φράσις, see at 70,5.

97,15 *L. Antoni*: we are at a loss what to do with an L. Antonius or with the Stoic friend of Persius L. Annaeus Cornutus. See at 177,22f.

97,16 *magna . . . sequebatur* seems to refer to Sall. Cat. 14, especially 14,5 *sed maxume adulescentium familiaritates adpetebat*.

Hoc in scripto: see at 96,18.

97,17 *pictor*: the painter is also compared to an orator by Cic. Orat. 65; Quint. Inst. 10,2,6; Rutil. Lup. 2,7. See at 41,14.

Calamis: a pictor Calamis is unknown to Overbeck, Die antiken Schriftquellen. For the famous sculptor Calamis see G. Lippold, Kalamis, RE (1919); W. Gross, Kalamis, Kleine Pauly (1967); and at 133,7. It seems that the painter and the sculptor are one and the same person, because the sculptor was famous for his horses. I have not seen P. Orlandini, Calamide, Bologna 1950.

97,18 In the gap there must have been something like 'without having observed all the details of animals in their natural surroundings'; in oratory, Cicero calls this *rerum sub aspectum subiectio* (De orat. 3,202); Rhet. Her. 4,55,68 calls it *demonstratio*; and Quint. Inst. 4,2,63 speaks of *evidentia, quae* ἐνάργεια *Graece vocatur*; 9,2,40 *ab aliis* ὑποτύπωσις *dicitur, proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potius videantur quam audiri*.

98,1ff. *forma*: 'typification', 'characteristic', as 98,22; 100,12; 100,21; 101,14. Mai and Naber present only parts of Sallust's text, but Hauler has succeeded in reconstructing it in his article Sallustcitate bei Fronto, Rhein. Mus. 54, 1899, 161–170. From Hauler's unedited papers, however, it appears that many details are still uncertain, more than his article (and this edition) suggest. Fronto here presents a text which at the latest dates from the second century AD, whereas our MSS of Sallust are no older than the tenth century. The differences are merely incidental; nevertheless they are valuable. The first hand of our MS probably compared Fronto's text with a Sallust MS, as proven by *ei* 99,9. In the fifth or sixth century, the second hand amended the text, which now showed a tendency to agree with Sallust's editio vulgata, see Proleg. XLI. As to orthography, our text lacks forms such as *maxumus, lubido, lubet, servom, transvorsus, quom, quoius, quoique, quoiquam*, while showing assimilated forms as well as dissimulated ones: *corrumpendum, accedebat, accensa, immutata*, but *adferre, inbellis, adripere*. See Nitzschner, De locis; A.W. Ahlberg, Prolegomena in Sallustium, Göteborg 1911, and his Teubner edition of 1919; Höhne, Die Geschichte; and Zimmermann, Der Sallusttext.

98,2 *luxu*: on this dative see Gell. 4,16,5f.; Neue-Wagener I[3] 541ff.

98,3 *neque*: a clerical error of both m^1 and m^2. The vulgata has *corrumpundum*.

98,6 The Sallust MSS have *plurumum facere et*. Modern editors such as Ahlberg and J. Mariotti (Roma 1972) follow Fronto.

98,17 *hoc*: the older form of *huc*, see at 75,1. Serv. Aen. 8,423 *hoc pro*

huc posuit (Vergilius) secundum antiquum morem. Modern editors of Sallust, following the MSS, keep *huc* as well as *et* instead of *atque.*

98,20 *quibus*: see at 101,6.

99,1 *quem* must be an error, either of the copyist or of Fronto's text of Sallust. Sallust uses *quis* for *aliquis* only after *si, nisi, ne, num* and *aut.*

99,8 *invidias*: *insidiae* and *invidiae* are sometimes mixed up in MSS, so in Ovid. Met. 1,131; Firm. Math. 3,11,8 and 5,1,11. Ahlberg, Prolegomena 135, prefers *invidias,* but in his edition he has *insidias. Invidias* is certainly the lectio difficilior.

99,9 *milites . . . corrupti*: see 210,1ff., where Fronto deals with the demoralized Syrian soldiers in the style of Sallust.

Imperatori: Fronto wilfully alters Sallust's text where we have *exercitus ei traditur. Ei* was already deleted by m[1], not by m[2], as Hauler, Sallustcitate 162 n. 3, states; see Zimmermann 62 n. 8.

A Spurio Albino proconsule: Zimmermann 106 defends the variant *Sp. Albini proconsulis* with the laboured argument that the genitive indicates that Albinus was to blame for the demoralization of the army, according to Val. Max. 2,7,2.

99,14 *effeminatio* occurs here for the first time.

Clade: see 220,15.

99,17–18 *neque muniebantur*: this reading is only found in some of Sallust's young MSS, where sometimes *ea* is added. Ahlberg, Prolegomena 89, and especially Höhne and Zimmermann have discussed this passage in detail; they came to the conclusion that *neque muniebantur ea* is the original text; see also H. Jordan, Bemerkungen zur Kritik des Sallustius, Hermes I, 1866, 242. The fact that m[2] deleted the *i* of *muniebantur* is interesting: it might be that it intended to write (or even has written) *minuebantur,* a variant we find in a few Sallust MSS.

99,19 *diu*: here and Iug. 38,3 some of Sallust's MSS have *die noctuque*; Hist. 4,34 M. *diu noctuque.*

99,22 *datum publice*: Hauler, Höhne and Zimmermann believe that this is better than *publice datum* of the Sallust MSS.

99,24 *ea* is missing in the Sallust MSS, but it is retained by Ahlberg, Zimmermann, Mariotti and Buchwald, TLL s.v. is. According to Höhne, *ea* appeared in the text because of the following *in ea difficultate.* It is often used after *quicumque,* e.g. Plaut. Persa 67; Cic. Q. Rosc. 54.

99,25 *Metellum*: 128,19 Fronto refers to this passage; see at 261,24.

Nec minus: nec is defended by Hauler and Zimmermann in the sense of *etiam non,* but rightly rejected by Höhne. We could defend *nec* in the sense of *non,* quite common in archaic Latin (see Kühner I 817f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 448f.), but the tradition of the Sallust text speaks against it. Sallust has *nec* only a few times; usually he writes *neque.*

100,4 *alium*: Ahlberg and Zimmermann follow Fronto and omit *quem.* Höhne, on the other hand, retains *quem,* thinking that its omission in the Fronto MS is due to a haplography with *panem.*

Insequerentur is kept by Zimmermann, rejected by Ahlberg and Höhne.

100,5 *hastatus aut* is kept by Hauler, Ahlberg and Zimmermann; Höhne rejects it because he sees in the *hastati* private soldiers, a mistake also made

by Hauler: 'kein Gemeiner des ersten Treffens noch der übrigen'. But *hastati* is also used for centuriones (see TLL s.v., where our passage is not quoted), which makes a distinction between *hastatus aut gregarius* possible. See at 130,10.

100,9 *postremis*: the editors read with the Sallust MSS *in postremis*, and so does Höhne. W. Buchwald, TLL s.v. posterus, believes that the omission of *in* may be correct.

100,11–12 *prohibendo . . . vindicando*: the same thought 211,3f.

100,19 *atque*: according to Hauler, the lacuna in the MS requires *atq'*, not *ac*. The editors of Sallust and Höhne do not agree.

100,21 *voluptaria*: 'things in a more sensuous strain' (Haines). The *voluptativa* of the marginal note does not occur elsewhere.

100,22 *Sempronia*: possibly a daughter of C. Gracchus.

101,2 *necesse*: apparently, the omission of *est* is an error by Fronto or his Sallust MS.

101,6 *quis*: MSS and editors differ: 98,20 Fronto has *quibus* with part of the Sallust MSS (Cat. 8,1). Cat. 18,1 Diomedes has *in quis*, the MSS have *in quibus*; Iug. 105,1 some MSS have *quis rebus*, others *quibus rebus*.

101,7 *lasciviaeque*: Höhne rejects *-que*.

101,20 Chronology: Hauler, Rhein. Mus. 54, 1899, 164, believes that this is the answer to the previous letter; however, it can also be connected with Antonin. III 3. *Nepotem saluta* proves that it was written in 162–165, see at 61,5 and 178,7. Champlin and Cortassa date it 161–167, Portalupi[2] 164–165.

102,1 Chronology of III 3 and the answer III 4: with Niebuhr; Naber; Watson; Brakman; Brock; Haines, edition; Pepe; Birley, Mark Aurel 260; and Bowersock, Greek Sophists 92f., I date these letters late 165. Cassan dates them 163. Mommsen, Chronologie; K. Münscher, Herodes 13, RE VIII 1 (1912); and Graindor, Un milliardaire 78, date them 166, after Verus' departure from the East, though Verus seems to be still there, see *mittere* 102,3; 102,10. Astarita, Cronologia, dates them early 166. Champlin; Ameling, Herodes Atticus II; and Cortassa late 164 or early 165. Haines, Chronology; Hanslik, Fronto und Herodes; and Portalupi[1] 165–166. J. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, RE IV (1901), 166–168; E. Klebs, M. Cornelius Fronto, PIR I[1] no. 1106 (1897), and A. Stein, PIR IV 1[2] (1951), 166–169. We must also take into account the synchronous letter Ad Verum I 8 p. 113. *Nepotem saluta* proves that Aufidius Victorinus is still in Germany. He was staying there leg. Augg. pr. pr. from 162 till 165 (see at 61,5 and 178,7; according to Alföldy, Konsulat 228f., he was there until 166). A son was born there and died at the age of three (113,4); Fronto never saw this grandson (237,22f.). So the grandson died in 165, the same year our letters were written; see at 113,1. We do not know which of Fronto's speeches are meant (102,2; 102,9; 113,6). Fronto and Marcus must have talked or written about them before, because they speak of 'the' speeches. To what purpose did Verus want those speeches? Astarita suggests that Verus was preparing the speech he was going to deliver in the senate after his victorious return from the East, or that he was preparing a *commentarius* (108,16) on the Parthian War. I do not believe this. 108,19 Verus speaks of his

tiones ad senatum during his stay in the East: these *orationes* are letters in the form of a speech, see at 108,19; 118,13; and 96,7; and the *oratio* 102,5 is one of them. See for such letters of Verus at 118,3; 175,17; 214,11. Marcus is still blind to Verus' shortcomings (*mora intercedat*), see at 92,8f. For Verus' speeches see at 267,8.

102,2 *sibi*: see at 7,16.

Dominus meus: see at 96,4.

102,3 *malo* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

102,3–4 *in promptu haberes*: 'have at your immediate disposal', i.e. without having to copy them.

102,4 *exemplaria*: 'copies'; see at 104,11.

Apud nos: 'in our house'.

102,5 *tibi capies*: 'you must keep for yourself'; see at 19,7 and Proleg. XL.

Oratione elaboranda: a hard abl. causae: we should expect a dative, but the dat. auctoris *tibi* makes that impossible. See at 50,10. For *elaborare* see at 27,8 and 75,16.

102,7 *nepotem*: M. Aufidius Fronto, who stayed with Fronto in Rome, see at 178,7.

102,8 Chronology: see at 102,1.

102,9 *quod*: see at 40,3.

102,10–11 *gratias inire*: 'that I get the credit for sending the speeches'. The usual expression is *gratiam inire.*

102,11–19 See at 113,8–14.

102,20 *mi*: see at 2,13.

Dominam: Marcus' wife Faustina, see at 73,10.

Filiolos: the twins L. Aurelius Commodus and T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus (who died in 165, so this letter may have been written after his death), and M. Annius Verus (162–169).

102,20–21 *fratri* cannot be correct, since it is Fronto who is going to send the speeches to Verus. Here Mai and Naber present a new letter: *Domino meo. Has interea orationes* etc., and Haines supposes that this new letter was written before Antonin. III 4: *has interea orationes mititto* would refer to 102,4 *exemplaria . . . misi tibi* (but they had not yet arrived). Maria L. Astarita, Boll. di studi lat. 19, 1989, 179, supports this and accepts with Haines the conjecture by Allen in line 21. However, according to Hauler *Domino meo* is not in the text, so we must consider *fratri* etc. as part of III 4. It often occurs that after the valedictio formula a postscript is added.

Mititto: in III 3 Marcus asks Fronto to send two of his speeches to Verus, and 113,6f. Fronto sends them to him together with a third speech. So *mititto* must mean 'send the two speeches to me, not to your brother Verus'. The suppletions by Allen and Orth cannot be correct.

102,22 Chronology: the ancient editor has placed this letter here because it has a similar subject to that of the preceding letter and that of the following one, but here we have *excerpta*, not *orationes.* As Verus was in the East from 162 to 166, we must date the letter 163–165. Champlin dates it 161–167. The text as read by Hauler is inexplicable.

102,23 *domino*: see at 96,4.

103,6 Chronology: we have the following indications: *nepotem saluta* shows

that this letter must be dated between 162 and 165, see at 102,1. In a letter of 163–164, Verus complains that Fronto does not write him: 107,24, and he seems to have repeated this complaint in a letter to Marcus: 103,10. Now Fronto has written *epistulam prolixiorem* (103,14) to Verus, and with Naber, Haines and Pepe I think that this is Ad Verum II p. 118,3, which can be dated to 164. According to Astarita, Cronologia, the *epistula prolixior* is either lost or it is Ad Verum I 6 p. 110, not Ad Verum II; her argument is *scribe* 103,9: how could Marcus urge Fronto to write if he had just written a letter to Verus? But *scribe* means 'go on writing', see at 103,9. So we must date III 6 to 164. Naber dates it 165; Brakman 163–164; Haines, Chronology, 161–164, though in his edition he dates it 163, which is followed by Portalupi and Astarita; Champlin dates it 161–167 and Cortassa 162–166.

103,8–9 *tua . . . interpretatio*: 'your kind interpretation in the matter of our duties towards you'. Marcus is so kind as to say *nostris* while actually meaning *Veri*. The relation between Verus and Fronto was ambivalent: on the one hand Fronto refused, with Marcus, to denounce the poor qualities of the man (see at 80,9; Ad Verum II and the Principia Historiae), on the other hand we see that they did not hit it off too well (see Ad Verum I 1; 9 and 12; in spite of 114,12f.). Grimal, Marc Aurèle 165f., mistakenly asssumes that Fronto appreciated Verus.

For *adversum* see at 14,5.

103,9 *scribe* has been accepted by all editors since Naber; cp. *subnecte* 103,11. Marcus has a copy of the letter Fronto has written (103,14)—whether or not it is Ad Verum II—but he wants Fronto to add a few personal notes. Unfortunately the end of Ad Verum II is lost, as is the end of Ad Verum I 6.

Domino: see at 96,4.

103,12 *adquiescit*: cp. Cic. Att. 13,13,2 *crebro regusto tuas litteras: in his acquiesco*; see also Cic. Att. 7,11,5; 9,10,10; 11,10,2; and at 234,9.

103,13 *isto*: see at 11,18.

Quod: the relative with a gen. partitivus occurs only here in our correspondence; see Kühner I 429 and at 179,5.

Nihil intervalli: 'respite' (Haines). Vita Marci 8,13–14 Verus was in the East, *cum Marcus horis omnibus rei publicae actibus incubaret patienterque delicias fratris . . . ferret. denique omnia, quae ad bellum erant necessaria, Romae positus et disposuit Marcus et ordinavit.*

103,14 *legere*: Fronto had given his letter to Marcus in order to let him decide if he had struck the right note. Fronto's letters to Verus were not delivered by the imperial post, see at 108,2.

103,15 *mi*: see at 2,13.

103,16 *nepotem*: M. Aufidius Fronto, see at 178,7.

103,17 Chronology of III 7 and the answer III 8: Naber, Watson, Brakman and Astarita date these letters 161; Haines, Chronology, 163–164, edition 163, and so does Grimal, Marc Aurèle 136; Champlin and Cortassa date them 161–167. However, I can hardly believe that these letters were written when Marcus was emperor (see Proleg. LX n. 8). The ancient

tor has put III 7 after III 6 because 103,13 says the same as 103,23 does (see Proleg. LX n. 3). The tone of III 7 and 8 is totally different from that of the letters Marcus wrote as a worried emperor: here he is still carefree, although very busy; he is still occupied by rhetoric: *ad facultatem sermonis fovendam* (104,3), and Fronto is sending him textbooks (104,10f.) and excerpts from Cicero's letters, as he did not long after 147 (47,16). As an emperor, Marcus had hardly time to enjoy life in the country (103,18), and if he retired to a country seat it was to work there (226,9f.; 234,2f.; and the ironical letter of Fronto 227,6ff.). Moreover, Marcus here omits at the end of his letter *nepotem saluta*, with which he used to conclude his letters in the years 162–165. Therefore, I date the letters in question 139–161, though I must admit that the *instantes curae* (103,22) may refer to those of 105,6.

103,18 *non mediocre*: the litotes *non mediocriter* 47,9; 88,9. *Mediocre* as predicative adjective is unusual.

103,19 *deest ut* is only found in later Latin: Sen. Contr. 1,2,2; 1,7,5; Sen. Benef. 3,15,4; Iuv. 4,128; Tert. Prax. 6,3.

103,20 *suppleas*: 'that you make good that defect' (Haines).

Rusticatio: 'country life', as Cic. Lael. 103.

Nostra (the imperial family) as opposed to *mea*: 'what for my family is a country holiday is state business for me'.

103,21 *negotium . . . togatae*: 'that business is peculiar to public life': *vita togata* as opposed to *vita rustica*.

Veitae: elsewhere m[1] always has *vita*; here Marcus deliberately uses the archaic form; see Proleg. XXXIII.

Quid quaeris: see at 67,19; it is not 'mi domandi perché?' (Portalupi).

103,22 *porgere*, 'allungare' (Portalupi), is a syncopated form of *porrigere*, which we often find in poets since Plautus, but also in Gell. 5,14,21. Haines erroneously reads *pergere*. Fronto always has *porrigere*: 14,23; 67,12; 178,16; 205,11 (marg. c); 216,8.

104,1–2 On the excerpts of Fronto and Marcus see at 29,2; 105,17. We should not regard them as 'extracts' (Haines) or 'Phrasen' (Schanz I[4] 485) but as the instances given by Fronto himself 98,1ff.

Dimidiatas: 'halved', un unlucky expression for 'in parts' (Haines); we cannot interpret it, with Rubenbauer, TLL s.v., as 'mutilus', 'corruptus'. 228,12 Fronto calls *volup, vigil* and the like *dimidiata verba*, but in Minuc. Fel. 2,1 and Hieron. Epist. 22,29,6 *dimidiata verba* are 'mutilated words'. Apul. Met. 5,18,5 speaks of *tertiata verba*, 'des mots entrecoupés' (P. Valette, Budé edition).

Habes with part. perf. pass.: see at 165,2.

Mone quas: see at 59,24.

104,3 *facultatem . . . fovendam*: 'to improve (or rather "stimulate") my command of language' (Haines). Cp. Plin. Epist. 7,9,8 *pressus sermo purusque ex epistulis petitur*. It is not 'la langue de la conversation' (Grimal, Marc Aurèle 136). See at 10,10–12.

Valeas: se at 62,6.

104,4 Chronology; see at 103,17.

104,5 *quo* seems to fit better Hauler's uncertain *quib'* (= *quibus*). If Mai's *ut* would be correct, it would be temporal *ut*, 'since', cp. Plaut. Stich. 29

domo ut abierunt, hic tertius annus est; Mart. 10,103,8 *quattuor accessit tricesima . . . aestas, ut . . . liba datis*; Tac. Ann. 14,53,1 *octavus (annus est), ut imperium obtines.* See Hofmann-Szantyr 636. An alternative for *quo* is *quod*, see at 84,7

104,6 *cervicum et inguinum*: see at 73,22 and 74,20.

Excerpsisse: see at 15,12–17; 29,2. *Excerpere de* since Cic. De orat. 2,47.

104,7 *quibus* with subjunctive is restrictive, 'as far as'; see at 90,12f.

104,9 *in . . . manum*: 'at hand for my own use'.

104,10 *tres . . . Axium*: Fronto does not say that there are two books Ad Brutum and one Ad Axium, but that he has three books with excerpts, two of the letters Ad Brutum and one of the letters Ad Axium, see Christina Weyssenhoff, Ciceronis epistularum fragmenta 44. We know that there were nine books Ad Brutum; the letters to Axius are lost; there were at least two books, see Schanz I[4] 475; 477. I do not see why Weyssenhoff o.c. and in De Ciceronis epistulis deperditis 32 alters *Axium* to *Atticum.*

104,11 *describi*: see at 1,6.

Iubebis and *remittes*: see at 19,7.

Quid rei: 'something worthwhile'. *Quid* and *quantum* with gen. partitivus is slightly colloquial, see Kühner I 432; Hofmann-Szantyr 56; and at 132,4. So *quid horae* 96,3M; *aliquid secundi rumoris* 176,24; *si quid negotii* 177,7 'any business' (Haines); 237,26 *quantum est hominum.*

Exemplares: 'copies'. It is not seen as an adjective any more; so, too, Tac. Hist. 4,25,2 *exemplares omnium litterarum*, the only other instance of its use as an substantive. Elsewhere we find *exemplar*: 102,4M; 108,9V; 190,15; or *exemplum*: 15,16; 180,6.

104,12–14 We have only a few testimonies concerning Cicero's letter-writing, see at 20,4 and Plin. Epist. 9,2,2f.; Hieron. Epist. 85,1; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 1,1. Of all the many kinds of letters, Cicero himself liked most the *genus familiare et iocosum* and the *genus severum et grave* (Cic. Fam. 2,4,1). Fronto preferred *verba volgaria et obsoleta* (150,22) and *verba volgaria et usitata* (57,26), which he found in Cicero's letters; cp. Cic. Fam. 9,21,1 *quid tibi ego videor in epistulis? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? . . . epistulas vero cotidianis verbis texere solemus.* Tyrrell & Purser, The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero I[3], Dublin 1904, 78 note, justly remark: 'archaism is a large ingredient in colloquialism'. On Fronto's judgement of Cicero's speeches see at 57,5–18; 268,13.

104,14 *censeo*, Mai and Naber punctuate after *mea sententia*, not after *censeo*, which would affect an abundance.

104,15 Chronology: Champlin dates this letter 161–167, but Birley, Mark Aurel 217, may be right in dating it autumn 161 because of *ad rem frumentariam expediendam* ('get going'), cp. Vita Marci 8,4f. *prima Tiberis inundatio quae sub illis gravissima fuit . . . et famem gravissimam peperit. quae omnia mala Marcus et Verus sua cura et praesentia temperarunt*; however, cp. also 11,3 *Italicis civitatibus famis tempore frumentum ex urbe donavit omnique frumentariae rei consuluit.*

104,16 *converses cum animo tuo*: see at 25,2. Sen. Epist. 62,1 *aliquid in animo salutare converso.*

104,18 (margin b) *in rei otio*: 'at a rest in the affair'.

105,1–2 See Proleg. Lf.

105,3 Chronology of IV 1 and the answer IV 2 (106,13 refers to 105,13): 161 was a disastrous year for Marcus: the Parthian king Vologaesus III threatened the eastern provinces of the Empire and there were troubles in Britain and Germany. In a short space of time, several letters were written dealing with Marcus' worries. De Bello Parthico is the answer to Ad Antonin. IV 1 (cp. 224,12 with 105,6, and 225,3 with 105,5), and De Feriis Alsiensibus 4 to De Bello Parthico (cp. 234,11 with 226,1). The dating of IV 1 is easy: the *parvolae nostrae* (105,7) are Fadilla and Cornificia: they were born c. 158–159. The *filiae* (105,10) are Faustina (who is now thirteen years old) and Lucilla (eleven). Apparently, the twins Antoninus and Commodus are not yet born. Therefore these letters were written between 7 March 161 (Marcus becomig emperor) and 31 August 161 (birth of the twins). *Propter aurae rigorem* (105,9) points to spring: March or April 161. So IV 1 may be the first letter of Marcus as emperor; see at 220,4. Naber; Watson; Brakman; Haines, edition; Pepe; Portalupi[1]; Birley, Mark Aurel 214; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 282, date these letters 161; Mommsen; Haines, Chronology; Astarita, Cronologia; Champlin; Cortassa date them 161–162 (before Verus' departure for the East). Champlin sees no connection between IV 1 and IV 2; he dates IV 2 161–167. Marcus may be staying in Rome or perhaps in Alsium, where he retired to work; 228,17f. he is in Alsium, while his family is in Lorium. In IV 1 the family is not in Lorium (where they had a large villa, see at 35,12) but in an unknown oppidum nearby, in one of Matidia's villas, see at 95,4ff. For Marcus' worries about the Parthian War in 161–162 see at 220,4 and 227,11f. IV 1 was written in Marcus' own hand: 225,21.

105,4 *excerpere*: see at 29,2. *Legere* 224,12 shows that Marcus has found time to reread his excerpts. In later years he had neither the time nor the mind to do so: Medit. 3,14 οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ὑπομνηματιά σου μέλλεις ἀναγινώσκειν οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐκλογάς, ἃς εἰς τὸ γῆρας αὐτῷ ἀπετίθεσο. The ὑπομνημάτια are 'lecture notes', see Rutherford, The Meditations 28f.; 'appunti' (Cortassa). Cp. 2,2 ἄφες τὰ βιβλία· μηκέτι σπῶ. 2,3 τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν ῥῖψον. 8,8 ἀναγινώσκειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν.

105,5 *Ciceronis oratione*: De imp. Cn. Pompei, see 225,3ff.

105,6 *quasi furtim*: cp. Cic. De orat. 2,252 *nobis tantum licet (hoc genere uti) furtim, si quando, et cursim.* See 224,12.

Instat . . . curarum: cp. e.g. Ter. Haut. 598 *aliud ex alio incidit,* and with gen. partitivus Cic. Inv. 2,3 *aliud alii commodi . . . muneratur.* The gen. plur. with *aliud* is remarkable: normally it occurs with *alia,* e.g. Tac. Ann. 1,9,2 *alia honorum.*

105,7 *quom interim*: see at 67,3.

Requies: 'relaxation' (Haines), with the ellipsis of *est.*

Nam: Marcus' only other relaxation are his little daughters.

105,8 *oppido*: Mai[2] supposes that it was Sinuessa or Minturnae, but these towns are too far from Rome and Alsium to be considered.

105,10 *mi*: see at 2,13.

Domine: see at 86,14. In Petron. 86,7, too, a teacher is addressed as *domine.*

105,15 *hoc genus*: 'such kind of writers', see at 57,2.

Quae = *cuius*, attractio relativi; see Kühner II 287, Hofmann-Szantyr 566f.; and at 89,2; 260,14.

105,16 *diffundat*: 'frees me from my cares'; the same meaning since Cic. Lael. 48.

Etiam: sc. *mitte*.

105,17 *Lucretii aut Ennii*: their pointed thoughts attracted archaists more than Vergil; see Index Nominum and Tac. Dial. 23,2 *qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt.*

Excerpta in the usual sense, see at 29,2 and 104,1f., not 'listes de mots rares' (Marache, La critique 155).

Εὐφωνότατα: this word is also used in a rhetorical context by Diog. Hal. Comp. 12 and 14, and by Demetr. Eloc. 70.

Ἁδρά: 'in grand style', see at 49,14f.

105,17–18 *et* . . . ἐμφάσεις: 'and if you have any that give the impress of character' (Haines), not 'espressione del carattere di un poeta' (A. Ronconi, Per la storia della critica Lucreziana, Interpretazioni letterarie nei classici, Firenze 1972, 178). Marcus means the ἠθοποιία, the 'character portrayal', not 'qui aient une forte signification morale' (Grimal, Marc Aurèle 282).

105,19 Chronology: see at 105,3. The paragraphs 1–4 refer to the lost beginning of the preceding letter.

105,20 *ne*: see at 10,3.

Post . . . *locutos*: see at 56,20.

Habear is a potentialis ('sarò ritenuto' [Portalupi]) rather than a wish ('let me be held' [Haines]).

105,21 *M. Aureli*: elsewhere Fronto calls his former pupil always Antoninus since he was an emperor; see at 159,12–14.

lucrativa tempora: 'your spare moments', 'le ore, di cui puoi disporre' (Portalupi[2]), not 'your valuable time' (Haines) or 'le ore, di cui puoi godere' (Portalupi[1]). See at 144,18.

105,22 *occupare*: see at 30,2.

105,23 *inutile* . . . *infructuosum*: alliteration.

Quodsive: in one word, like *quodsi*, but earlier editors of Fronto and P.K. Marshall, Gnomon 62, 1990, 557, print *quod sive*, which means the same because we have here the coupling accusative of the relative, as in *quod etsi*, *quod cum*, *quod quia* etc. See Kühner II 321f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 571f. Usually this *quod* is not translated: 'but if' (Haines), not 'ché se' (Portalupi). *Quod sive* does not occur elsewhere.

106,2–3 *ita* . . . *decernis*: jocularly Fronto uses the official terms of senatus consulta and of edicts of magistrates and emperors: *censere* and *decernere*, often with *ita*, as 190,11. For the causal abl. instrumentalis *iudicio* and *sententia* cp. Cic. Quinct. 6 *quod uno iudicio* . . . *decernit*; Verr. 4,145 *decernitur* . . . *cunctis sententiis*; Quint. Inst. 12,7,5 *iudicio decernent*; Cypr. Epist. 73,24,2 *iudicio ac sententia nostra* . . . *decerni et statui.*

106,3 *quoniam* with subjunctive: 'because according to you', as 18,2 'because according to him'. Elsewhere Fronto always has *quoniam* with indicative. 59,24 the subjunctive is due to the oratio obliqua.

106,4–5 *laudes* . . . *dictas*: see at 17,16f.; 24,16.

106,5 *legisti* . . . *miror*: alliteration.

106,6 *pro*: 'as' ('if it were'); also 210,11.
106,7 *virtutem*: see Marcus' eulogy, Medit. 1,16.
106,8 *laudatoris* . . . *laudasti*: paronomasia and antithesis, cp. Plaut. Amph. prol. 34 *iuste ab iustis iustus sum orator datus*. For *verba* . . . *facta* cp. Cic. Tusc. 3,48 *quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* It is not a proverb, see at 162,1.
Tuis = *tui*, see at 42,20.
106,9 *sentias velim*: see at 37,11.
106,9–11 See at 93,2f.; 30,1.
Messim is found in old Latin, then here and in Gell. 2,29,7.
Horreo: condere is used with *in* or with the abl. instrumentalis: Apul. Met. 8,22,3 *horreo reconditum*; Scaev. Dig. 33,7,20,8 *in horreis* . . . *conditus*.
106,11–12 *sperabam* . . . *spes*: paronomasia.
106,12 *spes* . . . *convertit*: cp. e.g. Cic. Sest. 71 *nondum re, sed spe* (Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. res 3); Ruric. Epist. 2,25 *cum spem ad rem cerneres pervenisse*. For *convertit* see at 63,7; 87,25.
106,13 (marg. c) The Hymettus was famous for its thyme (and honey): Val. Max. 1,6 ext. 3; Plin. Nat. 21,57; Athen. I 28 d. Here it may be used metaphorically of modern Attic orators whose pedantry Fronto and Marcus disliked, see at 38,2; 249,11. The same metaphor Quint. Inst. 12,10,25 *cur in iis* . . . *Atticum saporem putent, ibi demum thymum redolere dicant?* Terent. Maur. 2417 *vatem* . . . *Attico thymo tinctum*; Symm. Epist. 4,18,1 *thymum facundiae spirant litterae tuae*; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,4,2 *carmina* . . . *thymum* . . . *redolentia*. Fronto's remark may be proverbial: Lucian. Merc. cond. 35 χρὴ δὲ καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ ῥήτορας εἶναι αὐτούς, κἂν εἴ τι σολοικίσαντες τύχωσιν, αὐτὸ τοῖτο τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τοῦ Ὑμηττοῦ μεστοὺς δοκεῖν τοὺς λόγους καὶ νόμον εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω λέγειν. Rhet. praec. 11 κἂν εἰ μύοντι γάρ σοι προσελθὼν εἴποι τι τὸ Ὑμήττιον ἐκεῖνο ἀνοίξας στόμα καὶ τὴν συνήθη φωνὴν ἀφείη, μάθοις ἂν κτλ. Cp. Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,6,9 *Athenis loquacior* (= Nachträge zu Otto 137). Klussmann, Emendationes 78, saw this verse: *Átticis thymúm propinquuum sérpyllumque Hyméttium*, and Ehrenthal 42f. supposes that the use of *ruminare* points to an old comedy:

Átticis thymúm propinquuum sérpyllumque Hyméttium
rúminantibus viris ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

Propinque (*propinquum*), if correct, must mean 'just like'. In the sense of 'hard by' it occurs in Plaut. Truc. 499 and 575 and in a few late authors. The translations 'Men of Attica hard by chewing the cud of their native herbs and the wild thyme of Hymettus' (Haines) and 'vicino a individui Attici che rielaborano il timo e il serpillo dell'Imetto' (Portalupi) take it literally, not as used of orators. If it is a metaphor, we must understand *ruminare* as 'to repeat over and over again' and *thymus serpyllumque* as the ingredients of modern Attic rhetoric, cp. 20,8; 29,19; 42,10. The plural *thymus* is suspect, though the transition of the second declination to the fourth is not uncommon; see Neue-Wagener I[3] 761ff.
(marg. d) *Veterum*: see at 19,16.
Sententias: γνῶμαι, 'maxims', see at 44,2. There is no reason to assume with Mai[1] and the Anonymous, Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung 1816, 773, that this passage proves that the Exempla elocutionum are Fronto's work.

Arriperetis: Marcus and others.

Dulces is often said of *sententiae*: Cic. Brut. 326; Sen. Contr. 2 praef. 2; 2,1,39; Suas. 7,12; Sen. Epist. 114,16; Quint. Inst. 12,10,60; Fronto 132,1. See at 216,11 (marg. e).

Poematis: since Plautus more frequent than *poematibus*, see Neue-Wagener I³ 439f. and at 140,3.

Ex historia splendidas: see at 125,3; 96,20.

Comes ex comedis: paronomasia or perhaps an etymological figure; cp. Varro, L.L. 7,89 *comiter . . . cuius origo Graeca* κῶμος, *inde . . . in Graecia . . . comoedia.*

Urbanas: 'witty', not 'courtly' (Haines). Cic. Brut. 143 *(L. Crasso) erat cum gravitate iunctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis lepos.* For definitions of *urbanitas* see Cic. Brut. 171; Quint. Inst. 6,3,17; 6,3,103–112.

Togatis . . . Atellanis: the fabula togata, the national comedy of Rome, is represented by Titinius (see 140,7f.), T. Quinctius Atta (see 57,3) and L. Afranius. In the imperial age it was not staged any more, see Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 119, with the understandable exception of Suet. Nero 11,2. For the Atellanae see at 29,3; 49,19; 57,2. During the empire the Atellana was still performed (Petron. 53,13; Suet. Nero 39; Galba 13; Iuv. 6,71; Tert. Spect. 17,2), but Fronto has in mind the pieces by L. Pomponius and Novius (see Index Nominum and at 47,1–6). See 268,13.

106,16ff. See at 29,1.

107,1–2 On the order of the letters Ad Verum see Proleg. LIff. Our correspondence contains no letters written by, or to, Verus before he became emperor (7 March 161), see at 107,23. For the title of this book see Proleg. LI n. 4 and LX. Verus' official title was Imp. Caes. L. Aurelius Verus Augustus. 118,2 the marginal note is illegible. On the different names given to Verus see at 159,12.

107,3 Chronology: already for a considerable time (107,7 *interim*; 107,25 *saepius*), Verus is staying in the East (108,1), so this letter was written between 163 and 165, not in 162, as Naber and Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 142, think. The initial phase of the Parthian War is over (107,7f.) and military successes have been scored (107,15–17), but is the capture of Artaxata in 163 one of them (see at 131,13)? Niebuhr; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Champlin date this letter 163, before the capture of Artaxata. Birley, Mark Aurel 232ff., and Maria Astarita, Cronologia, also date it 163, though after the capture, as does Mommsen: 163–165. In his edition Haines dates it 163, in his Chronology 163–164. I have kept to this latter dating, because the problem of the capture of Artaxata seems unsolvable. P. von Rohden, RE III 1832 (1899), wrongly dates it 165–166. Verus' complaint that Fronto does not write is not directly connected with 92,7, because Antonin. I 4 dates from late 162, see at 91,14 and 103,6. On Fronto's relations with Verus see at 103,8f. and 113,26f. Verus' style is somewhat nervous, illogical, unclear; hence the attempts by philologists to 'correct' it here and there.

107,4 *in tempore*: see at 110,6.

107,5 *ipsa*, anaphorically used, is *ea ipsa*: 'especially those things'. Haines follows Heindorf.

Apud often = *coram* with verbs such as *dicere, loqui, profiteri.*

Supersedi with infinitive: 'I have refrained from' (Haines), 'I did not want to'.

107,5–8 *da . . . ignoscito*: there is hardly any difference here and 86,13 between the imper. praesens and the imper. fut.: 44,7f. *convertito . . . converte*; 51,26f. *placeto . . . dic*; 73,9 *esto . . . saluta*. See Kühner I 196; Hofmann-Szantyr 340; and at 37,23 and 233,5.

107,5 *verecundiae*: 'aloofness', a euphemism, rather than 'scrupulosity' (Haines) or 'imbarazzo' (Portalupi). A similar euphemism 107,10 *cunctationis*, which is 'esitazione' (Portalupi), not 'delay' (Haines). Note the alliteration.

107,6 *in manibus: in manibus esse* is 'to be near at hand': Caes. Gall. 2,19,7; Verg. Aen. 10,280, according to some commentators; Sal. Iug. 57,4 *proelium in manibus facere*, which means *comminus*. See Krebs & Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 55ff.; TLL s.v. manus.

Praeversus sum: 'I have given priority to', as Plaut. Amph. 921; Pseud. 237; 602; Rud. 641; Liv. 8,13,1; Plin. Nat. 16,1.

107,7 *facilitatis*: 'indulgence' (Haines). With *erga* also Ulp. Dig. 24,1,1.

Interim is 'meanwhile' (Haines), not = 'interdum', 'nonnumquam', as the TLL s.v. suggests.

107,8 *fiducia amoris*: 'my reliance on your love' (Haines). *Fiducia* with gen. obiectivus also 168,23.

107,9 *dubia existimatione*: 'while all evaluation was precarious'. On the ablative see at 1,10.

Perscribere: 'to describe in detail' (Haines).

107,10 *quaeso* with subjunctive: see at 43,17.

107,10–11 *cur . . . saepius?* Ellipsis of *scripsi*, as in other epistolographers, e.g. Cic. Att. 4,6,4 with *saepissime*. See Kühner II 551; Hofmann-Szantyr 424.

107,11 *ut*: see at 225,3.

Quoniam quidem: see at 184,11.

107,12 *illi* etc.: 'they would give up writing, you would importune me' (Haines). Mähly's conjecture has been adopted by Ehrenthal.

Flagitares, 'you would still urge me to write', is wishful thinking. Fronto himself did not feel like writing to Verus, see at 103,6.

107,12–13 *illis . . . repensabam*: 'to them I rendered duty for duty' (Haines). *Repensare* with abl. pretii since Flor. 3,15,6. Verus forgets that he is also indebted to Fronto. Then follows the weak *debeam*, 'I would owe', which should not be altered because it hardly differs from *debeo*, see Kühner I 174. Haines has Heindorf's *debebam*.

107,13–15 *velles . . . me . . . darem: darem* should not be altered to *dare*, as do Niebuhr, Portalupi[1] and S. Timpanaro, Ann. d. Scuola Norm. sup. di Pisa 24, 1955, 279, and Il nuovo Frontone 375, nor to *dare me*, as does Schwierczina: we have here a proleptic accusative (cp. 52,10M *fac me ut sciam*) and *velles* with subjunctive; see at 7,5; 37,11.

107,15 *inquies*: see at 36,15.

Nequedum: only here in our correspondence; elsewhere always *necdum* (= *nondum*).

107,16 *eiusmodi ut* only here in our letters.

Luberet: our MS always has *libet* and *libens* (107,15), but *lubet* 107,19f. and *lubens* 114,23V.

107,17–18 *habuere* and *perduxere*: perfectum endings in *-ere* occur in Verus' letters only here. Fronto uses them several times, especially in more solemn

passages, but not Marcus, who writes a more colloquial Latin. Klussmann, Emendationes 77, presents most of the forms ending in *-ere*. See Löfstedt, Philologischer Kommentar 36ff.; Ch. F. Bauer, The Latin Perfect-endings in -ere and -erunt, diss., Philadelphia 1933, 68f.; and Grammatical Index s.v. perfect.

Habere with double accusative, 'che mi resero infelicissimo' (Portalupi), is colloquial; cp. Plaut. Asin. 869 *illum ecastor miserum habebo*; Cas. 116; Trin. 269; Cic. Flacc. 71; Fam. 14,7,1. See at 51,21.

107,18 *summae rei*: 'of the ultimate decision', rather than 'success' (Haines); not 'impresa' (Portalupi). It is not a hypallage, as Hofer thinks. Verus refers to the situation *cum interfecto legato, caesis legionibus, Syris defectionem cogitantibus Oriens vastaretur* (Vita Veri 6,9).

107,20 *nec enim*: 'nor, indeed' (Haines). *Nec enim* is not used by the other correspondents, who always write *neque enim*, in the usual sense.

Simulare Lucium: acc. cum inf. exclamationis to express indignation or admiration; also 46,3–5. See Kühner I 719f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 366; and at 131,12.

107,21 *prius molto*: 'rather', 'molto più' (Portalupi).

simplicitatem: 'schiettezza' (Portalupi), not 'simplicity' (Haines). Vita Veri 1,5 *erat enim morum simplicium et qui adumbrare nihil posset.* See at 44,24.

107,22 *verumque amorem*: in the passages given by the TLL s.v. amor, it always means 'true love'; it is never used in the sense of *veri amor* (as e.g. *fraternus amor*). Haines reads with Heindorf *verique amorem*; Portalupi[1] keeps *verumque amorem* but trannslates 'l'amore del vero'; Portalupi[2] 'l'affetto sincero'. True love is glorified by Fronto 4,2ff.; 46,18ff. See also at 111,17. On Fronto's love of truth see at 44,24.

Loquendi polite disciplinam: 'the art of cultivated phrasing'. *Polite* in the same sense 44,23M.

Disciplinam discere: the same etymological figure Apul. Flor 20,9 *omnem disciplinam pueri discunt*; Vulg. Sirach 16,24.

107,23 *pacto . . . intercessit*: probably a 'compact' (Haines), an agreement that they would only write to each other if they felt like writing. Such an agreement must date from earlier years (see at 112,1f.), and it may be one of the reasons why we have no letters from and to Verus as a pupil. *Intercessit*: 'subsisted' (Haines), see at 110,10.

107,24 *denique*: 'therefore'; see at 10,6.

107,25 *lacessitus a me*: 'in spite of my repeated appeals' (Haines).

Numquam rescripsisses: see at 103,6.

107,26 *Hercules*: see at 62,11.

107,27 *orare*: 'ask forgiveness', as e.g. Plaut. Epid. 728; Tac. Ann. 13,25,2. See Heerdegen, Über Umfang 94 n. 1; Löfstedt, Philologischer Kommentar 41f.

107,29f. *primum . . . mox* only occurs in later Latin, since Plin. Nat. 15,86.

108,1 *tantis terris disiunctus*: note the *t* alliteration.

In vestigio: 'on the spot', i.e. 'for if I had been in Rome I could have' etc. The same expression Caes. Gall. 4,5,3; Liv. 22,49,4; 28,22,15. More usual is *e vestigio.*

Exorare te: 'to win your pardon' (Haines).

108,2 *tot interea mensibus*: apparently such letters were not sent by imperial post; see at 11,14 and Rougé, Recherches 102.

Dum refers to *interea*: 'while', 'during the time that', not 'until' (Haines). Cp. Plaut. Men. 214 *dum coquetur, interim potabimus*; Apul. Apol. 36,8 *dum hic quaerit, ego exemplum . . . dixero.*

108,4 *delinquere humanum est*: a variant of *errare humanum est.*

108,4–5 *hominis . . . ignoscere*: a variant in Plaut. Merc. 319 (and perhaps the correct reading) has *humanum autem ignoscere est*, and it may be a proverb, see 218,5f. (*volgo!*).

Maxime proprium: the superlative of long adjectives and of adjectives in *-ius* is avoided: 24,20 *gratissimum . . . maximeque populare*; 36,2M *maxime gratum*; 54,9 *maxime internecivum*; 241,13 *aperto maxime atque edito loco.* For the periphrasis with *multum* see at 49,16. In the same way, the comparative is avoided and circumscribed by *magis*: with *necessarius* 19,14; 48,1; with *creber* 131,19; *obnoxius* 218,9; *tutus* 222,4; *opportunus* 249,7M; by *nimis* with *rancidus* 60,23M; with *sollicitus* 71,2M; *anxie* 217,15 (marg. c); *vetera* 220,18; by *satis* with *infrequens* 3,25; with *temerarius* 30,6M; *arduus* 61,11M; *salubris* 91,20; *strenue* 109,17; *diligenter* 180,20; *apertus* 188,14; *armatus* 191,16; *impiger* 208,11; *nobilis* 215,10; *strenue* 229,14; *quietus* 238,14; by *plane* with *commodus* 31,8M; by *sane* with *somniculosus* 66,14. Circumlocutions with *plus* and *plurimum* do not occur in our letters. See Grammatical Index s.v. comparative and superlative.

108,6 Chronology: the Parthian War is practically over. Verus is still in the East, from where he departs for Rome in the summer of 166. So we can date this letter—with P. von Rohden, RE III 1832 (1899), and Haines, Chronology—late 165 or the first half of 166. Mommsen; Naber; Monceaux, Les Africains 230; Brakman; Brock; Haines, edition; Birley, Mark Aurel 257; Astarita, Cronologia; and Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 151, all date it 165. Hanslik, Anordnung; Portalupi; and Champlin date it 166. The letter is of the same period as is Ad Verum I 8, see at 113,16. It is well written and much more modest than the letter Cicero wrote to the historian Lucceius to make him write the history of his consulate, Fam. 5,12. See also Pliny's letter to Tacitus, Epist. 7,33. Verus does not worry about his total failure as a commander-in-chief, for history *non ad actum rei pugnamque praesentem, sed ad memoriam posteritatis et ingenii famam componitur* (Quint. Inst. 10,1,31). History and rhetoric are not separate domains, see Peter, Die geschichtliche Litteratur I 378ff.; Norden, Kunstprosa I 81ff.; Leeman, Orationis ratio I 168ff. On the assumption of Passow, Lucian 13, that Verus also invited other authors to write the history of his Parthian War, see at 265,15ff. Nothing came of Fronto's history, see at 203,1f.

108,7–9 *illi . . . cognosces: illi* are the Roman commanders in the East before Verus' arrival in 162. They added statistic material to their letters to the two emperors and the senate about the military situation. One of them may have been M. Sedatius Severianus. After Verus' departure (from Rome, not from the East, as Peter o.c. 378 thinks), the commanders reported directly to Verus; their commander-in-chief was L. Attidius Cornelianus. Other generals were M. Statius Priscus, Q. Antistius Adventus, M. Claudius Fronto, P. Martius Verus and perhaps P. Iulius Geminius (see at 38,10 and 200,8). See Maria Astarita, Avidio Cassio 40 n. 85. The reading *ad me* was

conjectured simultaneously by Niebuhr and Leopardi; it has been accepted by all editors except Mai and Naber. It implies that Verus received reports on the military situation during his long journey from Rome to Antioch. Verus appointed several new generals: T. Furius Victorinus, M. Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus, M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus, M. Annius Libo (who died c. 163 and was replaced by Cn. Iulius Verus). See Birley, Mark Aurel 218ff.

108,9 *exemplaria*, 'copies'; see at 104,11.

Sallustius noster: 'our staff historian', Verus' secretary, a typical appellative. H. Dessau, Sallustius 62, PIR III[1] and RE, Sallustius Fulvianus, and some editors erroneously assumed that it concerned a Sallustius Fulvianus, but Mai[1] already saw the correct interpretation; so do Philibert-Soupé 77 n. 3, Peter o.c. 399 and A. Stein, Fulvianus, RE VII 1 (1910) and Fulvianus 529, PIR III[2]. *Nunc* shows that he had been appointed recently and that he was a generation younger than Fronto; so he cannot be identified with the Fulvianus to whom Fronto wrote Ad amicos I 21, see at 183,16. *Noster* does not mean here 'our mutual friend' (see at 90,2), but 'belonging to our staff' (or 'house of community', as 117,4; 185,8?; 187,7). J. Crook, Consilium Principis, Cambridge 1955, 73 n. 1, regards him as an amicus or comes of Verus, which is not very likely. The use of *noster* and *nos* in this letter is a prelude to the plur. maiestatis, see at 114,11. Only Verus speaks of *nos*, unlike Pius and Marcus, see at 64,4 and 96,4.

108,11 *picturas*: 'topographical maps'.

108,13–14 *quasi . . . inducerem*: 'to bring you as it were on the spot'. Cp. Sen. Dial. 4,36,1 *velut in rem praesentem adducti*; Plin. Epist. 3,9,26 *te in rem praesentem perducere*.

108,14 *mandavi* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Cassio . . . Vero: the main body of Verus' army was led by C. Avidius Cassius and P. Martius Verus. M. Claudius Fronto was in command of two army corps; he is not mentioned here because he had been ordered back to Italy; we do not know exactly when, but it must have been before late 165. See Birley, Mark Aurel 260. Another general not mentioned here is M. Statius Priscus, who captured Artaxata in 163. He was probably dead when this letter was written, or he may have retired.

Cassio Avidio: cognomen in front, as *Niger Censorius* 162,10; *Turbo Marcius* 162,19; *Cornelianus Sulpicius* 170,15; 171,13; *Montanus Licinius* 172,2; *Seneca Annaeus* 228,6. See Index Nominum s.v. Cornelius Fronto, Iulius Celsinus, Iulius Proculus, Iunius Rusticus, Postumius Festus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, Claudius Herodes; and Hofmann-Szantyr 410.

Commentarios: 'memoranda' (Haines), the documents of the daily operations; also 113,16; 202,13. It seems that they were never sent to Fronto. Cp. Cic. Fam. 5,12,10 *si enim suscipis causam, conficiam commentarios rerum omnium*. See also at 171,7.

108,15–16 *mores*: from this passage Schwartz, Avidius Cassius 144, draws the conclusion that the author of the Vita Avidii Cassii 3,1 *sed non hominis naturam et mores breviter explicabimus* must have read Fronto's letters! See Proleg.

LXII n. 4 and at 175,23f. *Mores et sensum*: 'their way of life and thought', as Cic. Cael. 79 *mores sensusque.*

108,19 *contempseris*: see at 1,10f.

Orationes are, as 132,11, the *litterae ad senatum* (118,13). They were drawn up as a speech; see at 96,7.

Adlocutiones ad exercitum: Liv. Per. 104 *adlocutione exercitus.* On harangues to the army mentioned on coins of emperors see TLL s.v. allocutio. In Fronto 122,13f. *virtutem cohortatur*; 208,10 *appellandis exercitibus*: 215,22 *exercitus adhortandi.*

108,20 *sermones*: Verus had sent a legation to Vologaesus, see at 126,7.

108,23 *causas et initia*: Verus had some knowledge of the theory of historiography: the author must start with the αἰτία and the ἀρχή (Polyb. 3,6,14; Cic. De orat. 2,62–63; Quint. Inst. 4,2,2).

Commoraberis: like *venies* and *dispicies* (109,2), a modest futurm pro imperativo; see at 19,7.

108,24 *absentibus*: 'when we were not (yet) present'.

Male gesta: the defeat of M. Sedatius Severianus (see at 212,21) and L. Attidius Cornelianus (see at 210,6f.).

108,26 *dilucere*: impersonal: 'che risulti chiaro' (Portalupi), not 'to make quite clear" (Haines). Cp. Gell. 6,10,3 *per quod satis dilucet* and Apul. Apol. 67,1 *cuivis clare dilucet*, both with acc. cum inf.. See at 56,15f.

108,26–109,1 *an . . . an* in disjunctive questions is used by poets and in prose since Seneca rhetor; see Kühner II 528; Hofmann-Szantyr 544.

108,27 πεντηκονταετίαν: this word is first used by Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 4,32, in the sense of 'the age of fifty'. Of the Thucydidean pentekontaetia by the Schol. Thuc. 1,97 Hude; ibid. 1,18 πεντηκονταετηρίς. It goes back to Thuc. 1,118,2 ταῦτα . . . ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα and comprises book I chapter 89 to the end, the years between Xerxes' campaign and the Peloponnesian War. I have not seen Strebel, Wertung und Wirkung des Thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes in der römischen Literatur, diss., München, Speyer 1935.

Explicuit: 'to treat', 'to give an exposition of'; O. Hiltbrunner, TLL s.v., explains it by 'narrare'. It is not 'give only a sketch of' (Haines) or 'condensare' (Portalupi): they both regard it falsely as a synonym of *corripere*; this verb indeed means 'to give a sketch of', 'to summarize'. Cp. Nepos, Epam. 4,6 *quorum (vitam) . . . multis milibus versuum . . . scriptores . . . explicarunt*; Vell. 2,48,5 *praeteritarum . . . rerum ordo . . . nostris (voluminibus) explicabitur. Explicuit*: 148,8 we have *explicasse.*

109,1 *altius dicere*: 'to deal with more profoundly'. For *altius* see at 170,14.

Dispandere, 'to expatiate' (Haines), is used metaphorically only here.

109,2 *dispicies*: Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi 352, and Portalupi[2] prefer the reading of m[2] *disspicies*; see Proleg. XL.

109,3–4 This thought was for the first time put into words by Sall. Cat. 8,4 *eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia*; Plin. Epist. 7,33,10 *haec, utcumque se habent, notiora, clariora, maiora tu (Tacite) facies; quamquam non exigo, ut excedas actae rei modum. nam nec*

historia debet egredi veritatem et honeste factis veritas sufficit; Vita Probi 1,1 *certum est quod Sallustius Crispus quodque Marcus Cato* (Orig. p. 19 Jordan; p. 38 Chassignet) *et Gellius* (3,7,19) *historici sententiae modo in litteras rettulerunt omnes omnium virtutes tantas esse, quantas videri eas voluerint eorum ingenia, qui unius cuiusque facta descripserint.* Fronto expresses the same thought 203,9–12. Cp. Sall. Cat. 3,1 *et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere multi laudantur.* See Felicita Portalupi, Nota Frontoniana, Koinonia 4, 1980, 9 n. 9.

In summa: 'in short' (Haines).

Scilicet: 'actually' (Haines).

Quoiquoimodi est is a set phrase, here in archaic form. Cicero has *cuicuimodi est* Tusc. 3,83; 5,121; Verr. 5,107; and so Gell. 9,2,6; *cuicuimodi sunt* Cic. Att. 3,22,4.

109,5 Chronology of I 3 and the answer I 4: most commentators assume that these letters were written shortly before Verus' departure from the East, dating them 165 or 166: Mai[1]; Naber; Mommsen; P. von Rohden, RE III 1832 (1899); Brakman; Haines; Hanslik, Anordnung; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 406 n. 1. But why should Fronto, after the war, write a letter of a few lines to Verus, a letter which would take several months to arrive (see at 11,14; 108,2)? It was Champlin, Chronology, who rightly saw that Fronto's letter to Verus was written in the summer or the autumn of 166 when Verus was already in Italy, shortly before his triumph in Rome. (On the date of this triumph see P. Kneissl, Die Siegestitulaturen der römischen Kaiser, Göttingen 1969, 97ff.) The possibility of Verus being already in Italy was also suggested by Haines and Aymard, Lucilla Augusta 60. The solution to the problem lies in the last sentence of I 3: if we assume that Verus is still in the East and that *socrum* is Marcus' wife Faustina, it follows that Faustina was in Syria, allegedly to assist her pregnant daughter Lucilla. This is exactly the solution suggested by Mommsen; P. von Rohden, Annia Lucilla, RE I (1894); Sedgewick, Marcus Aurelius 145; Birley, Mark Aurel 258; Astarita, Avidio Cassio 115 n. 100; and Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 374f. However, not one historian confirms such a journey by the empress to Ephesus or to Syria. All difficulties are solved if we read *socrum* as *socerum*, and though Consent. Gramm. V 392,9 calls it a barbarism, we know that *socer* can have the forms *socri*, *socro* and *socrum*, both in authors' texts and in inscriptions; see Neue-Wagener I[3] 119f.; K.E. Georges, Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen, Leipzig 1890 s.v. So it is not necessary to write *socerum*; nevertheless I have done so to make clear that not Faustina is meant. Fronto requests Verus to give his regards to Marcus, which means that Verus has returned to Italy, though he is not yet in Rome. He may have been in Brindisi, where Marcus took leave of his daughter when she went to Ephesus to marry Verus (Vita Marci 9,4; Vita Veri 7,7), or in Capua, where Marcus saw Verus off (Vita Marci 8,10; Vita Veri 6,7). Now it is clear who the *liberi vestri* are: not the children of Verus and Lucilla, but those of Marcus and Verus; cp. CIL VI 360 = Dessau 366, where Marcus, Faustina, Verus and Lucilla are mentioned with *liberorumque eorum.* Verus had only one daughter of about one year old, whose name is not known, see Cass. Dio 72,4,4. Marcus may have taken along Fadilla, Cornificia,

L. Aurelius Commodus (five years old) and M. Annius Verus (four). Because they are so young it seems probable that the meeting took place in Capua, not in Brindisi. *Vos* and *vester* are in our correspondence often used of the two Augusti. Timpanaro wonders how Fronto could speak of Marcus as *socer Veri* whereas elsewhere he calls him *frater Veri.* But it is a simple fact that Marcus was Verus' father-in-law, so we can understand that the old and sick Fronto was not in the mood for ceremonious talk; actually he shows little interest in Verus' return, and besides, as we have seen at 103,8f., they did not hit it off very well. Also, Fronto called Verus *Commodus* when he was already emperor (see at 159,12). Astarita cannot understand why Lucilla is not mentioned, but she is one of the *liberi vestri.*

109,6 *diu*: J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v., sees in *diu iampridem* an abundance, 'for a long while past' (Haines). But *diu* only refers to *vivere* and seems to be used in the sense of *diutius*, as 10,7 with *differre* (cp. 116,4V) and 108,23V. Hofmann hesitantly recognizes this meaning of *diu* only Mart. Cap. 4,423.

Valetudine: see at 240,16. Note the alliteration here and in the following lines.

109,7 *reducem*: in Rome.

Videro and *vixero*: see at 1,10f.

109,8 *invitus . . . vivam: invitus . . . vitae* is a pun or paronomasia. *Vitae . . . vivam*: parechesis. The etymological figure *vitam vivere* is quite frequent, see Kühner I 275. Fronto is here over seventy years old.

109,10 I 4 seems to be the answer to the preceding letter, see at 109,5.

109,11 *quidni* is colloquial and introduces a rhetorical question: 'of course, I can picture to myself'. It is used with a potentialis (see at 1,10f.), not a dubitative subjunctive, as Hofmann-Szantyr 458 state; cp. e.g. Plaut. Amph. 434; Mil. 1120; 1311; Cic. Tusc. 5,12; De orat. 2,273; Verr. 2,80. See Kühner II 495.

Sibi repraesentare is mostly used with *mente* or *animo*, see at 165,6.

109,12 *videre me*: with Haines, I made a mistake in adopting Heindorf's and Leopardi's conjecture *videre te.* Mai and Naber keep *me*, Della Corte and Portalupi do the same, but they translate 'viderti'. *Videor mihi*, 'I can imagine', with acc. cum inf.: see at 37,24. The accusative of this acc. cum inf. (*te* or *hominem*) may have been in the gap, or *videre, complecti* and *exosculari* are used as 116,12V. Note the pun *videor videre.*

109,14 Chronology: in the spring of 162 Verus left Rome to embark in Brindisi for the East; see at 11,14. During his journey along the Via Appia he was several times invited by friends and joined them in hunting parties. So he came to Canosa di Puglia (Canusium), where he fell ill, possibly struck by apoplexy (so Hauler, Wien. Stud. 56, 1938, 119; Birley, Mark Aurel 226) caused by his gluttony (Champlin, Fronto 113). Marcus came to visit him and is still there: 110,7 *fratrem dominum saluta.* Vita Veri 6,7 *apud Canusium aegrotavit; quo ad eum visendum frater contendit*; Vita Marci 8,11 *cum . . . Marcus cognovisset . . . Verum apud Canusium aegrotare, ad eum videndum contendit susceptis in senatu votis; quae, posteaquam Romam redit audita Veri transmissione* (the crossing of the Adriatic), *statim reddidit.* On the coins struck upon Verus' departure see C.H. Dodd, Chronology of the Eastern Campaigns

of the Emperor Lucius Verus, Numism. Chron. 11, 1911, 210ff. As Verus' biographer does not mention any other illness of Verus, almost all commentators assume that Fronto's letter refers to that stay in Canusium in the summer of 162. Only Mommsen dates the letter 161–162 or 166–169, before or after the Parthian War; he is followed by Barnes, Hadrian and Lucius Verus 70. According to Ameling, Herodes Atticus I 109, Herodes Atticus accompanied Verus on his journey to the East, and Verus may have stayed at Herodes' house in Canusium, where Herodes had built an aqueduct (Philostr. V.S. 2,5), but that is sheer fantasy

109,15 *non possem. sed*: Fronto had already heard of Verus' illness before he received his letter (which is lost).

109,16 *tua manu*: see at 38,4.

109,17 *abstinentiam tridui*: 'after three days' fasting' (Haines); see at 2,8.

109,17–18 *sanguinem . . . demissum*: 'a rather drastic and prompt letting of blood' (Haines). *Strenue*, 'proper', 'decent', is regarded as a colloquialism by Hofmann, Umgangssprache 74, who compares Plaut. Pseud. 509; but see at 229,14. Note the *s* alliteration *sanguinem satis strenue*. The medical term is *sanguinem mittere, demittere, dimittere, detrahere* (110,2) or *extrahere*. *Sanguinem demittere* occurs in Cato, Or. frg. 190 Sblendorio; Varro, Rust. 2,1,23; Colum. 6,30,6; Gell. 18,10,5. So Priebe II 11 and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 13, are wrong to assume that Fronto here quotes Cato.

109,19 *nuntiabas*: the narrative imperfective, see Kühner I 122ff.; Hofmann-Szantyr 317.

Respiravi . . . revalui: alliteration.

Foculos: not 'hearth' (Haines) but 'small braziers' used in the open or in temples, as in Varro, L.L. 6,14; Cic. Domo 123; Liv. 2,12,13; Sen. Epist. 66,51; Tert. Apol. 9,15; cp. Verg. Aen. 12,118 *parabant . . . focos et . . . aras*. See G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, München [2]1912, 475.

109,19–20 *lucos . . . arbores*: Plin. Nat. 12,3 *haec fuere numinum templa priscoque ritu simplicia rura etiamnunc deo praecellentem arborem dicant*; Stat. Silv. 4,4,92 *votifera . . . suspendit ab arbore vittas*. See P. Grimal, Les jardins romains, Paris [2]1969, 58ff. and at 43,2.

109,20 *rure*: see at 60,16. *Rure* also 134,24, never *ruri*.

Expecto with infinitive before Fronto only Varro, L.L. 10,40; mostly with inf. pass.

109,21 *mediei isti*: see at 11,18.

Promoverint: see at 48,24.

109,23 *temet compleas*: 'that you may fill your veins' (Haines), not 'to eat your fill' (because of *nam* etc.), nor 'recuperi il tuo vigore' (Della Corte) or 'ristabilirti' (Portalupi). The same mistake, as it seems, Wulf, TLL s.v. compleo, who explains our passage 'sc. studiis'. Cp. Varro Men. 200 *venarum sanguine rivos compleret*; Lucan. 4,630 *calido complentur sanguine venae.*

Detrimenta: see at 92,24.

110,2 *abundet*: *sanguis abundat* is a medical term: Scrib. Larg, 47; Cels. 2,7,2; 2,10,5.

Incursim, 'promptly' (Haines), is an archaism: it occurs only in Caecil. Com. 46.

Detrahendum: also Cic. Att. 6,1,2; Lucr. 3,442; Cels. 4,2; Colum. 6,38,1; and others.

Pedetemptim: see at 72,8.

110,3 *fac* with subjunctive: see at 60,17.

Oro ... obsecro: see at 3,1.

110,4 *decet* with dative: see at 47,6.

Reparcas is archaic according to Schwierczina, Frontoniana 24; Priebe I 15; and Marache, Mots 31; it occurs in Plaut. Most. 124; Truc. 376; Lucr. 1,667; Symm. Epist. 1,39.

Modificeris with dative, 'to moderate', occurs here for the first time, then in Gell. 1,1,3; Apul. Met. 11,21,3 (also with *desideriis*); Deo Socr. prol. 105. See at 30,11; 58,20.

Desideriis: Vita Veri 6,7 *cum ... per omnium villas se ingurgitaret.*

110,6 *necessario*: adverb.

In tempore: 'in seasons', as 107,4V; 218,17; not 'on a necessary occasion' (Haines). See Kühner I 357; II 567. Cp. *iusto tempore* 80,1; *suo tempore* 92,18.

110,9 Chronology: Verus is still in Syria (111,5). Niebuhr; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Champlin date this letter 163–166; Mommsen 162–166; Naber 165; Brakman and Haines, Chronology, 163–164; Haines, edition, and Astarita, Cronologia, 163. In a letter of 163–164 (107,25), Verus complains that Fronto has not written him, so this letter must be of 164–166. According to Astarita, this letter is the *prolixior epistula* 103,14, but see at 103,6.

110,10 *quanta et quam*: alliteration.

Familiaritas intercedat also Ter. Phorm. 583; Cic. Fam. 13,73,2. *Necessituo, consuetudo intercedit* 168,8 and Cic. Fam. 11,16,2; 13,45. *Factum intercedit* 107,23V, an expression occurring only in the Digesta. *Lites et iurgia intercedunt* 178,12. After a gap 170,23. See also 58,20; 84,18M.

L. Gavius Clarus, a poor senator who is further unknown (see A. Stein, Gavius 97, PIR IV^2), as is his father L. Gavius Aelianus (111,8: see A. Stein, Gavius 10, PIR IV^2). Gavius Clarus, in his early thirties (see at 111,2), was probably a contubernalis of Fronto, see at 172,5.

110,11–12 *ex ... sententia*: 'from conviction', 'truthfully' or 'secondo il sentimento dell'animo mio' (Portalupi), rather than 'from the fulness of my heart' (Haines). See at 76,14; 79,11.

110,12 *ab re esse* with negation: 'to be appropriate', a litotes. It occurs since Plautus but is not an archaism (against Hofmann-Szantyr 256). See TLL s.v. ab 2465; Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 508. Cp. crit. app. at 164,4.

Memorem admonere: Plaut. Capt. 191 and Stich. 578 *memorem mones*; Pseud. 940 *memorem immemorem facit qui monet quod memor meminit*; Symm. Epist. 2,53 *memorem commonere*. It seems to be a quotation from Plautus rather than a proverb.

110,14 *minor maiorem*: alliteration; cp. line 21 *minima maximaque.*

Maiorem gradu: Fronto had been consul, Gavius had not: 111,10. *Gradu* and *loco* are synonyms: 'rank' (Haines).

110,15 *promeretur*: see at 25,21.

110,16 *pigeret . . . puderet*: alliteration.

Ea: 'in those things', see at 47,9; cp. Apul. Met. 10,17,5 *haec omnia perfacile oboediebam.*

110,17 *quae obsequuntur*: the same adverbial accusative as with *oboedire*. Cp. Plaut. Asin. 76 *id ego percupio obsequi gnato meo*; Gell. 2,7,12 *quaedam esse parendum, quaedam non obsequendum.* On the form *obsecuntur* see at 34,8f.

110,18 *mutua*: see at 270,13.

110,19 *in officiis moderandis*: 'in the regulation of services rendered'.

110,20 *detrectationem*: 'unwillingness', 'reserve'; see at 213,8f.

In foro: as a lawyer; against *domi*, as Sen. Epist. 47,16.

Nostra: see at 88,17.

110,21 *quod*: 'as far as'; cp. 79,18M *quod possis*; 91,9 *quod ego sciam.* Sometimes this *quod* means 'in case', 'if' (hence *quid* = *aliquid*). See Kühner II 277; Hofmann-Szantyr 573. So 49,2 *quod tu putes*; 123,11 *quod quis dicat*; 218,8 *quod . . . quis . . . putet.* See Index Latinitatis s.v. quod. Löfstedt, Syntactica II 194,2, followed by Hofmann-Szantyr 801, sees here an anacoluthic contamination of *quod . . . confectum vellem, id me* etc. and *si quid vellem, me.* Haines follows Heindorf.

Clausum: 'put in safe keeping', of papers and money. Liv. Per. 40 *libri . . . arca . . . clausi*; Alf. Dig. 19,2,31 *pecuniam . . . neque clausam neque obsignatam.* On *vellem* with double accusative see at 182,8f. Note the alliteration *clausum, curatum, confectum.*

110,23 *alumnus meus*: not 'my foster child' (Haines), but 'un mio pupillo' (Portalupi); cp. e.g. Cic. Fin. 4,72 *Aristoteles reliquique Platonis alumni.* Fronto had pupils in his contubernium, see at 172,5. A. von Mess, TLL s.v. alumnus, has misunderstood our passage.

110,25 *excubaret mihi*: 'set up with me' (Haines). *Excubare* with dative since Lucan. 9,910; Plin. Nat. 6,66.

110,26 *per valetudinem*: on Fronto's gout see at 265,29 and Table of Matters s.v. Fronto.

110,27–28 *si . . . accidisset*: 'if anything happened to me such as must to all men' (Haines). This expression usually refers to death: Cic. Phil. 1,10 *si quid mihi humanitus accidisset*; CIL VI 10242; Scaev. Dig. 34,4,30,2; Claud. Don. Aen. 1,570 p. 113,7; cp. Enn. Ann. 125; Apul. Apol. 100,2. Schwierczina, Frontoniana 30, thinks that Fronto here quotes Cicero. Evidently, however, it is here a euphemism for 'the motions'! W. Ehlers, TLL s.v. humanitus, and Portalupi also have misinterpreted this passage.

110,27 *absente*: Steele, The Ablative Absolute 332, wonders why it is not *absentibus*, but here *et* stands for *aut* (see TLL s.v. et 894,30ff.) and therefore also *huic.*

Victorino: actually, Aufidius Victorinus was in Germany when this letter was written, but this cannot be concluded from this passage, as Mommsen; E. Groag, Aufidius 1393, PIR I^2 278; and Astarita, Cronologia, have done. See at 178,7.

Domino: see at 86,14.

110,28 *fratre*: Q. Cornelius Quadratus, see at 238,12.

Iusta . . . curanda: again a euphemism, not 'to see to it that my body had its due rites' (Haines). *Iusta* are the non nominanda, as in Garg. Mart. 53

of menstruation: *(amygdala) feminarum iusta praecipitant. Corpori meo* belongs to *iusta*, not to *curanda*, as Ebert, Synt. 6, assumes. E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v. curo, thinks, like Schwierczina, that this passage refers to Fronto's funeral!

110,29 *ab hoc*: Gavius Clarus.

111,1 *iura*: 'bonds', see at 172,4.

Iam: 'undoubtedly', not 'now' (Haines), 'ora' (Portalupi) or 'already' (TLL s.v.).

Res familiaris: all things go by comparison: as a senator, he must have had at least one million sestertii, and Fronto certainly had more than that. Apart from his palazzo on the Esquiline (see at 20,11; 260,1–5), he had several villas (see at 2,18; 5,21; 51,20; 60,16f.; 76,4; 85,4; 175,22; 266,1–3), horti (76,8; 116,5; see at 76,4) and estates in Africa (79,3), and he was planning a bathhouse of 300,000 sestertii (263,41). See G. Alföldy, Römische Sozialgeschichte, Wiesbaden 1975, 102f., who estimates the fortune of the younger Pliny at 20 million sestertii. Yet Fronto's income must have been relatively small: a lawsuit brought in only 10,000 sestertii, see Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 122ff., but probably he acted free of charge, see at 178,13. His contubernium (see at 172,5) may have realized a fair sum, but it is correct when he states 238,17f. *studia doctrinae rei familiari meae praetuli; pauperem me quam ope cuiusquam adiutum ... malui.* See also at 24,19.

111,2 *senatoria munia*: senatorial functions were expensive, especially for a praetor and a consul. The praetor's *cura ludorum* cost a lot of money, see Mart. 10,41 where a lady divorces her husband because he had become praetor. See Friedländer o.c. I 128f.; G. Wesenberg, Praetor, RE XXII (1954). Gavius' praetorship had almost ruined him (111,10f.). This leads us to his age: he must here have been in his early thirties, since the minimum age for a praetor is thirty.

111,3 *huius negotii causa* seems to be 'on his present errand' (Haines), rather than 'a questo scopo' (Portalupi). There is no reason to write *caussa* with Sittl and Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi 352: the m^1 has corrected his own fault and never writes *caussa* in our correspondence.

111,4–5 *paupertas artior*: the usual—and better—expression is *res artae*, 'straitened circumstances', e.g. Sil. 2,103 *artae res exegere (Mopsum) per aequor.*

111,5 *expellerem*: 'to bannish' (Haines), as Suet. Cal. 1,2 *(Germanicus) ad componendum orientis statum expulsus.*

111,6 *obvenerunt*: the official legal term is *testamento alicui legatum obvenit* or, as Gaius, Inst. 2,99, *quae nobis ex testamento obveniunt. In testamento* is not found elsewhere.

Persequendi: 'to press his claims on the legacies', cp. Ter. Andr. 815 *hereditatem*; Quint. Decl. 273 p. 119,30 Ritter *bona patrimonii.*

111,7 *ipsius*: see at 77,4.

111,8 *fruenda*: see at 14,12.

Ea fine: 'to that extent'. *Ea (qua, hac, eadem) fine* is found in old Latin, in Columella, Gellius and Apuleius.

Patri: sometimes Cicero has the same dative, e.g. Inv. 2,122 *nihi heres esto.*

111,9 *officiis*: 'services rendered', a euphemism for 'odd jobs'. Probably Fronto paid him too.

111,10 *perfunctus* with accusative: see at 190,14.

111,11 *per absentiam* instead of *in absentia* is used here and Tryph. Dig. 27,2,6 for the first time. It appears that Gavius had not asked for relief.

Pater: Pius, because of *vester* (Marcus and Verus), not L. Aelius Caesar (L. Ceionius Commodus), as G. Schwering, TLL s.v. divus, thinks. Fronto uses *divus* only here and 25,3 of Hadrian. Vita Pii 13,3 *a senatu divus est appellatus cunctis certatim adnitentibus*, including Fronto. 230,2 Fronto calls Pius *divinus*. Vita Pii 8,4 *ut (Pius) et magistratus adiuvaret et senatores urbis ad functiones suas.*

111,12 *fisco vestro*: the public treasury admininstered by an imperial procurator a rationibus; see Rostowzew, Fiscus, RE VI (1909) and at 24,19 and 238,17. In his letters to Marcus Caesar, Fronto always speaks of *pater tuus* and Marcus of *pater meus*, though Marcus and Verus were adopted together in 138. *Pater vester* is only used in the letters written after Marcus' and Verus' accession to the throne in 161: 221,2; 230,2.

Cum: nowhere else in our correspondence is this conjunction placed at such great distance from the beginning of the sentence.

111,12–13 *reconciliata valetudine*: the same expression 181,5.

111,13 *rediit*: see at 42,5; 60,10.

111,14 *isto*: see at 79,25.

Verecundius: 'more unassuming' (Haines).

111,16 *simplicitas*: Mart. 11,20,10 *scis Romana simplicitate loqui.* See Fronto 168,22. 107,21f.V *simplicitas verusque amor.*

Castitas: 'integrità' (Portalupi) rather than 'continence' (Haines).

Fides Romana: Fronto creates the opposite of the proverbial *fides Punica.*

111,17 φιλοστοργία: 'warmth of affection' (Haines). The same view is expressed by Fronto 173,15f. It is a gibe at the patricians of his time. See Medit. 1,11 = Testim. 11 and at 180,9; 188,14. Cicero, too, uses φιλόστοργος Att. 13,9,1; 15,17,1; and 234,13 Fronto addresses Marcus as φιλόστοργε ἄνθρωπε. Marcus, Medit. 1,9, states that he had learned from Sextus of Chaeronea εἶναι φιλοστοργότατον. For Fronto's influence on this point see Medit. 1,17,30; 2,5; 6,30,1; 11,18; and at 78,12. We have the Latin form *philostorgus* 173,15. See at 107,22 and Lana, Simplicitas; Cova, Lo stoico 127ff. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 264, contradicts Fronto on lesser grounds. See at 260,12.

111,18 *quia*: when a reason is denied, *quia* can have the subjunctive, usually in sentences with *non quia* and *magis . . . quam quia*; see Kühner II 384; here the subjunctive is due to *nemo*. According to Hofmann-Szantyr 586, *quia* with subjunctive without reason is not found until the fourth century AD.

111,19 *reapse* occurs only here in Fronto.

111,21–22 *si . . . amasti*: see at 86,22. For *si . . . sive* see at 37,5–7 and Index Latinitatis s.v. si.

111,22 *fidei atque opi*: 'your trust and protection' (Haines), cp. Sall. Cat. 35,6 *Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado. Fides* refers to the tutela patroni. The dative *opi* is found only here; see Neue-Wagener I 708.

111,23 *peto* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

111,25 Chronology: Verus is in Rome, so this letter must have been written in 161–162 or in 166–167. Niebuhr, Mommsen, Haines and Birley, Mark Aurel 265, date it 165–166, after the Parthian War; Naber 162, before that war. Hanslik, Anordnung, and Champlin are undecided: 161–167. I think that it was 161–162: Fronto is still vigorous and full of interest in Verus' doings, which was not the case in 166 (see at 109,5), when nothing came of his planned history of the Parthian War (see at 108,6). Moreover, the first lines of this letter fit in with 161, when Verus became co-regent, far better than with 166. Under Pius, Verus' role had been insignificant compared with Marcus'. Now he is an emperor, and apparently the courtiers envy Fronto his friendship with Verus. Fronto had suggested a plan (*consilium*) not to show their intimacy in public (111,27), but it struck Fronto as unpleasant that Verus did not answer his letter (112,1f.). However, now he sees what Verus' intention was (*sed ita cogitasti* 112,2). On jealousy at the court see at 54,6f.

111,26 *quo* = *ad quem*, 'a cui aspira' (Portalupi), not 'whereby' (Haines); cp. Sall. Iug. 104,1 *infecto quo intenderat negotio*, though *expetere ad* is not found in the TLL s.v., where O. Hiltbrunner classifies our passage under 'expetere aliquid'. See Kühner II 284; Hofmann-Szantyr 209.

112,1–2 *verbo . . . responderes*: 'that you answered me at least by a single word'. The agreement was to avoid signs of affection in public, not to stop writing; see at 107,23. *Verbo*: see at 37,11. *Verbo salutem responderes*, though retained by all editors except Portalupi^2, is impossible. Cornelissen's conjecture has been adopted by J.W.Ph. Borleffs, Museum 60, 1955, 162. The reading *salutem* 162,13 has, also by m^2, been corrected to *saltem.*

112,2 *cubiculum*: on the salutatio see at 3,25f. This is a private audience, cp. Sen. Benef. 6,34,2 *alios in secretum recipere, alios cum pluribus, alios universos*; Plin. Nat. 15,38 *salutatoria cubicula*. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 813; 834; III 556; 895.

112,3 *iubebas* and *dabas*: imperfect instead of present, see at 55,24. *Ita*^{1}: in the combination *primum . . . ita*, *ita* is almost equivalent to *deinde*; see Hofmann-Szantyr 514.

112,3–4 *quom*: see Index Latinitatis s.v. cum (prep.). *Quom . . . reputans*: see at 25,2.

112,4 *curam . . . tradidisses*: probably when Verus was fourteen years old, after assuming the toga virilis (17 March 145); see at 93,12, where the alliteration *curam cultumque* is also found.

112,4–5 *oris atque orationis*: this etymological alliteration is frequent: Plaut. Merc. 176; Enn. Scen. 306; Cic. Phil. 5,20; Nepos, Alcib. 1,2; Vell. 2,35,3; Gell. 1,15,1; Varro, L.L. 6,76 *oro ab ore . . . et oratio et osculum dictum.*

112,5 *ius osculi*: originally the σύμβολον καὶ κοινώνημα τῆς συγγενείας (Plut. Quaest. Rom. 6). So Agrippina had the *ius osculi* of her uncle, Emperor Claudius (Suet. Claud. 26). See K. Schneider, Ius osculi, RE X (1919); Timpanaro, Il ius osculi.

112,6 *sui laboris lege*: 'by virtue of his own labour'. It is a fundamental law that the farmer gathers the fruit of his own sowing (*satus*), and so the

teacher of rhetoric, of *orare*, is entitled to the *osculum* of his pupil's *os*. The image may be affected but it is clear. Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi 350, regards *sui laboris lege* as 'del tutto impossibile', but I do not see why; he regards our passage as corrupt. Note the alliteration. *Fructum capere* also in Cato, Agr. 4,1; Cic. Div. 2,5 *laboris mei*; Scaev. Dig. 31,88,2. *Capere satus* and *locatum* had already been proposed by Ebert, Synt. 48, before Hauler presented his new reading. *Locato* cannot be correct: before *morem* an *m* must have been left out. That the MS has *satus* is confirmed by F. Lo Monaco, see Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 369f.

112,7 *denique*: 'therefore', see at 10,6.

112,8–9 *os . . . ori*: traductio or polyptoton.

112,10 *denique*: 'consequently', see at 44,25.

Oratione: 'faculty of speech'.

112,11 *hunc honorem habitum*: emphasizing alliteration.

Taxo: both *taxo* and *faxo* (see 153,4) can have the gen. and abl. pretii. Cp. e.g. Plin. Nat. 35,47 *solebant librae eius trecenis nummis taxari*. See Kuhner I 459f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 129.

112,12 *pondere*: cp. Cic. Att. 10,1,1 *filius eodem est apud me pondere*.

112,13–14 *dicta et facta*: see at 162,1.

112,15 *difficile progredientem*: on Fronto's podagra see at 265,29 and Table of Matters s.v. Fronto. The adverb *difficile* also 157,11; 165,3P; *difficulter* 82,3M. *Difficiliter* does not occur in Fronto.

112,16 *placato ore* also Ovid. Met. 14,593.

Nos: see at 64,4.

112,17 *conseruisti sermonem* also Curt. 8,12,9; Arnob. Nat. 5,3; and a few late authors.

112,18–19 *extis* etc.: it was the task of the haruspices to inspect the *extra* (σπλάγχνα 246,8) of sacrificial animals, especially sheep. In practice, it was the liver that was examined: the lines of its fissures (*fissa*; Fronto is the only writer calling them *diffissa*) indicated prosperity or adversity: Cic. Div. 2,32 *fissum familiare et vitale (haruspices) tractant*. See J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung VI^2, Leipzig 1885, 181f.; C. Thulin, Haruspices, RE VII (1912); Latte, Immolatio, RE IX (1916); TLL s.v. extra, iecur, findo; Johanna ter Vrugt-Lentz, Haruspex, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1985).

112,20 *de*: Fronto is the only one to use *portendere de*; all other writers have *portendere ex*.

Formicularum: the diminutive occurs here for the first time, then Apul. Met. 6,10,5 and some later authors. The homoioteleuton *formiculae* and *apiculae* also Augustin. Civ. 22,24 p. 615,22; Epist. 137,8; Claud. Mam. Anim. 2,3. For the ants as omen see Cic. Div. 1,78; Val. Max. 1,6 ext. 2; Suet. Tib. 72,2; Nero 46,1; Plut. Cimon 18,4. They predicted rain: Arat. 956; Verg. Georg. 1,380; Varro At. Carm. frg. 22,7; Plin. Nat. 18,364; Plut. De sall. an. 14; Aelian. Var. Hist. 12,45. See A. Marx, Ameise, RE I (1894); Ph. Rech, Ameise, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1950); W. Richter, Ameise, Kleine Pauly (1962); and at 219,10.

The bees as portentum: Herod. 5,114,1; Aristot. Hist. anim. 9,40,25;

Theophr. Sign. 3,46; Cic. Har. resp. 25; Div. 1,73; 1,78; 2,66f.; Verg. Georg. 4,191; Aen. 7,64; Ovid. Met. 15,383; Liv. 21,46,2; 24,10,11; 27,23,2; Val. Max. 1,6,12; Petron. 56,6; Lucan 7,161; Plin. Nat. 8,158; 11,6; 11,55; 18,364; Sil. 8,635; Iuv. 13,68; Flor. 2,6,14; Tac. Ann. 12,64,1; Artem. Onir. 4,22 (= Testim. 13); Appian. B.C. 2,68; 4,134; Iustin. 23,4,7; Pausan. 9,40,2; Plut. Dion 24,2; Brut. 39,3; 48,1; Cass. Dio 41,61,2; 42,26,1; 47,2,3; 47,40,7; 54,33,2; 56,24,4; 60,35,1; 74,6,3; 78,25,2; Philostr. Imag. 2,8,5; Aelian. Var. Hist. 12,45; Avien. Arat. 1766; Lact. Inst. 1,22,20; Ammian. 18,3,1; Iul. Obs. passim; Claudian. Bell. Get. 241; Achmet, Onir. 284; Anth. Pal. 2,342. See L. Koep, Biene, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1954); G. Schrot, Biene, Kleine Pauly (1964).

112,21 *Vero*: a pun on the name of Verus, also 122,11. See at 36,28.

112,22 *habitis*: 'shown', as in the expressions *gratiam, honorem habere*.

Officii . . . volentiae: 'deference and goodwill' (Haines). *Volentia* occurs here for the first time, later in Apul Met. 5,31,3 and 11,6,1 in the sense of 'approval'. *Bona volentia* is the same as *benevolentia*. Legal texts of the imperial age often mention the *benevolentia imperatoris*.

Signis significari: this etymological figure occurs only here; see Landgraf, De figuris etymologicis 31.

112,23 *amores honoresque*: 'all that means love and honour'. Abstract nouns are often used in the plural, see Kühner I 77f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 18. Cp. e.g. Plaut. Epid. 105 *meorum maerorum atque amorum summam*.

112,24–25 refers to the lost beginning of this letter.

112,25 *petita . . . malui*: see at 182,8f.

113,1 Chronology of I 8 and the answer I 9: I 8 was written in late 165, shortly before Ad Antonin. III 4; see at 102,1. Verus' answer was written after a considerable delay (*etiamsi reticeam* 113,19), so it might be of early 166, simultaneous with Ad Verum I 2; see at 108,6.

113,2 *valetudine*: Fronto is now about seventy years old; see at 240,16. The following year his condition deteriorated: 109,6.

Praeter solitum also Verg. Georg. 1,412; Hor. Carm. 1,6,20.

113,4 *uxorem*: our MS always calls her Gratia, but Κρατεῖαν 32,21 and the inscription 266,3 prove that she had the not unusual Greek name of Cratia, as had already been suggested by Niebuhr XXV and the Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817, 169, and is now confirmed by Champlin, Fronto 26. So she was Greek. Roman women do not have this name. Champlin l.l. ventures the suggestion that she came from Ephesus, but we might as well asssume that she was a native of Chaeronea, see at 275,8. Marcus' mother, the philhellene Domitia Lucilla, was a friend of hers: 32,2; 32,21; 63,1; 72,3; 78,8; see at 21,12; 36,20f. In our letters she is mentioned during her life from 139 to 161 (115,6); see also at 86,16. She died in late 165 or early 166, see at 235,13. Mommsen dates her death 166–169; he is followed by E. Klebs, M. Cornelius Fronto, PIR I (1897); J. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, RE IV (1901); and A. Stein, Gratia 218, PIR IV (1952). According to Champlin, Fronto 26, she died in 164, and according to Birley, Mark Aurel 258, c. 165. She was born c. 118, see at 235,13.

113,6 *meminisse*: the last time Verus had written a letter to Fronto was about two years ago, Ad Verum I 1, and it appears that Fronto had complained of being neglected. On *memini* with genitive and accusative see at 29,5.

Nostri and *nostra*: see at 88,17.

Quaedam nostra desiderasse: see at 102,1.

113,8–14 This passage is quoted in a letter to Marcus 102,12–19 with slight alterations. Fronto kept copies of his letters, see at 88,11–14. The lines 14–15 have caused a lot of misunderstanding, though they read quite simply: 'just as—more than twenty years ago—I held a speech against Herodes Atticus, whom I did not know to be a friend of the emperor, and who is a friend of mine now, I can now become a friend of Asclepiodotus, whom I have attacked without knowing that he was a friend of Verus.' For the case of Fronto vs. Herodes see at 36,1. In the enmity between the Athenians and Herodes, a Ti. Claudius Demostratus played a major part, see Philostr. V.S. II 67,19; 71,3ff. Kayser, which is why Mai[1] LIVf. identified the Athenian Claudius Demostratus with the Demostratus in our letter. But such an identification presents chronological problems: Claudius Demostratus did not take part in the actions of the Athenians against Herodes in the early 140s, when Fronto took action against Herodes: it is only in a later stage of that eternal conflict between Herodes and the Athenians that he appears, from the 150s to the 170s. Although Mai—under the influence of Niebuhr and Leopardi—abandoned the identification, it nevertheless met with great success: Fülles, De Herodis vita; Klebs, PIR I.1; A. Stein, Claudius 13, RE V (1903), though he later changed his mind; C. Schultesz, Herodes Atticus, Hamburg 1904, 12; Dorothy Brock, Studies 332f.; K. Münscher, Herodes 13, RE VIII (1912); Haines II 220; P. Graindor, Mém. Lettres et sciences morales et polit. Acad. de Belgique II 7, Bruxelles 1921, 140 (he, too, later changed his mind); Schanz III[3] 96; Bowersock, Greek Sophists 96; Oliver, Marcus Aurelius 3; Kennedy, The Art 596; and Portalupi[1]—they all believe that our Demostratus is Ti. Claudius Demostratus. Against this identification are Niebuhr XXX; G. Leopardi in a letter of 1817, Scritti filologici VIII 74f.; Mai in his second and third editions, though clinging to the theory that our Demostratus was somehow involved in the action against Herodes; Philibert-Soupé 40f.; Naber XXXII; Haines, Chronology; Graindor, Un milliardaire 78f.; and A. Stein, Claudius 849, PIR II[2] (1936). Champlin, Fronto 160 n. 15, also rejects the identification with Ti. Claudius Demostratus, but he believes that our Demostratus was a senatorial kinsman of him who was involved in the case of the Athenians against Herodes. Ameling, Herodes II 70ff., believes that our Demostratus is C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus, a thesis already rejected by Hanslik, Demostratus, Kleine Pauly (1964). In his Fronto und Herodes Atticus, Hanslik leaves the question open. I think that our Demostratus was not one of the Claudii of Athens and that his case has nothing to do with Herodes Atticus. Demostratus is a common name, and in the long drawn-out quarrel between Herodes and the Athenians no Asclepiodotus appears. Fronto is speaking here of a recent case, and it is hardly credible that, after the rebuff of the early 140s,

he would go in again for the anti-Herodes party in Athens. Whatever may be hidden behind *P... anus* (102,11 *Petiliano, Psalano, Perlano?*), it is not *Melitaeus* or *Melitensis* (the demos of the Claudii), and Asclepiodotus is a protégé of Verus, not of Marcus. See R. Hanslik, Demostratus 2, Kleine Pauly (1964). Niebuhr and Philibert-Soupé assume that he was a Roman, and Mai[2] and J. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, RE IV (1901), suppose that he was a fellow-countryman of Fronto (much later Augustinus wrote a Contra Petilianum against the bishop of Cirta); however, all this is most uncertain. Asclepiodotus, too, is unknown; Mai[3] assumes that our Asclepiodotus is the Asclepiodotus of CIL III 5119 *Hecate, Augustae Aurelii Asclepiodotus et Lucius.* Philibert-Soupé 40f. and Champlin, Fronto 172 n. 113, suppose that he was a freedman, which would fit the persons with whom Verus used to associate. Champlin lists five possible candidates whose names are taken from inscriptions. One of them is CIL VI 13028 *M. Aurelius Asclepiodotus Augg. lib.*; for the other inscriptions see TLL s.v. Asclepiodotus. He must have been a man of consequence, since Fronto suggests the possibility of becoming his friend. On the other hand, he treats the affair quite lightly, whereas his clash with Herodes got him into serious trouble.

113,8–9 *cum... primum*: 102,13 Fronto avoids the tmesis; see Grammatical Index s.v. traductio.

113,9 *compelletur*: 'to take the task' (Haines), 'to reprove', as 132,4; 138,6; 139,20; 235,23. It is not a formal accusation, as J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v., assumes. Asclepiodotus' conduct was probably not the main point of the Pro Demostrato.

113,10 *cupivi*: this form also 212,8; *cupisse* 166,21. *Cupio* with infinitive is frequent in Fronto. 102,15 he has *curavi*, 'I did my best' (Haines), which is stronger, but then he is writing to Marcus! Elsewhere Fronto does not use *curo* with infinitive but with the subjunctive (140,8 marg. b) or with *ut* (215,15). Marcus has *curo* with infinitive 2,7.

113,12–13 Here and 102,16f. the text is uncertain. Haines does not accept Hauler's reading (Wien. Stud. 28, 1906, 170); he reads with Brakman *quid ig<itur f>ieri, quid, inquam, op<orte>t?* In 102,16f. the text is different, and there the acc. cum inf. *Asclepiodotum fieri* depends on *quid* rather than *fiat*; see at 182,14. On the epanaphora see at 97,4.

113,14 *summus meus*: 'my best friend'; cp. Plaut. Truc. 79 *me fuisse huis fateor summum atque intumum*; Ter. Eun. 271 *plurima salute Parmenonem summum suom impertit Gnatho.* On Fronto's friendship with Herodes see at 36,1.

Oratio is, of course, the speech against Herodes, not the Pro Demostrato or some other speech, as Bowersock supposes.

Egit: 'discussed' (Haines), not in a letter.

113,16 *commentarium... adgrediar*: see at 108,14. Neither was done, see at 202,1f.

Voluntatis: a genitive with *ex summis opibus* only here and 172,24.

113,17 *videbis*: futurum pro imperativo, as e.g. Cic. Fam. 7,20,2 *valebis meaque negotia videbis.* See at 19,7 and 26,19.

113,18 Chronology: see at 113,1.

113,20 *acerbitatis* should be retained, though Heindorf's conjecture has

been adopted by the Anonymus, Philol. Anzeiger 12, 1882; Novák; K. Prinz, TLL s.v.; and Haines. See at 46,15. It is a gen. qualitatis, like *multi cibi* 32,7.

113,23 *doctis dictis* is an old alliteration and parechesis: Plaut. Asin. 525; Trin. 380; Enn. Ann. 270; Lucr. 2,987; 5,113; Verg. Catal. 5,9; Turpil. Com. 37 *docta dico*; Plaut. Poen. 580 *condocta dicta*.

113,24 *effundere pectus* seems to be poetical: Stat. Silv. 5,1,111.

113,26 *oratione*: Pro Demostrato.

113,27 *agatis pacem*: 'you and Marcus should not worry'.

113,28 *qui*: 'in one way or another'?; Portalupi² does not translate it; for the *munus* and *magistratus* I have no explanation.

114,3–4 *acta et scripta*: 108,14–16 Verus had promised Fronto the *commentarii* of his generals and, if necessary, his own *commentarius*. Here he adds Marcus' official documents concerning the Parthian War. The *inedita* are the unofficial, personal letters Marcus wrote to the generals; Verus will do his best to collect them (*adquisita*). *Ineditum* of writings only here and Ovid. Pont. 4,16,39. See at 146,2.

Transmittam: also possible is *trans<scribenda curabo>*.

114,6 Chronology: Verus appears to be in Rome or in Italy. So this letter was written either before the spring of 162 or after the summer of 166. Most scholars date it after Verus' return from the East: Mai; Niebuhr; Naber; Watson; Haines, Chronology; and Hanslik, Anordnung. Mommsen dates it 161; so do P. von Rohden, RE III 1832 (1899); Haines, edition; and Barnes, Hadrian 72. No decision is made by Champlin, Chronology, and Portalupi, Un mimo 87. A similar case we find Ad Verum I 7, and for the reasons given at 111,25 I think that we must date the letter 161, just as the next two letters. See also at 114,9 *Apolausto*.

114,7 *Calpurnium*: this name is so frequent that we cannot make a choice. Probably he was a friend of Verus, between thirty and forty years old and sharing Verus' interests in the mimes. He is not identical with Sextus Calpurnius 168,3, nor, it seems, with the Calpurnius in the Vita Avid. Cass. 10,9. Baldwin, The Vita Avidii 115, suggests that the biographer hit upon this name when reading Fronto! See Proleg. LXII n. 4 and A. Stein, Calpurnius 243, PIR II².

114,8 *spectantibus*: 'when everyone sees him dancing'.

Te teste revincam is hardly a reminiscence of Hor. Sat. 1,10,1f. *Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone defensore tuo pervincam*, as Droz 71 n. 2 assumes. See at 29,5.

Pyladem: for the accusative see at 7,5. Apparently this L. Aurelius Pylades was a new star in pantomime; his original name was Theocritus and he was the third dancer to bear the name Pylades. He was a freedman of Marcus and Verus, and he is mentioned in several inscriptions. His *magister* was also a Pylades, P. Aelius Pylades, a freedman of Hadrian. Inscriptions bear witness to his fame. Scholars happen to confuse both men. See P. von Rohden, Aurelius 200, RE II (1896); Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 143; IV 197ff.; A. Stein, Aurelius 1590, PIR I²; ibid. Aelius 239; H. Bier, De saltatione pantomimorum, diss., Bonn 1920, 77ff.; G. Winkler, Pylades 4, Kleine Pauly (1972).

114,9 *Apolausto* (dative, see at 35,22): Vita Veri 8,10 *habuit et Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Memfi, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti tropaeum Parthicum adduxerat, quem Apolaustum nominavit.* If he is our Apolaustus, this letter evidently dates from the second half of 166. However, things are not that simple: Avidius Cassius was a better general than Verus; we might put him on a level with Pompeius, which does not mean that he is Pompeius' contemporary. Yet most scholars have identified our Apolaustus with Agrippus Memphius Apolaustus: Mai; P. von Rohden, Apolaustus, RE I (1894); Haines, Chronolgy (in his edition, where he dates our letter 161, he has a curious note: 'probably a freedman of Verus, named after the great actor Apolaustus [mentioned Vita Veri 8]'); F. Drexel, Über den häufigen Gebrauch berühmter Künstlernamen, in Friedländer's Sittengeschichte IV 198f.; Hanslik, Anordnung 39; A. Stein, Apolaustus 148, PIR I² (1933); E. Wüst, Pantomimus, RE XVIII (1949); Birley, Mark Aurel 276f. Since there are at least five Apolausti who were ballet-dancers, we must not jump to conclusions. Mommsen, Chronologie 213f., thinks that our Apolaustus is not the Agrippus Memphius Apolaustus (he dates the letter 161). Whereas Stein mentions one L. Aelius Aurelius Agrippus Memphius Apolaustus, M. Bonaria in his article on the different Apolausti (RE Suppl. X [1965]) distinguishes between L. Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius and L. Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus; the latter occurs in CIL IX 344 (= Dessau 5188) as *Aug. lib.* (not *Augg. lib.*). Barnes, Hadrian 72, makes the same distinction that Bonaria makes (whom he has not read), supposing that L. Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus is our man and that Mommsen is right to date the letter 161. This identification, however, is rejected by H.G. Pflaum ap. Birley, Mark Aurel 277 n. 41. According to Bonaria, our Apolaustus is the third pantomime artist of that name, a freedman of Trajan: CIL 10114 (= Dessau 5184) *M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Apolaustus*, and he is called *maximus pantomimorum.* See at 213,2.

114,10 *Valerius Antonius* is unknown. Apparently Fronto had recommended him to Verus. Helm, Valerius Antoninus (sic), RE VII (1948), sees in him an author!

Dare libellum (see at 50,15): 'to hand in a petition', 'supplica' (Portalupi²), not 'la denunzia' (Portalupi¹). The expression is found several times in the Digesta.

114,11 *rescriptione*: petitions were dealt with by the a libellis; he drafted the answer, and the emperor wrote underneath *rescripsi* or *scripsi.* Sometimes the answer was written in the empty space at the bottom of the petition itself. A scrupulous emperor like Marcus often wrote the answer himself: 228,21. See Brassloff, Epistulae principis, RE VI (1909); O. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten³ 327f.; von Premerstein, A libellis, RE XIII (1926). The administrative term *rescriptio* is here found for the first time; later in Iul. Dig. 1,18,8; Call. Dig. 1,18,9; Paul. Sent. 1,12,1. See at 34,8. A simple promise would have sufficed, but Verus wants to give an official reply, with his name and with *rescripsi.*

Nostra: officially it refers to Marcus and Verus, but we sense the first appearance of the plur. maiestatis; see at 108,9 and H. Zilliacus, Anredeformen, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum 490ff. (1986).

Gratia sententiae: 'the authority of our verdict'. O. Hey, TLL s.v. gratia,

has misunderstood this passage; 'favour' (Haines) and 'riconoscenza' (Portalupi) are also wrong.

114,12 *epistulam tuam*: lost.

114,14 Chronology of I 11 and the answer I 12: unedited readings by Hauler put these letters in a different light. Verus is in Italy and Fronto's wife is still living (115,6; see at 113,4), so the letters were written between 7 March 161 and Verus' departure for the East in the spring of 162. Therefore, all commentators date them 161 or 162. Fronto and Verus have not seen each other for a long time (114,16; 116,6f.). It is generally accepted that this period lasted more than three months (116,12f.) and that it was Fronto who was absent from Rome (116,5). Haines and Birley, Mark Aurel 215, even suggest that Fronto went to Cirta, where he had estates (see at 79,3), because it would be unlikely for Fronto to stay for such a long time at one of his villas in Italy. However, there is no reason to connect *ex hortis ego redii Romam* (116,5) with *quarto post mensem venirem* (116,12f.): it was Verus who was away from Rome for a long time: 114,27 *prius Romam issem* and 116,7 *epistula tua mihi erat Romam <allata>*. Verus' biographer describes only the main events of his life, not mentioning such details as visits to friends in the country. On 28 March Fronto returns to Rome, finds Verus' letter and writes to say that he regrets not to have had the opportunity to send his condolences with the bereavement in the imperial family (*lacrimas vestras* 116,13) until more than three months later (116,12f.). Since Niebuhr it has been widely accepted that Pius' death is meant (7 March 161), but Fronto would hardly have referred to the death of his beloved emperor in such a casual way. Besides, since he was in Italy, both he and Verus must have attended Pius' funeral. The new reading 116,9–10 seems to supply the solution: it was the death of Verus' grandfather L. Ceionius Commodus, cos. ord. in 106, who was at least ninety years old. He may have been buried in Etruria (see Vita Veri 1,9) and Verus must have mentioned him in his letter: 115,1 *homini tali separasse.* It is out of the question that in his letter to Verus Fronto is speaking of the death of one of Marcus' children, as Hanslik (Anordnung, and Faustina 1, Kleine Pauly 2, Nachträge, 1967) and Portalupi have suggested, or of the death of Domitia Lucilla or Matidia. The two letters were written either shortly after 28 March 161 (so Niebuhr; Naber; Brakman; Haines; Birley, Mark Aurel 215; and Champlin) or in 162 (so Mommsen; Schwendermann, Der historische Wert 143; Lambrechts, L'empereur Lucius Verus 194; and Hanslik, Anordnung). We do not know when exactly Verus went to the East. P. von Rohden, RE I 2293 (1894); A. Stein & P. von Rhoden, RE III 1842 (1896); and C.H. Dodd, Chronology of the Eastern Campaigns of the Emperor Lucius Verus, Numism. Chron. 11, 1911, 215, adopt Mommsen's dating, assuming that Verus left Rome shortly after 28 March 162.

114,15 *Ah* is just a guess; it does not occur elsewhere in Fronto; 5,16 it is a conjecture by Hauler. *Adest quod* in the sense of *est quod*, 'there is reason to', does not exist. See Kühner II 278 and at 40,6f.

Tecum: (con)queri cum occurs frequently, see Kühner I 508f. *Expostulare cum* 115,12; 235,23. Cic. Fam. 3,10,7 *quererer tecum atque expostularem. Tecum quaeso* 166,11. See also at 25,2.

114,16 *quod* corresponds to *conquerar*; see at 10,9 and Index Latinitatis s.v. quod. *Queri quod* with subjunctive also Plin. Pan. 68,6.

114,17 *cum* ('though') *et*... *et postquam*: 'on the one hand... on the other hand'. *Postquam* with pluperfect indicates that *discesseram* came immediately after *veneris*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 598. Also 162,23.

114,19 *cur* is either 'why' (and then we have a dependent question with indicative, see at 51,12) or 'because' (Haines and Portalupi; see at 42,10 and 46,14).

Quantum fuit: 'how easy it would have been' (Haines).

114,20 *venturum* seems better than *visurum*, because of the following *visere*, though *visere ad* is not uncommon, e.g. Plaut. Rud. 94; Ter. Hec. 339; Lucr. 6,1238; Calp. Piso ap. Gell. 7,9,5.

114,21 *confabularemur*: also 116,12. E. Ebert, Kleine lexicalische Beiträge 528; Lannoy; and Marache, Mots 30, regard it as an archaism, because before Fronto it only occurs in Plautus, Terence and Varro; however, it is a colloquialism like other composita with *con-*: *concastigare* 42,10M; *concessare* 87,27.

114,22 *Quid enim?*: a colloquial brachylogy, see Kühner II 125; Hofmann, Umgangssprache, 67f.

114,23 *curram*: a future rather than a subjunctive, see at 162,12.

Qui quidem: see at 91,15.

Quod: see at 10,9 and Index Latinitatis s.v. quod.

114,24 *stationis*: 'position' (Haines), as 165,4.

114,25 *vel* = *vel potius*, see Kühner II 109.

115,2 *matris*: if she is Verus' mother, she is the otherwise unknown Avidia.

115,3 *currissem*: Verus is the first to use this perfect without reduplication; see Neue-Wagener III[3] 351, where can be added Tert. Fuga 12,1.

Oro with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Discurris: 'to travel up and down' between Rome and his villa.

115,4 *prognosis* or *prognosia*, 'prediction', occurs in Isid. Orig. 12,7,19; *prognosis* as a medical term in later medical authors. *Prognostica* are meteorological 'portents' in Quint. Inst. 5,9,15; Isid. Orig. 4,10,2.

115,6 *Cratiam*: see at 113,4; 235,11.

115,7 Chronology: see at 114,14.

115,8–9 *quod*... *viserim* is the subject of *evenisse*, as Cic. Tusc. 1,97 *bene mihi evenire quod mittar ad mortem*; Fam. 5,6,2; Ps. Quint. Decl. 16,3. So Fronto 189,17f. *quodsi*... *videbor progressus, eo eveniet*. Note the alliteration *vestri visendi*... *venissem*.

115,9 *paulo post*: 116,3ff.

115,10 Instead of the second *libens*, we should perhaps read *sciens*. A similar traductio or polyptoton Scipio Min. ap. Gell. 6,11,9 *coniuravisti sciens sciente animo tuo*.

Pote is Hauler's reading; prior editors did not have it, so Mai's and Pescani's supplements cannot be correct. We might add <*non quantum*> *pote persolvissem*; see at 1,6.

115,11 *fuit*... *fuit*: epanaphora; see at 97,4.

Familiaribus: 'friendly' (Haines); see at 222,9.

115,12 *mecum*: see at 114,15.

115,12–13 *tanto opere*... *quam*: see at 87,4; 87,7–9.

115,13 *appellatus*: 'welcomed' (Haines); see at 81,26.
115,14 *persingulari* is found only here; cp. *peratticus* 20,8.
115,15 *praesto adsunt*: see at 57,11.
115,16 *haec . . . est*: 'this is precisely the heart of the matter'.
115,17 *irasceris* etc.: 'you' = a man.
115,18 *desiderantius desiderasti*: etymological figure; cp. Plaut. Cas. 267 *cupide cupis*; Men. 1003 *audeo audacissime*; Isid. Epist. 1 *omni desiderio desideras*. *Desiderantius* occurs only here; *desideranter* in a few late authors. See Landgraf, De figuris etymologicis 27; Hofmann, Umgangssprache 196; Hofmann-Szantyr 791. See also at 13,12f.; 51,6; 59,21f.; 87,5.
115,19 *fueris*: see at 1,10f.
Irasceris and *desiderabis* without demonstrative antecedent; see at 56,15.
115,20 *opibus*: 'potenza' (Portalupi), 'station' (Haines).
115,21 *generum . . . ordinum*: an expression which occurs only here and several times in Cicero: Sulla 29 *boni omnium generum atque ordinum*; Sest. 25; Piso 41; Fam. 10,12,4. Cicero adds *aetatum (aetatis)* Piso 52; 96; De orat. 1,223; Att. 2,19,2; Q. Cic. Pet. 34; and *fortunae* Phil. 1,30. Gellius makes Fronto say *omne fere genus . . . et ordinum et aetatum et sexum* 262,7.
115,22 *partem impertiatis*: the same etymological figure Cic. Leg. agr. 2,5 *partem . . . quietis impertiunt*; Sulla 9; Phaedr. Append. 1,5.
115,23 *quid . . . oportet*, i.e. all my hopes have been realized. See at 29,5.
115,23–24 *spes opesque . . . sitae*: 'hopes and fortunes' (Haines). Cp. Ter. Ad. 331 *in quo nostrae spes opesque omnes sitae*; Phorm. 470 *spes opesque sunt in te uno omnes sitae*; Sall. Iug. 114,4 *spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae*. O. Seyffert, Philol. 29, 1870, 398, and Ehrenthal 44 suppose that Fronto here quotes a verse: *cúius spes opésque omnes in vóbis* (or *in vobis ómnes*) *sunt solís sitae*. W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXXI, and Ehrenthal refer to Terence's passages, and Vogel, Quaestionum Sallustianarum 408, to Iug. 114,4, but it seems a conventional saying rather than a quotation; cp. Plaut. Amph. 1053 *spes atque opes vitae meae iacent sepultae in pectore*; Sall. Iug. 107,4 *spes opesque eius ex patre suo penderent*; Sen. Epist. 48,8 *in te spes opesque sunt*; Carm. Lat. Epigr. 1205,4 *laborem spemque et opem vitae prodiderat suae*. See at 201,10ff.
115,24 *non*: perhaps for *nonne* see 42,20.
116,1 (marg. a) Hauler's conjecture *amore duplici vos amo* is an etymological figure, but *amore* seems very unlikely.
116,5 *convenirem*: 'to meet' (Haines).
Hortis: probably at Lorium; see at 60,16; 76,4; 20,11; and Table of Matters s.v. villas of Fronto.
116,6 *bis* is rather strange for 'you and your brother'.
116,10 *peregre* (not *peraegre*) *pergerem*: alliteration and assonance. Coming from the country, Fronto somehow had hardly an opportunity to see Verus and refused to confine himself to banalities and platitudes; cp. Plin. Epist. 3,20,11 *et hercule quousque illa vulgaria 'quid agis?', 'ecquid commode vales?'*
116,11 *satin* (= *satisne*) *salve*: 'Is all well?' (Haines). It is an old expression, hardly used in Fronto's time: Plaut. Trin. 1177; Ter. Eun. 978; Sall. Hist. 1,34 Maurenbrecher *percontantibus utrimque 'satin salve?'*; Liv. 1.58,7;

3,26,9; 6,34,8; 10,18,11; 40,8,2; and Auson. Grat. act. 17,77 Peiper. *Salve* is an adverb, cp. Plaut. Stich. 10 *salvene, amabo?*, 'beg pardon, is he well?'; Ter. And. 804 *satine recte*, and as such explicitly interpreted by Don. Ter. Eun. 978; Diomed. Gramm. Lat. 348,33; Charis. Gramm. 254,25 *habet et adverbium hoc verbum* (sc. *salvere*), *cum dicimus salve: satisne salve est domi?* This last passage proves that the ellipsis in Fronto and others is *est* (cp. *bene est, male est*), not *agis* or *res se habent*, as Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 531, think. Some editors of the passages quoted above, as well as Mai, Naber and Haines in their respective Fronto editions, read *satin salvae*, assuming an ellipsis of *res sunt*; they compare Plaut. Cas. 303 *satin omnes res sunt advorsae mihi?* See Kühner II 507; J. Preibisch, De sermonis cotidiani formulis quibusdam veterum Romanorum, diss., Halis Saxonum 1908, 23f.; Krebs-Schmalz l.l.

116,12–13 This passage resembles Plaut. Merc. 570f. *nam nunc si illo introieris, amplecti voles, confabulari atque ausculari*, but it does not seem to be a quotation, as Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115, thinks; cp. e.g. Plaut. Merc. 745; Mil. 534; Mart. 6,81,5. On *an* see at 62,1. On the epanaphora see at 97,4. *Confabularer*: see at 114,21. The last *an* without *ut*: 'should I perhaps have come?'

116,14 *non sum ausus*: such restraint is found nowhere else in Fronto's letters.

116,15 *Charilam*: *vester* indicates that Χαρίλας was the ab admissione of the emperors (see Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten[3] 10) rather than a *cubicularius* (so Champlin, Fronto 111). A. Stein, RE III (1899), calls him (Aurelius) Charilas because he was a freedman of Marcus and Verus. We know an *M. Aurelius ab admissione* (CIL VI 8698), but he was *Aug.* (not *Augg.*) *lib.* Galenus 14,624 mentions a freedman Charilampses; however, there is no reason to alter our text with J. Ilberg. Some of Marcus' and Verus' freedmen were very powerful, see Vita Marci 15,2; Vita Veri 9,3. On the influence of such liberti and ianitores see Tac. Ann. 4,74,6; 6,8,10.

116,18 καινά etc.: 'if there is anything new, send me word'. Ἐπίστελλε seems more likely than ἐπιστεῖλον. Ἐπέστειλε is not possible. Surprisingly, Fronto cannot have a word with Charilas himself: Charilas sends him a note (*hortante eo*).

116,19 *Mithras*: his cult was widespread under Marcus, and his son Commodus took part in it: Vita Comm. 9,6. See at 117,7.

(marg. b) *pro re nata*: 'in the circumstances', as Cic. Att. 7,8,2; 7,14,3; 14,6,1; not 'under the (new) circumstances' (Haines). Portalupi does not have this marginal note. Terence and others have *e re nata*.

117,1 Chronology: Verus does not seem to be in the East, so this letter was written either in March 161/spring 162 or after the summer of 166, when Verus had returned to Rome. With Naber and Haines (edition), I have chosen for 161, see at 114,6. Mommsen and Haines (Chronology) date it 161–162; Champlin cannot decide: 161–167. Mai and Naber think that the Tranquillus of this letter is identical with Suetonius; so do Schanz III 49 and Norden, Kunstprosa I 387 n. 1. Niebuhr even supposes that it

was written under Hadrian and addressed not to Verus but to Marcus, which is very unlikely, see at 93,12. If Tranquillus were Suetonius, he would have been ninety years old in 161, whereas *nostrum* indicates a close friend of Fronto or even of both Fronto and Verus; see at 90,2. We can hardly believe that *noster* here means 'our favourite author', like *Ennius noster* (7,15; 55,15) and *Laberius noster* (15,6). Since A. Macé, Essai sur Suétone, Paris 1900, 226f., identity is generally denied: Teuffel 3,53; Dorothy Brock, Studies 148 n. 2; Terzaghi, Storia 434; R. Syme, Historia 9, 1960, 379 n. 80; and Champlin, Chronology 147. H. Dessau, Suetonius 695, PIR III, already had his doubts.

117,3 *an*: ssee at 138,3.

Posse sc. *fieri*, not sc. *eum*, as Ebert, Synt. 35, thinks. See at 44,6. The person in question is not known; apparently he is a friend of Verus.

Succidaneum: see at 3,22.

117,4 *cenae*: the Mithraic supper? See at line 7.

117,5 *de*: see at 21,1.

117,6 *ratio*: 'account' (Haines).

Nostri fastidiosus: 'disdainful of me and of what I represent'. *Fastidiosus* with genitive also Cic. Brut. 247; Hor. Carm. 3,1,37; Auson. 195,26; Mart. Cap. 9,921. See at 21,8.

117,7 *leo*: if this passage deals with the Mithraic cult, as Hauler believes, 116,19 must belong to this letter. Λέων indicates a certain grade of initiates: Porphyr. Abst. 4,16 ὡς τοὺς μὲν μετέχοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργίων μύστας λέοντας καλεῖν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας λεαίνας . . . ὅ τε τὰ λεοντικὰ παραλαμβάνων περιτίθεται παντοδαπὰς ζώων μορφάς. See also Porphyr. Antr. 15; Tert. Adv. Marc. 1,13,5; Hieron. Epist. 107,2,2; and several inscriptions. *Leontica*, the Mithraic sacrifice, also CIL VI 753. The question is, however, whether Fronto is here speaking of the Mithraic cult.

117,8 *ex tempore*: 'at once' (Haines).

117,8–9 *praevenit . . . aegrum*: 'Tranquillus managed to prevent—without success—a still forbidding but less upsetting answer by me'. *Frigere* does not mean 'to have a cold' (Haines) but 'to be cold', which sometimes has the metaphorical meaning 'to be without success', e.g. Cic. Brut. 187 *discipulo . . . frigenti ad populum*: Phil. 6,14 *friget patronus Antonius.*

Devetare occurs only here (Italian 'divietare').

117,11 *quanto opere*: only here m[1] has this form; elsewhere always *quantopere*; see Proleg. XXXIV.

118,1–2 See at 107,1f. This book contains only one letter, as De orationibus, the Principia historiae and De bello Parthico.

118,3 Chronology: Verus has delivered an extensive report to the senate on the results of his campaign in the East. Fronto's letter seems to be the *epistula prolixior* of 103,14; see at 103,6. Verus wrote several reports to the senate: 214,11 and, at the end of the war, the *laureatae litterae* (175,18), which is not the letter Fronto mentions here (against Jordan, Der Brief des Quintus Catulus 71). Apparently, this letter of Fronto is a bit later than Ad Verum I 1. Niebuhr; Mommsen; Brakman; Dorothy Brock; F. Carrata Thomes, Il regno di Marco Aurelio, Torino 1953, 75; Champlin, Chronology;

Birley, Mark Aurel 237; Maria Astarita, Cronologia; and Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 152, date our letter correctly 164. We have the following clues: the Armenian capital Artaxata (131,13) was captured by M. Statius Priscus in 163; Sohaemus (126,8) was made king of Amenia by Verus in 164. After the capture of Artaxata, Verus assumed the title of Armeniacus (probably about September 163, see C.H. Dodd, Numism. Chron. 11, 1911, 216ff.). At first, Marcus had refused this title (131,15f.; 132,4f; Vita Marci 9,1), but after Verus' letter had been read to the senate, Marcus held a speech there (132,12) in which he agreed to assume this title too (132,15 *Antoninus erat quom imperio obsequens*). Marcus is called Armeniacus for the first time on 21 July 164 (CIL XVI 185; see P. Kneissl, Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser, Göttingen 1969, 97ff.). So our leter was written in June-July 164. Other datings are too early or too late: 163: Haines, edition (followed by Grimal, Marc Aurèle 170); Hanslik, Anordnung; Révay, A Lost Work 161ff.; and Portalupi. 163–164: Jordan l.l.; J. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, RE IV (1901); and Haines, Chronology. Brakman, Het onderwijs 60, dates the letter 166. See also at 131,13.

118,4 *animus feret*: this expression is first used by Sall. Cat. 58,6 and Iug. 54,4, then by Horace, Ovid, Lucan and Persius; in prose by Liv. 30,12,14; 40,4,14; and Suet. Otho 6,1. Cp. 149,12.

Neglegito: a sly remark: Verus had neglected Fronto, see at 107,3. On this imperative see at 37,23; 86,13M; 107,5–8; 233,5.

118,5–6 *in postremis habeto*: *postremis* is masculine: 'put me with the lowest' (Haines). *Postremus* often means 'of a low character'; here, for the first time, it is 'men of low respect'.

118,6–7 *nihil . . . quin*: cp. e.g. Ter. Ad. 257 *numquam ita magnifice quicquam dicam . . . quin*; 855 *numquam ita quisquam . . . fuit quin*. See Kühner II 267f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 678f.; and at 5,3.

For *ita . . . quod* see at 223,20.

Iniurius occurs in Plautus and Terence; only once in Cicero and Livy; then here and in Apuleius.

118,7 *adversus* in postposition occurs in the old comic poets, then in Horat. Epist. 1,1,75; Sall. Iug. 101,8; Hist. frg. 2,71; in Nepos and in a few later authors.

Si maxime, concessive: 'even if however much'; also 237,2. See Hofmann-Szantyr 671f.

Ex belongs to *gaudiis* rather than *abundem*. On the plural *gaudia* see at 32,9f.

118,9 *forsitan putes*: see at 51,13.

118,9–11 The repetition of the antecedent *rebus* (see at 40,14; 191,13) is caused by the *tametsi* sentence, hence the anacoluthic character of the phrase. The *tametsi* sentence is almost a parenthesis: 'of course they are beautiful' etc., cp. 139,19; Kühner II 444; Hofmann-Szantyr 671. The opposite of *tametsi* is not *tam* but *autem* in the next sentence. *Tam* was erroneously taken in the archaic sense of *tamen* by Mai and by Georges, Lex. s.v.; Kühner II 98; Priebe I 15; Hofer; and myself, Mnemos. 12, 1944, 235. The reading of m^2 *tamen* is based on the same mistake that was made later by Novák (1897) and Haines, who read *tamen iis*. *Tam* is 'to that degree',

'accordingly', and refers to *res optimae amplissimaeque*. A clearer construction would be *quae res tametsi sunt pulcherrimae . . . amplissimaeque, tam ex iis . . . capio; ex eloquentia autem* etc.

118,11 *laetandis*: see at 14,12.

118,11–12 *virilem portionem*: 'my personal share', 'as much as I can achieve'; cp. Tac. Agr. 45,3 and Hist. 3,20,2 *pro virili portione*. It is also used for a division of inheritances: Ulp. Dig. 37,5,8 pr.; Pap. Dig. 31,1,70,2. More usual is *virilis pars*.

118,12 *eloquentia tua*: see at 80,8; 87,17. Berger, Fronton historien, 461f., not unjustly doubts whether Verus had written his letter to the senate himself, but Fronto is sure (or pretends to be) that Verus did write it; see at 124,10f.

118,13 *iam hic* can mean 'just now', 'here and now', as 46,11, but *hic* is also used for 'at this point', which is the case here; see at 18,11; 66,14–16; 237,20. *Hic* is not a pronoun, as Haines thinks: 'it is I who'.

118,13–14 *recepi recepi*: perf. praesens. A similar gemination 13,10M *quom totum . . . quom totum*; 25,15 *mihi curro, mihi inquam*; 26,23; 93,3 and 218,9 *multo multoque*; 32,20 ἑκὼν ἑκών; 59,27 and 150,7 *etiam atque etiam*; 86,18M *iterum atque iterum*; 139,11 *longe longeque*; 139,22 *ipsi ipsi*; 153,10 *neglegas neglegas*; 249,14M *vicimus igitur, vicimus inquam*. Cp. Cic. Mil. 93 *valeant, inquit, valeant*.

118,14 *abs te*: see at 9,11.

Cumulatam . . . gratiam: 'an accordant (appropriate) remuneration, but now accumulated'. Cp. Liv. 24,48,3 *ut . . . bene cumulatam gratiam referant*.

118,15–16 *magno . . . monumento*: alliteration. *Monumento . . . relicto*: for the idea of a *monumentum aere perennius* see Enn. ap. Cic. Tusc. 1,34 *volito vivos per ora virum*; Cic. Fam. 10,1,1; Phil. 1,38; Verg. Georg. 3,8f.; Ovid. Met. 15,871ff.; Am. 1,15,41; Prop. 3,1,21ff.; 3,2,23f.

118,19–21 Note the alliterations *nequeo negare, multa . . . milia, adnituntur et adiuvant*.

118,21 *undique gentium* occurs here for the first time; also 141,3. *Unde gentium* since Plautus.

118,22 *ausim dicere* in parenthesis also 62,6M.

118,22–119,1 *ductu . . . auspicio* is a very frequent combination; also 131,13f.; 220,19. It is not borrowed from Plaut. Amph. 196, as Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115, assumes.

119,2 *moenera* seems dubious: our MS always has *munus*, see Proleg. LXXIX. On the cod. Paris. 12161 see Proleg. LXXIIIff.

119,3 *navium*: Bischoff, Der Fronto-Palimpsest 24, sees here an allusion to the fight for the ships in Ilias XV and XVI.

119,5–6 *gloriae . . . florum*: see at 93,2f.; 30,1. Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 374, and Nuovi contributi 356, agrees with my reading of these lines.

119,6 *sapientiae*: 'knowledge'.

119,6–7 *verstigator, indagator, exercitator*: 'tracker', 'tracer', 'trainer'. *Investigare verba* is a main theme in Fronto:: 57,18; 134,20; 135,16; 136,8. *Indagator sapientiae* also Tert. Anim. 2,4. Gell. 18,2,6 *inopinati rariorisque verbi indagatio*. *Exercitator* occurs since the elder Pliny as a trainer of athletes and horses, and as a drill sergeant.

119,7 *an . . . orum*: probably not *oro te an. Armeniorum* is unlikely alongside of *Dacorum*: Fronto seems to speak of the period of Trajan or Hadrian; see at 207,22.

119,9–10 *cum*: see on the epanaphora at 97,4.

119,9 *lumina*: see at 88,18.

119,10 *pondera*: see at 135,11.

Brevitatis (tuae?): 125,9 *ut de re militari non redundantes.*

Orationis: Verus' letter is called a speech (also 119,15; 126,10; 132,11 and 16) because of its style, and also becausse it was read to the senate by one of the two quaestores principis; see Dig. 1,13,1,4; Suet. Aug. 65; Nero 15; Tit. 6; Tac. Ann. 16,27,2; Cass. Dio 54,25,5; 60,2,2; 78,16,5; Vita Hadr. 3,1.

119,11 *fluxibus lascivis*: 'the turgid floods' of rhetoric in general and of prose rhythm in particular; cp. 156,4 *verba . . . effeminate fluentia.* It is the opposite of *seria* and characteristic of Seneca's and Lucan's style; see 153,11ff.; 155,4ff.; and at 19,2. Quint. Inst. 2,5,10 *quam multa inpropria . . . tumida . . . lasciva, effeminata sint (in oratione vitiosa).*

119,13–16 See Proleg. LXXIV.

119,13 *cubilibus*: image of the hunter tracing the lair of an animal; cp. Sen. Vita beata 14,4 *qui bestiarum cubilia indagat.*

Unum quid: see at 27,6.

Indagaveris: see at 57,18.

119,14 *ut qui*: see at 35,21.

Venanti: see at 42,17.

Haeserim with dative: 'to hang upon', as 150,19. Before Quint. Decl. 332 p. 307,16 Ritter, it is used in this way only by poets. Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 372, and Nuovi contributi 352, wants to keep *h(a)esserim*, a form found only once as a varia lectio Verg. Aen. 11,864. The Bobiensis has 58,11 *heserit*; 31,22 *hereo.*

119,15 *lego*: see at 132,2.

Audio probably refers to the reading aloud. See J. Balogh, Voces paginarum, Philol. 82, 1927, 84ff.; 202ff.

119,17 *clama . . .*: the applause of the senate.

120,2 *apparetis* from *apparare.*

120,3–122,2 Since Hor. Sat. 1,6,16 had established that *(populus) honores saepe dat indignis*, the question of the best succession to the throne occupied historians: Tac. Hist. 1,16,1f. *loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus et finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque adoptio inveniet. nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum nec ultra aestimatur; adoptandi iudicium integrum et, si velis eligere, consensu monstratur*; cp. Sall. Cat 2,6 *ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minus bono transfertur.* That such remarks had become a locus communis is shown by Min. Fel. 18,5f., who puts the question whether we should prefer a diarchy or a monarchy: *omitto Persas de equorum hinnitu augurantes principatum*, and he refers to Eteocles and Polynices, to Romulus and Remus and to Pompeius and Iulius Caesar. It is typical of Fronto that he is not interested in the problem itself, reducing it to the question, Who is eloquent? See Felicita Portalupi, 2a Nota Frontoniana 773ff.

120,4 *per manus*: 'from hand to hand', from father to son; cp. Liv. 1,3,9 *(Romulus) regnum per manus tradidit*; 5,51,4 *traditaeque per manus religiones*; literally Caes. Gall. 7,25,2 *per manus sevi ac picis traditas glebas*.

Quam: haud (non) secus quam since Plaut. Asin. 943; also Fronto 197,7. *Non secus ac* since Cicero; see Kühner I 790; II 20; 453; Hofmann-Szantyr 248.

Pullis is *pullis avibus*, as the marginal note explains.

120,5 *insita*: 'innate'.

120,7 *memoriae*: 'traditions', see at 223,20. Not 'notizie' (Portalupi).

120,9 *hinnitu*: the story of Darius becoming king originates from Herod. 3,84–86 and became very popular: Val. Max. 7,3 ext. 2; Iustin. 1,10,4; Ampel. 13,3; Ammian. 23 6,36. It is out of the question that Min. Fel. 18,6 borrowed this story from Fronto, as Mai and Frassinetti, L'orazione di Frontone 250, suppose; see Proleg. LXII n. 3 and at 259,8 at the end.

120,10 *Remum et Romulum augurantes*: the story is often found in Roman writers, first in Enn. Ann. 1,77ff. and at length in Liv. 1,6ff. See also Fronto 129,10f. Cp. e.g. Rosenberg, Romulus, RE I A (1914); F.M. Brignoli, Giorn. ital. di filol. 10, 1957, 55ff.; O. Skutsch, Studia Enniana, London 1968, 62ff.

Montibus: the Aventine and the Palatine.

121,1 *centuriatis comitiis*: in contrast with the auguria; in Romulus' case fate decided, since the *comitia* eloquence.

121,2 *Pegasus*: its neighing is testified only by late authors: Fulgent. Myth. 1,26 *unde et volare dicitur, quia fama est volucris. unde Tiberianus: 'Pegasus hinniens transvolat aethram'* (Poet. Lat. Min. III 269); Alc. Avit. Carm. 6,13 *Pegasus unde . . . fingitur . . . pendens hinniisse*. See also Fulgent. Myth. praef. 1; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,9,5 vers. 3 *liquores scalptos alitis hinnientis ictu*.

121,3 *voltures*: see Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

121,4 *viventi*: Maria Astarita, Boll. di studi lat. 19, 1989, 179, prefers *inventa*.

121,6 *probat ea*: if we read *probatis*, we have a constructio ad sententiam, which sometimes occurs with *cum*, e.g. Cic. Fam. 14,7,2 *(spero) me . . . cum similibus . . . rempublicam defensuros*. See Kühner I 27f.

Impetras: Fronto is the first to use this verb with inf.; also 168,27 and Tert. Ieiun. 7,6; Cod. Theod. 6,4,10.

122,1 (marg. a) *dispartita: dispartio* instead of *dispertio* occurs in MSS and inscriptions.

Fremere is usually said of lions, wolves and dogs, but Plin. Nat. 9,41 has *fremitus* of the *vitulus* and Sil. 16,266 of the *taurus*.

122,2 *deorum partim*: 'some of the gods' (Haines); see at 50,17.

122,5 *incutiatur*: 'to hammer it into those who offer stubborn resistance'.

122,6 *caderet*: here and in the following lines Fronto uses poetical terms: *fulmen cadit* is found in poetry since Lucretius and Vergil, in prose only since Curtius and Pliny the Elder.

122,7 *Iuppiter imperator* occurs in Plaut. Amph. 1121; Rud. 9; Pacuv. Trag. 295; Cic. Verr. II 4,128; 129; Rep. 3,33; Liv. 6,29,8; CIL VI 30935.

122,8–9 *fragoribus nubium* is also poetical: Lucr. 6,129; Ovid Met, 1,269; Lucan. 1,152. Sen. Nat. 2,27,3 *cum conglobata nubes dissolvitur et eum, quo distenta fuerat, spiritum emittit. hic proprie fragor dicitur.*

Sonores and *altissimum imperium* are also poetical.

122,11 *verum*: a pun, see at 112,21.

Eloquentia: one of Fronto's main points is that emperorship and eloquence must necessarily go together; see 18,4; 35,20; at 123,1–10; 129,18f.; and the letters De eloquentia, especially 138,4ff. and 140,7. See Latin Rhetorical Index s.v. eloquentia and at 93,12.

122,11–12 *quaeritis . . . vestra*: Fronto addresses both Verus and Marcus; in particular Marcus' attitude in this matter was extremely important to him.

122,12–14 Cic. De orat. 1,202 on the divine task of a political leader: *languentem labentemque populum aut ad decus excitare aut ab errore deducere aut inflammare in improbos aut incitatum in bonos mitigare.*

Dominatur with dative since Manilius and Seneca the philosopher.

122,14 *virtutem cohortatur*: the parallelism does not permit us to add <*ad*>, in spite of 123,19; cp. Trag. inc. 63 Klotz *hortabar fugam*; Cic. Att. 7,14,3 *pacem hortari. Cohortari aliquid* Rhet. Her. 3,3,4. Fronto is the first to use *cohortari* with a substantive.

Comfutat: see at 96,7.

Mulcet: see at 19,1.

Docet: see at 144,14.

Denique: 'therefore'; see 10,6.

Provoco: a legal term: *provocare apud iudices, ad iudicium.*

122,15 *audacter* also 44,9; 241,6; *audaciter* 88,16.

Condictione vetere: up to now no editor has adopted Fröhner's conjecture. Yet *condicio* does not make sense: what would 'on an old condition' (Haines) mean? Portalupi[1] has *condicione* and translates 'secundo la vecchia usanza'; Portalupi[2] adopts my reading but maintains her former translation. Fronto uses here an old legal term explained by Gaius, Inst. 4,18 *condicere autem denuntiare est prisca lingua; itaque haec quidem actio proprie condictio vocabatur. nam actor adversario denuntiabat, ut ad iudicem capiendum die XXX adesset. nunc vero non proprie condictionem dicimus actionem in personam esse, qua intendimus 'dari nobis oportere'; nulla enim hoc tempore eo nomine denuntiatio fit.* How such an *actio per condictionem* passed off we see in Gaius, Inst. 4,17 b: *aio te mihi sestertiorum decem milia dare oportere; id postulo aias an neges.* If the person who was sued denied, the plaintiff *dicebat: quando tu negas, in diem tricesimum tibi iudicis capiendi causa condico.* Theophil. Antec. 4,6,15 *condicere* ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν διάλεκτον τὸ παραγγεῖλαι. Serv. Aen. 3,117 *Tertia lux: hoc quidam iuxta speciem auguralem positum tradunt, quae apellatur condictio, id est denuntiatio, cum denuntiatur ut ante diem tertium quis ad inaugurandum adsit.* What Fronto means is this: I summon you—and I have no doubt that I shall win this—by giving you official notice as in ancient law: make your choice and see if you can rule without eloquence. Verus and Marcus can give only one answer: *aio aut nego.* See Kipp, Condictio, RE IV (1901): Ernout-Meillet, Dict. étym. s.v. dix; M. Kaser, Das römische Zivilprozessrecht, München 1966, 80f., and Römisches Privatrecht, München [12]1981, 193; 318. *Condictio* and *condicio* are also confused in Quint. Decl. 341.

Omittite with infinitive is more or less a negative imperative, cp. *flere omitte* Plaut. Merc. 624; *rogare omitte* Plaut. Persa 642; *omitte de te dicere* Ter. Eun. 989; *omitte tueri* Hor. Epist. 1,18,79. See Kühner I 206.

122,16 *alii*: Licinius Lucullus, Pompeius, Crassus, Antonius and a few others enumerated by Portalupi.

122,17 *mehercules*: see at 62,11.

122,18 The first *ad* is different from the second. Curt. 9,1,31 *nobiles ad venandum canes*. *Celebratus ad* is not found anywhere else.

122,19 *P. Ventidius Bassus* appeared out of nothingness to become general, consul and triumphator; hence *ille*. After having defeated the Parthian army in 39 BC, he definitively crushed the Parthians in 38 near Gindarus in Syria. On 27 November of that year he had his triumph in Rome, and it was probably on that occasion that he held his speech. The words *orationem a C. Sallustio mutuatus est* are usually interpreted as Sallust having written the speech for Ventidius: Hirschfeld, Dellius ou Sallustius 293ff.; Schanz I 362; R. Syme, Sallust, London 1964, 223; S. Mazzarino, Il pensiero storico 367f.; La Penna, Sallustio 285; 473; 477, and Ancora su Sallustio 349ff.; Marielouise Deissmann-Merten, Ventidius, Kleine Pauly (1975); K. Büchner, Sallust, Heidelberg [2]1982, 19. There is a possibility, however, that Ventidius used Sallust's Historiae and its style to compose his speech; see E. Skard, Sallust, Geschichtsdenker oder Parteipublizist?, Symbol. Osloenses 47, 1972, 70–80; H.C. Teitler, Publius Ventidius Bassus, Homo novus en veldheer van formaat, Hermeneus 69, 1997, 325. In his (lost part of the) Historiae, Sallust had treated L. Licinius Lucullus' victory over the Parthians in 70–69 BC. In this case it would be the same as *verba rogaticia*.

122,20 *fudit fugavitque*: see at 7,8.

122,21 *Nerva*: Fronto is the only one to say this of Nerva. Plin. Epist. 10,8,1 speaks of an *oratio pulcherrima* of Nerva, and Mart. 8,70,1 *quanta quies placidi, tanta est facundia Nervae*; see also 9,26,1. But *facundia* is also said of poets, and we know from Plin. Epist. 5,3,5 that Nerva had written poetry. *Facta sua* refers to his well-known economic reforms.

122,22 *rogaticiis*: 'requisitioned from others' (Haines), 'parole d'accatto' (Portalupi). The word occurs only here. Originally, adjectives in *-icius* indicate what goes on with, or corresponds to, the substantives or verbs from which they derive: *agnaticius, damnaticius, commendaticius, feneraticius*. Especially in later Latin such adjectives assume a passive meaning: *affectaticius, assimulaticius, provocaticius, praedaticius*. The margin explains the word by *rogatarius* (not a varia lectio!). The Glossaria have also a *rogatorius*, but they explain it by *petitor*, so it has an active meaning and cannot be correct here. Du Cange quotes from medieval Latin *rogatoriae litterae*, 'petition'. Improbable is the suggestion of Marache, Mots 55 n. 20: 'le correcteur a pu faire un contre-sens et comprendre que Nerva s'exprimait non par une éloquence d'emprunt, mais par des mots "pleins d'humilité, de prières"'. See G. Landgraf, Glossographie und Wörterbuch, Archiv 9, 1896, 410; Van den Hout, Textkritisches 236ff.

Commendavit does not seem to be 'commended' (Haines) but—because of *facta sua*—'expounded', 'set forth', a meaning often found in later Latin.

Parentes vestros: Hadrian and Pius; also, as it seems, 3,21, but see at 1,7.

On Hadrian's eloquence see Vita Hadr. 3,1; 14,8; 15,10; 16,5. Pius was not a man of letters, and Fronto is chary of his praise of the emperor's eloquence 80,6. Vita Pii speaks of his *eloquentia nitida* (2,1), but 11,3 *orationes plerique alienas dixerunt, quae sub eius nomine feruntur; Marius Maximus eius proprias fuisse dicit.*

123,1 *infantes* (= *qui fari non possunt*) *et elingues*: cp. Tac. Dial. 36,8 *disertum haberi pulchrum..., contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.* See 139,12.

123,1–10 Emperors and eloquence: we have a complement in Tac. Ann. 13,3,2ff., where Nero delivers the laudatio funebris of Claudius: *nemo risui temperare, quamquam oratio a Seneca composita multum cultus praeferret... adnotabant seniores... primum ex iis qui rerum potiti essent Neronem alienae facundiae eguisse. nam dictator Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus et Augusto prompta ac profluens, quae deceret principem, eloquentia fuit. Tiberius artem quoque callebat, qua verba expenderet, tum validus sensibus aut consulto ambiguus. etiam G. Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit. nec in Claudio, quoties meditata dissereret, elegantiam requireres.* Uncritical is Aur. Vict. Caes. 8,7: *hi omnes* (from Caesar to Vitellius)... *praecipueque Caesarum gens adeo litteris culti atque eloquentia fuere, ut, si cunctis vitiis absque Augusto nimii forent, tantae artes profecto texissent modica flagitia.* On Caesar: Cic. Brut. 252 *illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime*; 261 *ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum... adiungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi* etc.; Quint. Inst. 10,1,114 *C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur* etc.; Suet. Caes. 55,1 *eloquentia militarique re aut aequavit praestantissimorum gloriam aut excessit* etc.; Tac. Dial. 21,5 *concedamus sane C. Caesari, ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit*; 25,3 *Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar... iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur*; 25,4 *adstrictior Calvus, nervosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar*; Plut. Caes. 3,1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ φῦναι πρὸς λόγους πολιτικοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄριστα, and Fronto himself 262,32 *sermonis praeter alios suae aetatis castissimi.* On Augustus: Suet. Aug. 84,1 *eloquentiam... ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit... neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione*; 86,1 *genus eloquendi secutus est elegans et temperatum vitatis sententiarum ineptiis atque concinnitate et reconditorum verborum... foetoribus praecipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam apertisime exprimere.* On Tiberius: Suet. Aug. 86,2 *nec Tiberio parcit (Augustus) et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti*; Suet. Tib. 70,1 *adfectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum, ut aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura praestantior haberetur*; Tac. Ann. 1,11,4 *Tiberioque... suspensa semper et obscura verba*; cp. Cass. Dio 57,1,1. On Caligula: Suet. Cal. 53,1 *ex disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquentiae plurimum attendit*; Ioseph. Ant. Iud. 19,2,5 ῥήτωρ τε ἄριστος καὶ γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίοις πατρίῳ σφόδρα ἠσκημένος. On Claudius: Suet Claud. 40,1 *sermonis vero rerumque tantam saepe neglegentiam ostendit, ut nec quis... scire aut cogitare existimaretur.* On Nero: Quint. Inst. 8,5,18 *geminatio, qualis est Senecae in eo scripto, quod Nero ad senatum misit*; Tac. Ann. 14,11,4 *Seneca adverso rumore erat, quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset*; Cass. Dio 61,3,1 ἀναγνοὺς ὅσα ὁ Σενέκας ἐγεγράφει. On

Otho: Tac. Hist. 1,90,2 *vocata contione... modeste disseruit... nulla Vitellii mentione, sive ipsius ea moderatione seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit, quando ... Galeri Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur* etc. On Vespasianus: Suet. Tit. 6 *cum patris (Vespasiani) nomine et epistulas ipse dictaret et edicta conscriberet orationesque in senatu recitaret*; Aurel Vict. Caes. 9,1 *facundiae haud egens promendis, quae senserat.* On Titus: Plin. Nat. praef. 5 *fulgurare in nullo umquam verius dicta vis eloquentiae, tribunicia potestas facundiae; quanto tu ore patris laudes tonas!* On Domitian: Suet. Dom. 20 *epistulas orationesque et edicta alieno formabat ingenio.* On Trajan: Plin. Pan. 47,1 *quem honorem dicendi magistris... habes!* Iulian. imp. Conv. 327 B ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Σούρᾳ γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Vita Hadr. 3,11 *orationum quas pro imperatore (Traiano) dictaverat (L. Licinius Sura)*; Ps. Aur. Vict. Epit. 13,8 *moderateque eloquens.* See Millar, Emperors at Work 19; Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric 431ff.

123,2 *nihilo magis quam* also Rhet. Her. 2,7,11; Cic. Verr. II 4,66.

Galeae do not produce a sound of their own. Verg. Aen. 9,666 *scuta cavaeque dant sonitum flictu galeae.*

123,5 *imperatoriam*: 'worthy of an imperator'. It is what Quint. Inst. 10,1,114 formulates: *tanta in eo (Caesare) vis est..., ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat.*

Augustum: Fronto's judgement approaches that of Suet. Aug. 86,1.

Saeculi: 'of his time'. Niebuhr's conjecture has been confirmed by Hauler. What we call the saeculum Augustum or Golden Age is for Fronto the end of a period, both in literary and in sociological respect. The so-called Silver Age is for him a time of decay plumbing its depth in Seneca and Lucanus. See 153,11f.

123,6 *etiamtum integro*: 'such charm as the Latin tongue still retained unimpaired' (Haines).

Ubertate: see at 57,13.

123,8 *illi*: 'notorious' (Haines).

123,9–10 *puderet, pigeret, misereret*: assonance.

123,11 *quod quis*: see at 110,21.

123,12 *imperarent*: 'they should have reigned', a jussive subjunctive. It is not dependent on *censeo*, as 153,10. See Kühner, I 187; Hofmann-Szantyr 336.

Histriones: 'pantomimes' rather than 'actors' (against Kroeker, TLL s.v.). See at 47,1; 154,15. The *gestus histrionum* or *gestus histrionici* are mentioned by Quint. Inst. 11,3,89; Suet. Cal. 54,1; Tac. Ann. 16,4,4; Gell. 1,5; Apul. Flor. 18,4; Ambros. Off. Min. 1,18,73; Ammian. 14,6,18; 18,7,7; 30,4,19. See at 47,1; 154,15.

123,13 *populum*: see at 138,5.

123,15 *phrenitis* is an appositional nominative, the νόσος φρενῖτις. So *morbus* should not be deleted; cp. *arbor olea* and the like. Latin *phrenitis* occurs here for the first time, later in medical writers. More usual is *phrenesis* or *phreniticus morbus.*

Quibus: the usual expression is *morbo* (ablative) or *in morbum implicitus.*

123,21–22 *maioribus* must be connected with *visum est* of the margin. With *interest* begins a new sentence. The thought is: *aliena eloquentes*

tare should be regarded as a capital offence, just as *partum subdere*, 'to foist a changeling' (Haines). The supposititious child, *partus subditus, subditivus, suppositus*, plays an important part in Roman law: Ulp. Dig. 25,4,1,13 *publice enim interest partus non subici, ut ordinum dignitas familiarumque salva sit*, especially when an inheritance was concerned: Lex XII Tab. 4,4 *post decem mensis mortis* (sc. *patris*) *natus non admittetur ad legitimam hereditatem*. See Dig. 25,3,1 pr.; 25,4 *De inspiciendo ventre custodiendoque partu*; 48,2,11,1; 48,10,19,1; 48,10,30,1; Paul. Sent. 2,24 *De liberis agnoscendis*. Foisting was liable to *summum supplicium* (Paul. Sent. 2,24,9), a *causa capitalis* (Cod. Iust. 9,22,1). See Kleinfelder, Suppositio partus, RE IV (1931); E. Bund, Partus suppositus, Kleine Pauly (1970); Constanze Ebner, Suppositio partus, Kleine Pauly (1974).

Falsam pugnam deferre, 'to report': Plaut. Truc. 484ff. *scio ego multos memoravisse milites mendacium . . ., qui et convicti et condemnati falsis de pugnis sient*. But Fronto has in mind the case of Q. Minucius Thermus who, in 190 BC, claimed a triumph over the Ligures, and who was refused because his pretences were false, see Liv. 37,46 and the commentary on Cato by Maria T. Sblendorio-Cugusi 193ff.

Testimonium falsum dicere: Lex XII Tab. 8,23 *qui falsum testimonium dixisse convictus esset, e saxo Tarpeio deiceretur*. The oldest case known occurred in the middle of the fifth century BC: Liv. 3,24,3ff.; Polyb. 6,37,9 ξυλοκοπεῖται (the *fustularium*) . . . ὁ μαρτυρήσας ψευδῆ. Liv. 39,18,4 (186 BC) *qui falsis testimoniis . . . contaminati, eos capitali poena adficiebant*. Fronto refers to the times before Sulla, because since the lex Cornelia it was no longer a capital crime: Marc. Dig. 48,8,1,1 *tenetur . . . qui . . . falsum testimonium dolo malo dixerit*; Paul. Sent. 5,15,5 *qui falso vel varie testimonia dixerunt . . . aut in exilium aguntur aut in insulam relegantur*; Marc. Dig. 48,8,3,5 *legis Corneliae . . . poena insulae deportatio est et omnium bonorum ademptio. sed solent* (if they are *sicarii et venefici*) *hodie capite puniri, nisi honestiore loco positi fuerint*. See R. Tautenschlag, Testimonium falsum, RE V (1934). Less correct E. Bund, Testimonium falsum, Kleine Pauly (1974).

Nefarium is an offence against divine order and human nature, *flagitium* any dishonourable act.

124,1 *facere capital* occurs only in Plaut. Men. 92; Merc. 611.

124,2 (marg. a) 'I shall not talk about the mule and eloquence: he is no match for the lyre.' According to Aelian. Hist. anim. 10,28, the ass was not susceptible to the lyre. Phaedr. App. 12 *asinus iacentem vidit in prato lyram, accessit et temptavit chordas ungulo*. Hence a proverb came into being: ὄνος λύρας, 'a person not susceptible to culture', here to eloquence. Add to the passages quoted by Otto and the Nachträge zu Otto: Hieron. Epist. 27,1 *asino quippe lyra superflue canit*. See Olch, Esel, RE VI (1907); I. Opelt, Esel, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum VI (1966), 577f.

124,3 *veteris*: see at 19,16.

With marg. b *colorem adumbratum*: 'a light touch of the coloration' which is characteristic of ancient eloquence. Cp. 145,2 *colorem vetusculum adpingeres*; 150,13 *colorem sincerem vetustatis appingere*. For *color*, cp. e.g. Cic. De orat. 3,96 *ornatur . . . oratio . . . quasi colore quodam et suco suo*; Gell. 10,3,15 some people prefer the works of Cato and Gracchus *quod incompta et brevia . . . sunt quodque*

in his umbra et color quasi opacae vetustatis est; 12,2,12 *qui (Seneca) honorem coloremque veteris orationis Soterici lectis comparavit*; 12,4,3 *color quidam vetustatis in his versibus (Ennii) tam reverendus est*; 14,4 tit.; 14,4,1; Vita Hadr. 16,5–6 *amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi... Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio Ennium, Sallustio Coelium praetulit.* Fronto must have in mind a very special speech by Hadrian, for in the speeches left to us Hadrian shows no sign of a *color vetustatis*. Cp. Seneca, whom Fronto despises, Epist. 114,13 *multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba: duodecim tabulas loquuntur.*

Adumbrare means 'to present a sketchy outline', so *adumbratus* is not 'spurious' (Haines) or 'imitazione del tono' (Portalupi). Cp. Cic. Orat. 43 *excellentis eloquentiae speciem et formam adumbrabimus nec quibus rebus ea paretur exponemus*; De orat. 3,16 *id ipsum (genus orationis) sumus... adumbrare conati.* Though Fronto did not like Hadrian as an emperor, he could hardly reject his *color vetustatis*, as Baldwin, Aulus Gellius 104, states; Baldwin was misled by Haines' translation.

124,4 (marg. c) Haines regards this passage as a quotation from Sallust, but he has misunderstood Hauler's article in Wien. Stud. 31, 1909, 180. In 195 Cato was sent to Spain in order to suppress a revolt. In 123 the lex Sempronia farmed the taxes which Asia had to pay to a number of equites; cp. Senat. Cons. de Asclep. CIL I^2 588, 6 *magistratus nostri queicumque Asiam, Euboeam locabunt*; Cic. Verr. 3,12 *ceteris (provinciis) aut impositum vectigal... aut censoria locatio constituta est, ut Asiae lege Semproniana*; Appian. Bell. civ. 5,4. See C. Brandis, Asia, RE II 1546; Cichorius, Untersuchungen 73; Münzer, C. Sempronius Gracchus, RE II A (1923); W. Schwahn, Tributum und tributus, RE VII A (1939); De Laet, Portorium 72. In 122 C. Gracchus founded the colonia Iunonia on the territory of Carthage. In the next year he reorganized the ownership of the land, giving each of his six thousand men an *ager privatus*, a so-called assignatio. Paul. Fest. 373,3 *viritanus ager dicitur, qui viritim populo distribuitur.* See C. Gracchus ap. Gell. 11,10; Liv. Epit. 60; Vell. 1,15,4; Mela 1,34; Plut. C. Gracch. 10f.; Appian. Bell. civ. 1,24; Pun. 13,6; Solin. 27,11; Eutrop. 4,21; Oros 5,12,1; and J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung V^2, Leipzig 1881, 475; Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 636; III 731; Römische Geschichte 2^8, 111; Kornemann, RE IV 532 (1901); Lenschau, Karthago, RE X (1919); Vancura, Leges agrariae, RE XII (1924).

(marg. d) *summum supr[a]emumque*: alliteration.

Os: the same metonymy Mart. 5,69,3 *quid gladium... Romana stringis in ora?* (of Cicero).

124,6 *Sallustium* may refer to his Historiae.

124,8 *modulatius*: 'more melodiously', see at 138,14. Cp. Sen. Dial. 5,35,3 *in hoc habes aures, ut non modulata tantum et mollia... accipiant*; Gell. 11,13,2 *in eius (C. Gracchi) orationis principio conlocata verba sunt accuratius modulatiusque quam veterum oratorum consuetudo fert*; Auson. Ep. 19 p. 180,14 Schenkl *haec... quam modulate et dulciter enuntiasti.*

Utriusque: Sallust and Cicero. For Cicero's *gratia*, 'charm' (Haines), see at 20,4.

Moderantis: on this genitive with *meam* see Kühner I 245; Hofmann-Szantyr 61. See at 182,9.

124,9 *viam vaditis*: alliteration; the same internal accusative Apul. Plat. 2,19 *mediam viam vadunt.* See Kühner I 276; Hofmann-Szantyr 39.

124,10 *exstant epistulae*: Fronto, who has just mentioned Cicero, has in mind two passages of him which begin in the same way: Off. 2,48 *extant epistulae et Philippi ad Alexandrum et Antipatri ad Cassandrum et Antigoni ad Philippum filium*, and Leg. agr. II 88 *exstant litterae, Quirites, publicae.* On this incipit with *exstant* see Kühner II 601; Van den Hout, Studies 39f.; and at 24,5f.; 162,13.

Utraque lingua also e.g. Hor. Carm. 3,8,5; Plin. Nat. 12,11; Quint. Inst. 1 praef. 1. Cic. Off. 1,1 *in utriusque orationis facultate*; Fin. 1,10 *utrisque litteris uti*; Stat. Silv. 5,3,90 *gemina plangat facundia lingua.*

124,10–11 *ducibus . . . scriptoribus*: the letters of Verus and Catulus were written by the commanders themselves, the other ones by historians.

Annalium: no example is given. On the difference see Gell. 5,18.

124,12 *Thucydidi* and *Mithradatis*: see on these genitives at 138,13.

Niciae: Fronto calls it a short letter because it only deals with the present critical situation in Sicily; Demetrius, Περὶ ἑρμ. 228, judging it from an epistolary point of view, finds it rather long. In antiquity, Nicias' letter was famous, see Sykutris, Epistolographie.

124,13 *Mithridatis*: when in 69 BC L. Licinius Lucullus besieged and captured Tigranocerta, Mithridates VI Eupator tried in vain to win the Parthian king Arsaces (= Phraates III) over to his side. It is a very invective letter against Roman imperialism. See Bickermann, La lettre de Mithridate; Stier, Der Mithridatesbrief; E. Frederickx, Externe kritiek op Rome: De Mithridatesbrief uit Sallustius' Historien IV, Kleio 10, 1980, 9–21.

124,14 *Pompei*: early in 74 BC Pompeius' letter was read to the senate after his defeat by Sertorius, a very incriminating letter mentioned by Plut. Pomp. 20,1. Quint. Inst. 11,1,36 *Pompeius abunde disertus rerum suarum narrator.*

124,15 *Adherbalis*: in 112 BC Cirta and Adherbal were hemmed in by Iugurtha. *Invidiosae* seems to be 'grudging' (against Iugurtha), 'odiosa' (Portalupi), rather than 'recriminatory' (Haines).

Apud Cirtam: on *apud* see at 6,8 and G. Funaioli, Il caso locativo latino e la sua dissoluzione, Studi di letteratura antica II, Bologna 1949, 39; cp. Flor. 3,19,8 *apud Hennam obsessos.* Cirta is now Constantine, see Desanges, La Cirta. Hauler's *Cirtas* is unlikely, though inscriptions refer to the *IV coloniae Cirtenses*; see at 199,3ff. and Kornemann, RE IV 557ff. (1901).

Arte is more likely than *astu* and cannot be defended by 218,14 *diligentia astu oppugnatur*; cp. e.g. Cels. 7,20,1 *fasciae pars arte circumdatur.* Sall. Iug. 24,3 has *armis obsessus.*

124,16 *breves*: Nicias' letter runs to about four pages in modern editions, Mithridates' letter to three and a half, Pompeius' letter to two pages and Adherbal's to one page.

Expeditionem: 'exposition', 'detailed account', as Rhet. Her. 4,54,68 *brevitas est res ipsis tantummodo verbis necessariis expedita . . . habet paucis conprehensa brevitas*

multarum rerum expeditionem, where *multarum rerum* is important: the letters quoted above have only one subject, Verus' and Catulus' letters were long and gave an account of the whole course of the operations. *Expedire* is often used in this sense, e.g. Cic. ad Brut. 1,15,1 (= 9,23,1); Fam. 10,33,5; Sall. Iug. 5,3; Tac. Hist. 4,12,1; 4,48,1.

124,17 *Catuli litterae*: in this passage Fronto is only speaking of letters written by military commanders to their authorities. So Catulus' letter was a letter to the senate. It is Q. Lutatius Catulus (not his son, as Mai, Niebuhr, Naber and Portalupi think) who fought the Cimbrians in 102 BC with bravura but without success, and defeated them in the following year, together with Marius, at Vercellae. After the battle the two commanders had a quarrel over the question who had played the prominent role (Plut. Marius 25–26), and so Catulus wrote a letter to the senate which seems to have had the character of an apology (Plut. Marius 25,6; Fronto 125,1). Cic. Brut. 132 calls this letter a *liber: incorrupta quaedam Latini sermonis integritas, quae perspici cum ex orationibus eius potest tum facillime ex eo libro, quem de consulatu et de rebus gestis suis conscriptum molli et Xenophontio genere sermonis misit ad A. Furium poetam*, not, of course, to convert it into poetry, as has been suggested: *misit* seems to be 'to dedicate to', and the *liber* was probably a second edition of the letter. In 46 BC, when Cicero wrote his Brutus, the *liber Catuli* was not generally known any more (see Cic. Brut. 132–133) and Plutarch has only second-hand information about it (Marius 25–26). See the literature in Schanz I 206f.; Cichorius, Römische Studien 102–104; Münzer, Q. Lutatius Catulus, RE XIII (1927).

125,1–2 *iacturis*: 'losses' of soldiers; cp. Cic. Leg. agr. 1,21 *flagitium huius iacturae atque damni.*

Lauro: the laurel crown of the triumphator. According to Plut. Marius 27,5f., the people of Rome thought that Marius alone should have a triumph, οὐ μὴ ἐθριάμβευσεν οὕτως ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Κάτλου. *Lauro merendas*: E. Hauler, Zum Sendschreiben des Catulus und über die Consilia des Asinius Pollio, Wiener Eranos, Wien 1909, 217, translates 'Taten, für die der laurus der gebührende Preis sein würde', almost synonymous with *res lauro donandas*. He supposes that Fronto may have quoted Catulus himself, and he compares Plaut. Most. 281 *uxores quae vos dote meruerunt* ('have acquired'), but that comparison is hardly convincing, no more so than a comparison with Apul. Met. 8,28,1; Don. Ter. Phorm. 305 and Don. Ter. Eun. 458. Haines and Portalupi have adopted Hauler's translation, but Haines has his doubts and Portalupi thinks that here *merendus* stands for *dignus*: 'degne dell'alloro'. V. Bulhart, TLL s.v. mereo, rejects Hauler's reading—with good reason, it seems, for here and in the following line the text is not much more than a guess. *Merere* in the sense of 'to be rewarded' does not exist. *Exposuit* cannot be correct; the letters read by Hauler rather point to *orna(ve)rat* or *ornabat.*

Turgent: 'are bombastic'. The missing subject is not compensated by adding *ea*; perhaps we should read *verba* instead of *verum*. For *turgere* as a rhetorical term cp. e.g. Rhet. Her. 4,10,15 *(oratio) quae turget et inflata est*; Hor. Ars 27 *professus grandia turget*; Petron. 2,6 *grandis . . . oratio non est maculosa nec turgida.*

Elate: 'high-flown' (Haines), not 'mit gehörigem Selbstbewusstsein' (Hauler); it is a rhetorical term, e.g. Cic. Orat. 124; Tusc. 5,24; Quint. Inst. 1,10,24; 6,2,19.

125,3 *teneris*: 'tender', 'sensitive', not 'plaintive' (Haines). The word is often combined with *mollis* and could confirm Cicero's judgement of Catulus.

Historia: cp. 106,13 (marg. d) *ex historia splendidas (sententias arriperetis)*. Theorists do not agree on the desirable style of history writing. Cicero agrees with Fronto: Leg. 1,5 history is an *opus oratorium maxime*; De orat. 2,62 *videtisne, quantum munus sit oratoris historia?* But Brut. 262, referring to Caesar, *nihil est enim in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius*. Quintilianus wants poetical colour: 10,1,31 *(historia) est enim proxima poetis et quodammodo carmen solutum*; 10,1,33, especially in *digressionibus*, some *nitor* is not out of place. Pliny rejects all *splendor*. Epist. 5,8,9–11, and so does Lucian. Hist. conscr. 43. What Cic. Brut. 262 says is completely foreign to Fronto; see at 202,1–3 and Norden, Kunstprosa 81ff.

125,4 *pater Tullios*: all modern editions are based on Hauler's article quoted above, where he reads *Pollio Ainius* (see Proleg. LXXVIII). In his second and third editions Mai reads *Paterculus*, be it uncertain and instead of the word *interdum* in line 6. A work *Consilia* or *De consiliis* by Asinius Pollio or Polybius is not mentioned anywhere, and it is highly improbable that Asinius could have used such a title after the appearance of Cicero's *De consiliis suis*. Hauler's anecdota give the reading *pater Tullios*, whose *De consiliis suis* is well known: Cass. Dio 39,10,2 βιβλίον μέντοι τι ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμόν τινα ἔχοντι . . . κατεσημήνατό τε αὐτὸ καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί προστάξας οἱ μήτ' ἀναγνῶναι μήτε δημοσιεῦσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρὶν ἂν μεταλλάξῃ. The title of this lost work was probably *De consiliis suis* (Boeth. Inst. mus. 1,1); other titles are mentioned by Schanz I 533. It is generally accepted that the ἀνέκδοτα of Cic. Att. 2,6,2 and 14,17,6 and Plut. Crass. 13,3 ἔν τινι λόγῳ refer to the same work. Tullius is called father not so much because of his age as because he is the leading man of Latin prose writing. Hor. Epist. 1,19,7 and Prop. 4,2,5 speak of *Ennius pater*, Hor. Sat. 1,3,126 of *pater Chrysippus*, and we have Vergil's *pater Aeneas*.

Iubilatus occurs here for the first time, later in some passages of the Itala, where the Vulgata has *iubilum* or *iubilatio*. They are ungainly utterances, see at 61,22, and are used in contrast with *pater*, of whom we could not expect such language. On Fronto's judgement of Cicero see at 57,5–18.

125,5 *brevius*: see at 59,25f.

125,6 *expeditius*: 'in a more concise and lucid style', 'readier' (Haines), not 'con maggior rapidità' (Portalupi); cp. e.g. Rhet. Her. 2,11,16 *dum caute et expedite loqui volunt, infantissimi reperiuntur*; Ammian. 29,1,24 *expeditius absolvemus* (with the synonym *summatim*); Schol. Cic. Bob. p. 105,29 St. *breviter et expedite . . . probavit*.

Res poscit: in his article of 1909, Hauler read *respondit*, which Pearce altered to *res poscit*. In his anecdota, Hauler regards this reading as posssible.

Inornatius: 'with a want of finish' (Haines). *(In)ornate* is a rhetorical term. The litotes *non inornate* 180,9 and Rhet.Her. 4,31,42. The comparative of

the adverb occurs here for the first time. It is not archaic or colloquial, as Marache, Mots 80, says.

125,9 *invitant*: the subject is not *tuae litterae* but *ducis litterae.*

125,10 *memorata seria* might refer to the letters of Thucydides and Sallust mentioned above, contrasting with the *formularia Liviana.* A *formula* is a 'list', an 'index', a 'summary', and *formularia Liviana* might be the same as periochae, epitomae, not, of course, what we now call Livy's periochae but the *Epitome Liviana* mentioned only by Mart. 14,190 *pellibus exiguis aratur Livius ingens, quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit.* See Schanz II 305. Verus' letter was extensive, not a synopssis. The word *formularius* was hitherto only known with the meaning 'lawyer'.

125,10–11 *Titii* etc.: Verus did not enter into minutiae and Fronto sees a difference from the circumstantial texts of jurists. We can safely assume that Fronto wrote *Titii Aristonis* and that in the next line we should supply not *voces* but *notas.* Titius Aristo was a jurist who wrote *notae* to the works of several important jurisconsults (see Schanz II 767), among others to that of Masurius Sabinus, whose detailed and meticulous work Marcus ridicules, see at 31,17. Titinius Capito does not belong in this passage.

Et decoras: 'and yet appropriate'. For *et* see at 50,18.

125,11 *destillata responsa* continues the comparison with jurisconsults: a good jurist treats his subject 'drop by drop', 'point by point'; here, 'in an accurate dose'. See at 81,1.

125,12 *ab obscuritatem fuit*: 'was almost obscure'; cp. Petron. 75,11 *ad delicias . . . fui*: 'almost his darling'; see Hofmann-Szantyr 220.

Coartatis membris: 'because the parts of their findings were crowded together'. With *etiam* begins a new sentence. Mai's *quis* cannot be correct, because it was usual that the emperor's commander delivered a report on the operations to the senate. See Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur 361ff.; better Mommsen, Staatsrecht III 1107.

125,13 *quid*: see at 27,6.

126,1 *titulandi difficultas: titulare* occurs here for the first time. In what way a commander in the field had to address the senate can be reconstructed from Lepid. Cic. Fam. 10,35; Lent. Cic. Fam. 12,15,1; Cass. Dio 69,14,3; 77,18,2: Name with titles *senatui populo plebique Romanae. Si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est. Ego et exercitus valemus.* Verus' difficulty was that he had to address his letter also—and in the first place—to his co-emperor Marcus.

126,3 *themata*: see at 202,14.

126,4 *vastasset*: perhaps Vologaesus, see at 207,12.

126,5–9 *nolui* etc.: according to Hauler, Fronto is here already planning to write a history of Verus' Parthian War, but this cannot be true for the year 164: it was not until 165–166 that Verus asked him to do so (see Ad Verum I 2 p. 108). In 166 Fronto presents his first draft, the Principia Historiae, see at 203,1. The fact that Fronto discusses Verus' letter to the senate gave me the idea that we should read *noluisti* for *nolui acta.* On second thoughts this is not correct: *nolui* is an epistolary perfect, like e.g. *volui* for *volo* in Cic. Off. 1,4; see Kühner I 156ff. and at 55,23. The subject of the verbs in this passage is Verus (*ille* is uncertain), and if we take

into account *despexerant* in line 2 we can see that Fronto is here speaking of the citicism of Verus' behaviour in the East, a criticism which he calls *acta scelerosa.* The subjunctive is that of the indirect speech: 'as they say'. People had much to find fault with Verus, and Marcus and Verus knew it, see at 202,1f.; 214,7. Fronto is a panegyrist rather than a historian, but here he cannot refrain from saying the truth.

126,5–6 *nostro... victo*: Vita Veri 6,9 *interfecto legato, caesis legionibus*; Cass. Dio 71,2,1 (Οὐολόγαισος) στρατόπεδόν τε ὅλον Ῥωμαικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ Σεουηριανῷ τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ Ἐλεγείᾳ... κατετόξευσε καὶ διέφθειρε. Lucian. Alex. 27; Hist. conscr. 25; Zonar. 12,2; and Fronto 212,21 *(M. Sedatius) Severianus quidem Lucio ab urbe necdum etiamtum profecto (obtruncatus)*, in 161.

126,6 *insultasset* (or what else should be read): 'had made merry'; cp. Vita Veri 6,9–7,1 *in Apulia venabatur... per singulas maritimas civitates Asiae... voluptatibus immorabatur... (Antiochae) se luxuriae dedit*; Vita Marci 8,12 *in deliciis... vixit*, in 162.

126,6–7 *cur... sustentasset*: the commander of Syria, L. Attidius Cornelianus, had been put to flight by the Parthians (Vita Marci 8,6); this defeat must have taken place in the middle of 162, shortly before Verus' arrival in Antiochia. Here he is blamed for doing nothing to protect the province. 208,7 *novi tirones sumendi fuerunt*, and Cass. Dio 71,2,2 only says that, after the defeat, Verus reassembled the remaining troops.

126,7 *indutiis fractis*: 212,3–5 Verus offers, of his own accord, a suspension of hostilities, sending a legation to Vologaesus; 108,20V *sermones meos cum barbaris habitos*; see also 131,11. Nazarius (Testim. 267,11) *adeo totus in metum venit, ut ultro ad regem conciliatrices pacis litteras daret.* This armistice took place after the conquest of Armenia, late 163, not early 162, as Portalupi states at 212,3–5. Lambrechts, L'empereur Lucius Verus 193 n. 2, dates it to 165; Ziegler, Die Beziehungen 113, to 162–163. It is not unlikely that Verus wished to continue the policy of Hadrian, who wanted Rome to keep its influence in Armenia but not in the region beyond the Euphrates.

126,8 *Sohaemo*: after the conquest of Armenia, Verus appointed Sohaemus king of Armenia, early 164; that year coins were struck with the inscription *L. Verus Aug. Armeniacus* and, on the reverse, *Rex Armen(iis) datus*; see at 131,13 and 212,13. P.J. Junge-Schnur, Parthia, RE XVIII 2 (1949), and R.N. Trye, The History of Ancient Iran, München 1984, 243, date Sohaemus' accession to the throne in 163. Sohaemus, son of Achaemenes, was an Arsacide, member of the senate and former consul. As Verus remained in Antiochia or Daphne, it was Statius Priscus who crowned Sohaemus; see Vita Marci 9,1; Veri 7,1–7, against Lambrechts o.c. 196f. See H. Dodd, Chronology of the Eastern Campaigns of the Emperor L. Verus, Numism. Chron. 11, 1911, 232f.; A. Stein, Sohaemus, RE III A (1929); H. Volkmann, Sohaemus 4, Kleine Pauly (1973); Maria Angeli Bertinelli, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt, Berlin II 9,1, 1976, 27 n. 141; and Maria Astarita, Avidio Cassio 42 n. 95.

Vologaeso: we do not know who he was. Apparently, both Sohaemus and this Vologaesus were well known in Rome, and it was rumoured in some

quarters that Sohaemus was not the right man in the right place. As to the name, Tacitus usually writes *Vologeses*; we find *Volog(a)esus* in the elder Pliny, Suetonius and also in Tacitus. See Neue-Wagener I 512.

126,9 *Pacorum*: also an Arsacide. He was made king of Armenia by Vologaesus III of Parthia in 161 but was dethroned when the Romans captured the Armenian capital. We know an Αὐρήλιος Πάκορος βασιλεὺς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας (CIG 6559); Mommsen, Römische Geschichte 5, 403 n. 1 (and Dittenberg at CIG), does not believe that this is our Pacorus: 'wäre dieser gefangen nach Rom gekommen, so würden wir es wissen'. But our passage shows that Pacorus had friends in Rome, so we need not think of a captivity. His brother Aurelius Merithates lived and died in Rome, and their name Aurelius points to a close connection with the imperial house. On the other hand, the title King of Great Armenia presents a problem: it may be that in 161–162 Rome had not yet decided to dethrone him, and to complicate things even more Vita Pii 9,6 names a Pacorus who was made king of the Ladii in Colchis by Pius. Are these Pacori three or two different persons? Or are they one and the same person, as J. Miller, Pakoros, RE XVIII (1942), supposes? Mai; Haines; A. Stein, Aurelius 1566, PIR^2; R. Hanslik, Aurelius 26, Kleine Pauly (1963); H. Volkmann, Vologaeses, Kleine Pauly (1975); and Marie Louise Chaumont, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 9,1, Berlin 1976, 147f., assume that Fronto's Pacorus and Aurelius Pacorus are one and the same person.

126,10 *oratione*: see at 119,10.

Explicare (not *explicari*): 'to set forth'. It appears that Verus in his letter to the senate had enumerated the troops he raised for his campaign. On these troops see Bertinelli o.c. 26f.; Astarita, Avidio Cassio 40.

Nepos: in his Vita P. Cornelii Scipionis Aemiliani Africani Numantini, part of his De vita excellentium ducum. Scipio Aemilianus is a favourite of Fronto, see Index Nominum. The parallel with Verus' situation is evident: after the defeats of Pompeius, Popillius Laenas and Hostilius Mancinus in the Numantian War, Scipio Aemilianus had to re-establish military discipline and form new troops with Spanish and Numidian auxiliaries, 134 BC. See Schulten, Numantia 95f.; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 31, 1909, 268ff. The thesis of Cichorius, Römische Studien 102–110, that this is not about the Numantine War and that Nepos is Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos who fought against the Vaccaeans in 56 BC has not met with approval, and rightly so; see F. Münzer, Ilbergs Jahrb. 51, 1923, 31ff.; E. Hauler, Wien Stud. 55, 1937, 196ff.

126,11 *eo*: abl. mensurae.

Innectit: Fronto is the first to use this word for 'to insert' in a book; it is often used in that sense in the Historia Augusta and by later authors. Hauler, l.l. 1937, assumes that Nepos copied this letter from the lost Rerum gestarum libri of Sempronius Asellio: Gell. 2,13,3 *Asellio sub P. Scipione Africano tribunus militum ad Numantiam fuit resque eas, quibus gerendis ipse interfuit, conscripsit.* Moreover, the word *insupra*, written over *innectit*, may be part of Nepos' quotation or it may belong to *eo minore de bello.*

126,12 *operam gestantes*, 'a prestare la loro opera' (Portalupi), seems

ous, though Mai's reading has been confirmed by Bischoff. Cp. the zeugma in Tac. Germ. 7 *(coniuges) cibos et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.* However, we should expect something like *arma varia gestantes.*

Aurata is Hauler's unpublished reading; Mai had *scribtae* and Bischoff... *scriptae*, which does not help much. If *aurata* is correct, it must relate to *galea.*

126,13 *ornati* with the acc. graecus *capita maculata* is poetical: Verg. Ecl. 6,68; Hor. Carm. 4,8,33; see Kühner I 269.

Pelles discolorant: 'make the fells they wear look faded'. *Discolorare*, 'to discolour', occurs here for the first time; later in Zeno 1,2,6 Löfstedt *discoloratur per momenta color.*

126,14f. *summa... frugaliter*: a maxim whose origin goes back to Aristot. Rhet. 3,2,1. For the genera dicendi see at 49,14f.; 133,12; 272,4. Cic. Orat. 100 *is est enim eloquens qui et humilia subtiliter et magna graviter et mediocria temperate potest dicere* (a passage quoted by Augustin. Doct. christ. 4,34); 101 *is erit igitur eloquens..., qui poterit parva summisse, modica temperate, magna graviter dicere*; Quint. Inst. 11,1,3 our speech is incorrect *si genus sublime dicendi parvis in causis, parvum limatumque grandibus... adhibeamus.*

Eloquentiae rectae: see at 18,12.

Alacris: 'alive', 'active', which adapts itself to the circumstances. Gell. 7,8,1 *facili atque alacri facundia fuit.*

127,1 *tenuioribus*: 'the more simple things'.

Frugaliter: 'with sobriety, frugality'; cp. Quint. Inst. 12,10,21 *quadam eloquentiae frugalitate contentos*; Macrob. Sat. 5,1,5 *siccus et sobrius amat quandam dicendi frugalitatem.* See at 272,4.

127,2 (marg. b) Most proverbs speak of the ass as a dunce. Here its obstinacy is meant, as in Plaut. Pseud. 136.

127,5 *ardue* has here for the first time the meaning of *vix, aegre*; often in late Latin.

Ad normam also Cic. Mur. 3 *Catoni vitam ad certam rationis normam derigenti.*

Fruges: see at 93,2f.

Cedere ex re: this is the only passage showing that Verus had abandoned all rhetoric interest after his youth. Apparently, it alarmed Fronto less than Marcus' return to philosophy. *Cedere ex* is stronger than *cedere de* or *ab.* It occurs only in Lucil. 1049.

127,8 *persilearis: persileo(r)* is not in our lexica.

127,10 *testata*: the participle often has a passive meaning.

127,12–13 *pro me* should not be connected with *orationibus.* It is opposed to *aliena*, 'for others', cp. Verg. Aen. 10,781 *sternitur infelix alieno volnere*, 'meant for someone else'.

128,3 *his consiliis*: 'in view of these considerations' or 'of these wise ideas' (Haines), not 'a questi insegnamenti' (Portalupi).

128,4 *lorica*: the same metonymy Hor. Carm. 1,29,15 *libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum mutare loricis Hiberis.*

Litterarum disciplinae: 'literary studies', 'lo studio delle lettere' (Portalupi), rather than 'training in letters' (Haines), as also assumed by Gudeman, TLL s.v. disciplina.

128,5 *consiliosa*: 'fruitful of wise suggestion' (Haines), 'ricchi d'insegnamento'

(Portalupi). Gell. 4,9,12 *cur etiam 'disciplinosus', 'consiliosus', 'victoriosus', quae M. Cato ita affiguravit, ... numquam in culpam, sed in laudem dicuntur?* It is generally assumed that Fronto borrowed the word from Cato, but he has several words ending in *-osus* which are rare or even occur nowhere else: *captiosissimus* 134,9; *fabriculosus* 153,12; *gelosus* 209,3; *industriosus* 56,20; *iurgiosus* 66,14; (*ludiosus* 45,3M); *maculosus* 159,13; *malitiosissimus* 56,12; *manupretiosus* 222,12; *pituitosus* 62,2M; *robiginosus* 142,7; *somniculosus* 66,14; *scrupulosissimus* 224,15. *Consiliosus* is also found in Apoll. Sid. Epist. 1,1,1; 7,9,18. See at 272,7.

128,6 *magistra*: it is typical of Fronto's naïvety to suppose that the *res militaris* could benefit from reading eloquent authors. See the advice he gives Marcus 225,8–11.

128,7ff. The degenerate army and the ideal commander, a literary topos, as in Sallust. See also Liv. 40,1,4 *luxuria et otio solutam disciplinam militarem*; Liv. per. 57 *corruptum licentia luxuriaque exercitum*; Fronto 208,8 and 210,1ff. Vita Veri 7,1 and Cass. Dio 71,2,2 say that Verus stayed in Antichia, but Dio adds διατάττων ἕκαστα καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀθροίζων.

128,7 *luxuria et lascivia* is a frequent alliteration: Ter. Haut. 945; Sen. Epist. 114,2; Suet. Cal. 25,3; Apul. Met. 7,23,1; Tert. Ieiun. 17,3; Pudic. 17,1.

128,8 *milites*: see at 210,1.

Histrionibus: see at 47,1; 154,15. Lucian. De salt. 76 on Antiochia: πόλις ὄρχησιν μάλιτα πρεσβεύουσα.

128,8–17 Note the ellipsis of *era(n)t* and the inf. historicus.

128,9 *nemore*: in Daphne, a suburb of Antiochia. A laurel wood is still there (Bêt el-Mâ). Vita Veri 7,3 *egit autem per quadriennium Verus hiemem Laodiciae, aestatem apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochiae*; Vita Avid. Cass. 5,5 *Avidio Cassio legiones Syriacas dedi diffluentes luxuria et Daphnitis moribus agentes*; Vita Marci 8,12 *(Verus) in deliciis apud Antiocham et Daphnen vixit*; Eutrop. 6,14,2 *(Pompeius) aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit, quo lucus ibi spatiosior fieret, delectatus loci amoenitate et aquarum abundantia.*

Habiti: 'were found' (Haines). Sal. Iug. 44,5 *ab signis aberat.*

Horridi: 'shaggy from neglect' (Haines). The word is also used of horses by Varro, Men. 479; it refers to currying.

128,10 *volsi*: 'plucked' (Haines), 'depilated', the opposite of *horridi* and referring to the arms and legs. On the *alipilus* see Sen. Epist. 56,2. Mart. 5,61,6 *crura gerit nullo qui violata pilo.* The *glabri* were disreputable: Hieron. Epist. 79,9 *iuvenis vulsus et nitidus.* For the form *volsus* (and *devolsus* 128,14) see at 16,1f.; 181,15; 186,1; 220,7; Proleg. XXXIII; Index Latinitatis sub *vul-*; and K.E. Georges, Lex. d. lat. Wortformen s.v. vello.

128,11 M. Pontius *Laelianus* Larcius Sabinus, a man with an impressive career: he had held important offices in Germany, Britain, Pannonia and Syria, see CIL VI 1497 and 1549 (= Dessau 1094 and 1100). Cos. suff. in 145. He was comes divi Veri Augusti in the Parthian War and, with Avidius Cassius, restored discipline in the Syrian army 162–163.

128,12 *loricas*: the cuirasses were made of iron rings, chains or scales, and the wires and hooks which kept them together were in poor condition.

See Grosse, Lorica, RE XIII 2 (1927); G. Radke, Lorica, Kleine Pauly (1968).

Partim eorum: 'in some cases' (Haines), see at 50,17.

Digitis primoribus: 'with his fingertips' (Haines), i.e. easily. Add to the passages given by Otto and the Nachträge zu Otto: Plaut. Poen. 566; Sext. Turp. Com. 31 Ribbeck; Cic. ap. Non. 438,3. The expression was not borrowed from Cato, Agr. 21,2 and 40,3, as A. Mazzarino, M. Porci Catonis De agri cultura, Lipsiae 1982 XXVIII n. 1, states. See at 56,11f.

128,12–13 *scinderet*: R. Klussmann puts a full stop after *scinderet* and a colon after *animadverteret*. This interpunction has been adopted by K. Schenkl, but he reads *animadverterat*.

128,13 *pulvillis*: at this time, Roman cavalry did not use saddles but horse-cloths (*ephippia*). The diminutive also in Hor. Epod. 8,16 and Apul. Met. 10,20,2. Apparently, the soldiers folded up their horse-cloths and filled them with feathers, then tied up the four ends (*corniculа*). These *cornicula* have nothing to do with the donum militare, against Schwierczina, Frontoniana 33, and the TLL s.v.; see at 208,2. 'The little pommels on them were slit open' (Haines), 'furono tagliati gli angoli' (Portalupi). See Felicita Portalupi, Umgangssprache 157.

128,14 *sedilibus*: 'pillions' (Haines).

Pluma: collective singular.

Devolsa: see at 128,10. Plaut. Poen. 872 *meae alae pennas non habent. nolito edepol devellisse.*

128,14–15 *equum insilire* occurs only in Sall. Hist. V 5,, so it may be a quotation. Usual is *in equum insilire.*

Sublimitus, 'with a high leap', occurs only here.

128,15 *repere*: Klussmann's *erepere*, 'to crawl upwards', is tempting after *poplite*; it has been adopted by Haines.

128,16 *vibrantis*: nominative.

Vi et vigore: alliteration and paronomasia. Cp. Lucr. 5,1112 *viresque vigebant*; Verg. Aen. 4,175 *viget viresque adquirit*; Ovid. Met. 3,492 *vigor et vires*; Liv. 27,16,1 *vigore ac viribus*; 28,40,10 *cum vigerem adhuc viribus*; Ver. Flacc. 1,55 *curae . . . vigent animique viriles*; Fronto 200,7 *vis viguit.*

Tamquam in Fronto only here.

Lanceas: 'javelins'. Non. 554,19 *lanceae tela sunt non bellica*; Isid. Orig. 18,7,5 *lancea est hasta amentum habens in medio.* It is lighter than the hasta and is also used in hunting: Sall. Cat. 56,3 *pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa, ceteri . . . sparos aut lanceas . . . portabant.*

128,17 Because of the alliteration, Klussmann, Emendationes 78, saw here a verse: *sómnus pernox aút in vino vígilia*, but it is rather a sententia in Sallustian style. As to the alliteration, cp. Plaut. Aul. 795 *vigiliis per vinum*; Cic. Verr. II 3,31 *vino vigiliisque languidus.* Ehrenthal 36 and Timpanaro, Alcuni citazioni 308, justly reject a poetical source.

128,18 *ad frugem* or *ad bonam frugem* is a proverbial expression, 'to change for the better', 'make them serviceable' (Haines), not 'alla frugalità' (Portalupi). It is not a quotation from Plaut. Bacch. 1085 or Trin. 118 and 270,

as Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115, states. Add to the passages in Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. frux: Apul. Met. 7,4,5; Fest. p. 371; Lact. Inst. 6,3,7; and a few late authors.

128,19 *duritia*: 'dourness' (Haines); it is not the same as 'tolerantia' or 'patientia', as Bannier, TLL s.v., thinks. He makes the same mistake 207,2.

Africani: P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus. He and Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (not Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, as J.J. Cornelissen, Mnemos 13, 1885, 126, thinks; see Index Nominum) are the classical examples of strong Roman leadership; see at 261,24.

Exempla: for men of letters, history is an exemplary art: Cic. De orat. 1,201 *monumenta rerum gestarum et vetustatis exempla oratori nota esse debere*; Hor. Epist. 2,1,130f. *(poeta) recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis instruit exemplis*; Sen. Epist. 83,13 *instruenda est enim vita exemplis inlustribus*; Plin. Epist. 1,22,2 *quantum rerum, quantum exemplorum, quantum antiquitatis tenet (Titius Aristo)*; Dionys. Hal. Rhet. 11,2 ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστιν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων. See the many examples in Seneca rhetor and in Valerius Maximus and Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur 14ff. In 162 the Macedonian Polyaenus offered Marcus and Verus a work with 900 στρατηγήματα collected from literary sources in order to advise them for their Parthian War. See also at 225,8–11. Cornelissen l.l. found fault with the word *exempla* and Gudeman, TLL s.v. disciplina, thinks that here *disciplina* is not 'discipline' (Haines) but 'instruction'; however, we then have problems with *duritia*.

128,20 *prudentia*: 'prudence' rather than 'study' (Haines) or 'esperienza' (Portalupi). Verus had no experience at all.

128,22 *minutis: minuta proelia* Bell. Afr. 29,1; 51,6; Bell. Hisp. 5,4.

Imbueres: usually with ablatives, such as *litteris, studiis, moribus, praeceptis*. With *caede* Lucan. 10,334 and Tac. Hist. 4,42,4.

128,23 *orator . . . imperator*: typical of Cato: Cic. Brut. 65; Nepos, Cato 3,1 *magnus imperator et probabilis orator*; Liv. 39,40,6; Plin. Nat. 7,100 *optimus orator, optimus imperator*; Quint. Inst. 12,11,23 *idem summus imperator, idem sapiens, idem orator*; Fronto 204,3; 216,13 (marg. f). In 195 BC Cato was in command of an unexperienced army near Emporiae in Spain. Five years later he had to defend his conduct as a consul and as a commander. We do not know what charges had been brought against him. On his operations in Spain see Liv. 34,13; 18. Cp. B. Janzer, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Redefragmenten des M. Porcius Cato, diss., Würzburg 1936, 6; H. Gundel, M. Porcius Cato Censorius, RE XXII 1 (1953); A.E. Astin, Cato the Censor, Oxford 1978, 57f.; and the commentary by Maria Sblendorio 174ff.

Et: see at 191,16.

Subieci: see at 55,23.

129,1 *expressa vestigia*: 'the clear features', 'the express counterparts' (Haines). Cp. Cic. S. Rosc. 62 *exstent . . . expressa sceleris vestigia*; Verr. II 2,105 *(vestigia) quae tu in tabulis publicis expressa ac recentia reliquisti*.

129,4 *donabam honeste* does not refer to the dona militaria, as Sblendorio 176 suggests, but to the *congiaria* (see at 91,3) or comparable gifts. *Honeste*: 'seemly' rather than 'handsomely' (Haines), not 'un nobile premio' (Portalupi) or 'amply' (Krocker, TLL s.v., and Sblendorio).

129,5 *pauca*: H. Traenkle, Cato in der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius, Abh. Ak. d. Wiss. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl. 1971 4,25, is right to have his doubts about this word, though it has been generally accepted. *Aliquot* and *pauca* are contradictory and *pauca* cannot mean *parva*, as Sblendorio thinks. *Aliquot* is never used with another adjective. Perhaps we should read *au<tumno>*: according to Liv. 34,9,12, the harvest had just begun.

129,6 *castra hiberna*: the addition by Jordan and that of *<tria milia passuum ab Emporiis posui>* by Traenkle have been taken from Liv. 34,13,2. Emporiae is present-day Ampurias.

129,7 (marg. a) The theme is still *orator idem et imperator summus*: Cato (and Verus) combine these qualities, not so M. Furius Camillus, who was the *parens patriae conditorque alter urbis* (Liv. 5,49,7) but not an orator. This means that Fronto does not believe that Camillus ever held the great speech which Liv. 5,51–54 presents. The three national heroes, Camillus, M. Manlius Capitolinus and M'. Curius Dentatus, are often mentioned together and their names became proverbial; see Otto and Nachträge zu Otto, and add Claud. Quadr. ap. Gell. 17,2,14 and Cic. Epist. ap. Ammian. 21,16,13. Of course *<Capito>lini* is much more likely than the name of L. Furius *Medullinus* or Sp. Cassius *Vecellinus* (sic! not *Vicellinus*).

(marg. b) *Africani* is nom. plur., cp. Plin. Nat. 8,4 *Pompei Magni Africano triumpho*; Suet. Caes. 37 *triumphum . . . Africanum*; Aug. 8 *triumpho Caesaris Africano*; Flor. 1,22,39 *Africanae victoriae*. Fronto never calls Scipio *Africanus*.

129,9 *columbae*: see at 178,20.

129,10–11 *portendunt . . . aquilae*: see at 120,10.

129,13 *solitatim*: 'on his own'; the word, from *solitas*, is not found elsewhere.

129,17 *caput atque fons*: the same metaphor Cic. Planc. 18; De orat. 1,42; 1,195; Top. 31; Hor. Epist. 1,17,45.

Bonarum artium: since Cicero the artes liberales. Fronto 170,20; 172,10; 176,23; 177,13; 185,12. See at 54,11.

129,18–19 *officii observantia* narrows down philosophy to ethics. Nowhere else have I found such a Stoic definition, but cp. Sen. ap. Lact. Inst. 3,15,1 *philosophia nihil aliud est quam recta vivendi ratio vel honeste vivendi scientia*. See also Sen. Epist. 89. *Officium*: τὸ καθῆκον. Different is Cic. Pis. 71 *philosophia, ut fertur, virtutis continet et officii et bene vivendi disciplinam*; Div. 2,2 *cumque fundamentum esset philosophiae positum in finibus bonorum et malorum*.

Eloquentia: Fronto reverses the concept of eloquence common since Isocrates: Cic. Orat. 70 *est eloquentiae sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum sapientia*; Hor. Ars 309 *scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons*; Quint. Inst. 12,2,6 *hinc etiam illud est, quod Cicero pluribus et libris et epistulis* (De orat. 3,56f.; Orat. 17f.; Fam. 15,4,16) *testatur, dicendi facultatem ex intimis sapientiae fontibus fluere*. See at 122,11.

129,19 *potest, nisi sit*: a principal sentence with indicative and a *(ni)si* sentence with potential subjunctive is very common, see Kühner II 394 and at 66,21.

130,1 *utri* introduces a hypothetical sentence and has indefinite meaning: 'should one of these two arts lack eloquence'. Our grammars state that indefinite *uter* is only used after *si* and *neque* (Kühner I 648f.). But cp. Cic.

Parad. 44 *filiam quis habet, pecunia est opus*, where *quis* is also indefinite. The hypothetical potentialis *defuerit* (and *tractaverit*) is used here paratactically instead of a *si* sentence, as in Hor. Sat. 2,7,32 *iusserit ad se Maecenas ... venire, ... fugis*, see Hofmann-Szantyr 656f. (who regard *iusserit* as a fut. exactum). On the potentialis see at 1,10f.

130,5 *per saturam*: 'pell-mell', see at 216,7.

130,8 *modo = dummodo*, as 216,12 (marg. e).

Fata: 'events', 'destini' (Portalupi), not 'Gesagtes', 'Rede' (E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 45, 1926–27, 132).

130,9 *hinc*: 'on this ground' or 'about this', 'di qui' (Portalupi).

Quadamtenus magis minusve is abundant. *Quadamtenus* occurs since Pliny junior. See *illatenus* 234,12 and *tenus* 151,3.

If *quattuor* is correct, it might refer to the four *partes orationis*.

130,9–13 The commander in the field learns from rhetoric! According to the old Greek tradition (see K. Barwick, Hermes 57, 1922, 11f., and Hommel & Ziegler, Rhetorik, Kleine Pauly 1413f. [1972]), there are four *partes orationis*. So here in Fronto: two beginning with *ut*, then one subdivided into four groups beginning with *ubi*, and finally one beginning with *quando*. Fronto's division probably goes back to his Greek teachers, see at 17,8. The first one is the *exordium*, the second one (*ordo explicandus*) is the *dispositio* or *partitio*; then follows the *argumentatio*, the last part of which (*immissis habenis*) could be called *repetitio*, and finally the *peroratio* (*receptui canendum*). Cp. Cic. Orat. 122 *ordiri orationem, rem breviter exponere sua confirmare, adversaria evertere peroratione concludere*. See also Tac. Dial. 19,3; Quint. Inst. 12,10,71; Fronto 144,12–16; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 45, 1926–27, 130ff.; Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 44f. Rhetoric compared to warfare: 9,5; 48,10–20; 142,4–7; 156,5.

130,9 *ingrediendum*: 'to begin with', 'how to take position'.

130,10 *post principia*: 'behind the first ranks', cp. Ter. Eun. 781 *tu hosce instrue; ego hic ero post principia*; Sall. Iug. 49,6; Liv. 8,10,6; Tac. Hist. 2,43,1.

Explicandus: *ordines explicare* is a military term since Caes. Civ. 2,26,4; Liv. 1,27,6; 2,46,3; 3,60,10; Frontin. Strat. 1,4,2; Paneg. 9,9,1; Ammian. 14,2,17. *Hastandus* is not only uncertain but also improbable. *Hastare* is a retrograde modelling of the substantive *hastatus*, a man provided with a lance or a maniple or a centurio (see at 100,5). The verb occurs only in Virg. gramm. Epist. 5 p. 165,29 and 166,3 H.: 'to provide with a lance'. Even if we take it in the larger sense of 'to arm', it is impossible in Fronto. Marache, Mots 63, translates it as 'former une ligne de hastati', but at least since the second century BC the *hastati*, the younger soldiers, stood in front of the *principia*, the *principes*, the older soldiers. Until then, however, the *hastati* formed the second line though they were less well armed than the *principes*, and Fronto's metaphor alludes to a crescendo in the argumentation. See Fiebiger, Hastati, RE VII 2 (1913); A. Neumann, Hastati, Kleine Pauly (1967).

Ballistas: MSS often have *balista*, so 191,16.

130,11 *urguendum*: elsewhere Fronto always writes *urgeo*.

Sanis: 'clever'; *planis*: 'clear'. *Salubranus* and *salubrinus* are non-existent, see Proleg. LXXVII.

Res redintegranda: proelium (bellum) redintegrare is a military term since Caesar; cp. *rem gerere* and Liv. 7,35,5 *cum eo hoste res est.*

Gravioribus sc. *argumentis.*

130,12 *comfligendum*: see at 96,7.

Immissis: before Fronto *immittere habenas* is only used by poets; Cic. Lael. 45 *remittere habenas.*

Eloquentia instead of an adverb is notable; cp. Tac. Hist. 4,56,3 *furtim magis quam bello Cannenefates . . . incursabat.*

Percursandum: 'to go through', 'to mention the essential points'. Fronto is the first to use it metaphorically, but *percurrere* is often used in this sense. *Perequitare* is never used metaphorically.

131,1 *Viriathus*: here and 213,6 with *-th-*, as often in MSS. The Lusitanian chief who fought the Romans in 147–139. To most Romans he was a *latro*, but Liv. perioch. 54 and Iustin. 44,2,7 call him a *dux magnus.*

Spartacus: his insurrection in 73–71. See 213,6.

Belli scientes and *manu prompti* may have been influenced by Sall. Iug. 97,5 *scientes belli*; 7,1 and Cat. 43,4 *manu promptus*; Iug. 44,1 *manu promptior* (a passage quoted by Fronto 99,11); but *sciens* with genitive is not uncommon since Cicero, and *manu promptus* often occurs in Livy.

131,2 *omnes universos*: a studied and archaic abundance also occurring in Plaut. Trin. 1046; Varro, L.L. 10,10; Gell. 19,12,1; Apul. Met. 7,5,1; Epit. Alex. 10. Cp. *plerique omnes* 179,14.

131,3 *in oratore* seems to be the most probable reading and apparently Fronto is mistaken, though Cic. Div. 2,4 speaks of his *oratorii libri* as a whole: *tres erunt De Oratore, quartus Brutus, quintus Orator.* Mai[1] supposed that *Oratore* could here refer to the title *De claris oratoribus seu Brutus*, but according to Schanz I 465 the addition *de claris oratoribus* dates from the sixteenth century. For the metaphor *civitate donare* cp. Cic. Fin. 3,40 *ei (philosophiae) quasi civitatem dare*; Sen. Nat. 5,16,4 *sed et Eurus iam civitate donatus est et nostro sermoni non tamquam alienus intervenit*; Epist. 120,4 *hoc verbum cum Latini grammatici civitate donaverint*; Colum. 1,1,12 *ut agricolationem Romana tandem civitate donemus, . . . iam nunc M. Catonem . . . memoremus*; Quint. Inst. 8,1,3 *ut oratio Romana plane videatur, non civitate donata*; and Fronto ap. Gell. 19,13,3 (Testim. 265,12).

131,4 *gregatim*: 'wholesale' (Haines).

Trecentorum: Cic. Brut. 53–328 enumerates more than two hundred orators.

131,5 *trecenti* also Diodor. 11,53,6. Liv. 2,50,11 and Ovid. Fasti 2,196 say that there were 306 Fabii who died in the battle on the Cremona, 477 BC.

131,7 *sub pellibus*: 'under canvas', a military term, see at 209,8.

Themati: see at 202,14.

131,11 *respondisti* refers to the negotiations with Vologaesus, see at 126,7; 207,12.

131,12 *scilicet* (*scire licet*) with acc. cum inf. is archaic: it occurs in archaic Latin since Plautus, in Sallust, Livy and in Gellius and Apuleius. Here ironically: 'evidently', 'it goes without saying', as 241,15. See Kühner I 699; Hofmann-Szantyr 359; and at 219,2f.

Centurionibus: a private soldier could rise to the rank of centurio or primipilus. *Primipilares* are veterans. Their poor education and abusive language (the irony *elegantissimi altercatores*; see at 48,11f.) were proverbial. *Altercator* is used since Quint. Inst.

131,13 *Dausara, Nicephorium, Artaxata*: Fronto names Artaxata (now Artashat in the Caucasian Republic) last because in the following he comes to speak of the title Armeniacus, which Verus assumed in September 163. See C.H. Dodd, Chronology of the Eastern Campaigns of the Emperor Lucius Verus, Numism. Chron. 11, 1911, 216ff., and at 126,8. The capital of Armenia was taken by M. Statius Priscus in the late summer of 163: Vita Marci 9,1 *gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Statium Priscum Artaxatis captis*; Vita Veri 7,1. Dausara and Nicephorium were captured later, in the second and Mesopotamian phase of the war, in the spring of 164. Probably two armies crossed the Euphrates, one at Zeugma (perhaps under M. Claudius Fronto) and the main army under Avidius Cassius at Sura. Our information about the commanders and the places where they crossed the river is uncertain, however. A third and northern army invaded Osroëne; it had taken Dausara but not yet the more important Edessa. Cassius' army had captured Nicephorium near present-day Rakka in Irak, on the left bank of the Euphrates. As this letter was written in the summer of 164 (see at 118,1), Dausara and Nicephorium must have been taken in the first half of that year. This is confirmed by the Vita Veri 7,6: shortly before his marriage to Marcus' daughter Lucilla (summer 164), Verus visited his troops on the eve of the crossing of the Euphrates: *ad Euphraten tamen inpulsum comitum suorum sequendo profectus est*, probably to Sura. The capture of the two cities is dated 164 by Schwendermann, Der historische Wert 157; R. Hanslik, Vologaeses III, RE Suppl. IX (1962); Birley, Mark Aurel 254 n. 1. Apparently the whole year 163 was spent on the reorganization of the Roman army, on dislodging the Parthians from Syria and on the Armenian campaign. So we should not date the capture of Dausara and Nicephorium to 163, as has been done by A. Stein & P. von Rohden, M. Statius Priscus, RE III (1899); Maria G. Angeli Bertinelli, I Romani oltra l'Euphrate nel II secolo d.C., Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt 2,9,1, 1976, 27f.; Maria Astarita, Avidio Cassio 41; nor to late 164 with F. Carrata Thomes, Il regno di Marco Aurelio, Torino 1953, 78; and certainly not to 165 with Dodd l.l. and N.C. Debevoise, A Political History of Parthia, Chicago 1938, 248, or to 165–166 with Lambrechts, L'empereur Lucius Verus 193 n. 2. See also Alföldy & Halfmann, Iunius Maximus 204f.

131,15 *ad*: since Allen (1841), Naber (p. 294), all other editors have written *adnomen* or *a(d)gnomen*, except Haines, and he was right: *agnomen* as an apposition to *arx inexpugnabilis* is very unlikely. *Ad* means 'in regard to', not 'against' (Haines), because of *quod recusaverat*. Von Mess, TLL s.v. ad, erroneously thinks that *ad* depends on *recusaverat*. Vita Marci 9,1 *delatumque Armeniacum nomen utrique principum, quod Marcus per verecundiam primo recusavit, postea tamen recepit*; Vita Veri 7,2 *partumque ipsi nomen est Armeniaci, Parthici, Medici, quod etiam Marco Romae agenti delatum est*. Verus assumed the title Armeniacus in the autumn of 163 (see at 118,3), and Marcus accepts it in

the speech he held in the senate after Verus' letter had been read: 132,5; 132,15f.; see at 118,3. In his letter, Verus apparently had put pressure on Marcus.

131,16–17 *alius quam*: see at 10,9.

131,17–18 *comitem* ... *exercitum*: authors like to use *exercitus* as a metaphor: Cic. Flacc. 13 *comitatum dico? immo vero quantus exercitus!*; Verg. Aen. 5,824 *Glauci chorus* ... *Phorcique exercitus omnis*; Liv. 3,14,4 *cum ingenti clientium exercitu*; Apul. Met. 4,31,7 *Venerem comitatur exercitus*.

131,19 *magis*: see at 108,4.

132,1 *crebris*: particularly in *crebrae sententiae*, *creber* means 'rich', 'copious', e.g. Cic. Brut. 280; 326; Orat. 79; De orat. 2,34; Quint. Inst. 9,3,42; Plin. Epist. 1,16,2; Fronto 215,12. An author is called *creber sententiis* Cic. Brut. 29; 173; 264; Cic. ap. Suet. Caes. 55; Quint. Inst. 10,1,102. Obviously it had become a rhetorical term.

Dulcibus: see at 106,13 (marg. d).

Modulatius: see at 138,14.

132,2 *legerem*: either Fronto had received copies of Verus' letter and Marcus' speech or he had read them in the Acta senatus.

132,4 *compellabam*: see at 113,9.

Quid hoc rei est?: 'what do you say to this?' (Haines), 'what's up here?' The same colloquial expression Liv. 3,17,2. Plautus has several times *quid est rei?* and *quid est negotii?* See Kühner I 432 and at 104,11.

132,5 *de sententia decedendum*: an expression familiar to Cicero: Balb. 11; Mur. 63; Fin. 4,52; Att. 7,3,6; Fam. 3,8,9. After Cicero, Fronto is the first to use it.

132,7 *ecquid*: this adverb, the same as *numquid*, usually introduces a neutral question; since the first century AD, however, it is also used as *nonne*: an affirmative answer is expected here. As an adverb also 89,12, as a pronoun 144,2.

Autem: in questions, *autem* very often has not an adversative meaning, and especially in *quid autem* its meaning is copulative: 'now', 'well', 'for that matter': 32,13 and 63,1f.M. See Kühner II 91; 94ff. K. Münscher, TLL s.v. autem, and J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v. ecquis, retain *autem* here; Brandt, TLL s.v. haud, adopts Löfstedt's *haut*.

Num: the answers to the following questions are supposed to be negative, see at 75,19.

Insolens aut intempestivum: see at 21,2; 57,16.

132,8 *gloriosum militem*: Plautus' Miles has almost become proverbial: Ter. Eun. 31; 38; Cic. Lael. 98; Off. 1,137; Ammian. 28,4,12; Fronto 175,26.

132,9 *votis omnibus expetisti*: this expression since Val. Max. 6,2 ext. 2.

Fratrem fortem: alliteration.

132,9–10 *virum* ... *peritum*: see at 54,1f. On Verus' eloquence see at 80,8.

132,10 *multis* sc. *verbis*. Verus' *litterae* were *non redundantes* (125,9), so Marcus' speech must have been quite short.

132,11 *cummaxime*: 'at this particular moment'; usually in the combination *nunc cummaxime*, 'now pre-eminently'. Cp. Cic. Inv. 1,39 *quae instent*

in praesentia et cummaxime fiant; Liv. 29,17,20 *omnia . . . passi sumus et cummaxime patimur*. *Cum* has completely lost its function as a conjunction, so the following *quom* must be retained. See Kühner II 480; TLL s.v. magis; and at 88,24.

Mecum agitabam: see at 25,2.

Orationi tuae: Verus' letter, see at 96,7; 108,19.

132,12 *quam . . . multa*: Haines and Portalupi regard these words as neutrum plur. and connect *vera multa*, as 'how many true things' (Haines), but they are feminine. For *oratio multa*, 'ample', cp. lines 10–11 and Cic. De orat. 2,214 *multa et varia et copiosa oratione*; Sall. Iug. 25,11 *multa . . . oratione consumpta legati frustra discessere*; Apul. Apol. 73,5 *nimis multa oratio est, si velim memorare*. Schwierczina's conjecture is tempting, see at 97,4.

132,13 *plane* must be connected with the neutrum plur. *delenifica*: 'every saying, every word quite fascinating (rather: fetching)' (Haines).

Delenificus is archaic: before Fronto it is only found in Plaut. Mil. 192 and Turpil. Com. 29; then in late writers such as Fulgentius, Ausonius, Symmachus and Ennodius. Priebe II 4 even altered *delenifica facta* of Plaut. Mil. 192 to *delenifica dicta* because of Fronto.

132,14 *ambos meos*: with a comma after *duos* there is no need to alter *ambos meos*, or to regard it as a pleonasm or as the source of the Italian 'ambedue'.

132,14–15 *petitorem*: Verus wanted Marcus to assume the title of Armeniacus. *Unde petitur* in legal Latin is the debtor or the defendant: Ter. Eun. 11 *causam dicere prius unde petitur . . . quam illic qui petit*; Cic. Fam. 7,11,1 *omnibus unde petitur*; Mur. 26; De orat. 1,168. *Unde petitur = eum a quo petitur*. See Kühner II 285; Hofmann-Szantyr 208f.

132,14–16 Note the antimetabole.

132,15–16 *quom*: on this form see at 53,17. An adjective with *cum*, as e.g. Rhet. Her. 4,39,51 *dilucidam cum gravitate expositionem*; Ulp. Dig. 22,1,33 pr. *cum efficacia benignum*.

132,16 *prae*: in classical Latin and in Fronto 3,8; 224,12; 237,19 *prae* is used in negative sentences or to express a prevention. See at 87,3.

132,17 *gestarem*: see at 2,12.

132,17–18 *amplior et ornatior*: the daduchi wore a royal dress. *Daduchis*: the Latin form of δᾳδοῦχος, 'torch bearer', is found only here and CIL VI 2251. Both Marcus and Verus had been initiated at Eleusis. See Kern, Daduchos, RE IV (1901); Oliver, Marcus Aurelius 93f.

Eleusine: normally, the nominative is *Eleusin, -nis*, later *Eleusina*; the ablative usually *Eleusine*, see Neue-Wagener I 244f.; 500.

Faces gestantibus: δᾳδουχεῖν. *Gestare* is a solemn word, see at 2,12.

132,19 The *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* belonged to the *quattuor amplissima collegia* and they had to *adire libros Sibyllinos*, an expression found in Varro, often in Livy, and in Tac. Ann. 1,76,2; 15,44,1. Since Augustus the Sibylline books were kept in the temple of Iuppiter Palatinus. See J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung VI^2, Leipzig 1885, 350ff.; G. Wissowa, Religion und Cultus der Römer, München ^{2}1912, 461f.; G. Radke, Quindecimviri, RE XXIV 1 (1963), and Sibyllen, Kleine Pauly (1973). The usual form is *quindecimviri* (so 195,8), which does not mean, however, that we should alter the text with Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi

354; the fact that m[2] has *quindecimviri* in the margin does not prove anything: marginal notes are no variae lectiones. See Gell. 1,12,6, where some editors also have *quindecemvirum.*

Patrios: Fronto was born in Cirta, and Libya stands for the whole northern coast of Africa west of the Nile.

133,1–2 As the beginning of this book is lost and 152,14 is illegible, we do not know what title the ancient editor gave to these letters. 146,13 and 151,1 show that they were addressed to Marcus when he was emperor (this is not contradicted by *iuvenis* 139,20). Niebuhr's title De eloquentia is quite appropriate, since it is a defence of rhetoric against Marcus' Stoic attitude. But it was the voice of one crying in the wilderness: Marcus did not reply. In the case of Matidia's heritage—which had both moral and juridical aspects—Marcus only deigned to write four condescending lines (95,22ff.). While he was Marcus' teacher, Fronto was wise enough not to attack philosophy, but now he could not resist mentioning again and again that an emperor must be eloquent. See at 122,11. As to the date of these letters, we have almost nothing to go on: according to Mai[3] and Naber, *scribemus* 89,24 (a letter of late 161) refers to De eloquentia and/or De orationibus. Haines and Champlin, Chronology, think that *de terrae hiatu dicere* (133,4 marg. f) refers to 89,3 and the earthquake of Cyzicus, and that Marcus' speech mentioned there probably was held on 13 August 161, see at 89,3. 133,5 (marg. b) Fronto speaks of his swansong, which means that he is in the last phase of his life. See also at 138,4f.; 138,16 (marg. i). So we cannot but date the letters, with Dorothy Brock and Champlin, 161–167. Naber, Brakman and Haines date them 162; Parain, Marc-Aurèle 65, c. 162. De eloquentia is later than De orationibus, see at 138,4f.; 138,16; 151,9; 153,1f.

133,5–6 (with marg. a–b) Fronto's nature and age persist in opposing philosophy and he cannot change his style of life now, no more than artists and authors can change their style of writing. (Marg. b) Fronto combines two proverbs: the one of the last swansong (Otto, cycnus 3) and the proverb that undeniably a swan sings better than a crow (Otto, cycnus 2), i.e., whatever you think of rhetoric, it is better to be a rhetor than a philosopher. The common proverb is: a swan sings better than a goose. See TLL s.v. cycnus, olor and cornix; W. Richter, Schwan, Kleine Pauly (1973).

Voculas: 'the miserable sound'.

Discrepanti: 'though it is out of keeping with my genius' (Haines). Cp. Cic. De orat. 3,40 *ut ne quid perturbatum ac discrepans aut praeposterum sit.*

Niti . . . naturam: alliteration.

Contra . . . flumine; for *quod aiunt* see at 48,3. Cp. Sen. Epist. 122,19 *contra illam (naturam) nitentibus non alia vita est quam contra aquam remigantibus*; Symm. Epist. 3,43,2 *non tibi adverso nunc amne nitendum est.*

133,6–134,6 *quid* etc.: an elaborate passage with epanaphora, parallelism, antithesis, homoioteleuton, chiasmus and synonymy.

133,6–11 Fronto does not necessarily have in mind the passage of Cicero and Quintilianus: comparing rhetoric art to sculpture and painting is a locus communis, cp. 27,6–8; 41,14; see at 97,17; 133,10f.; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte III 108; E. Reisch, Griechische Weihgeschenke, Wien 1890,

223f. We should not conclude from this passage that Fronto was 'bei seinem Reichtum wohl auch Kunstliebhaber' (E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 41, 1919, 102). On the contrary, these lines indicate that on matters of art he was rather a dilettante, and his judgement is based on book learning, see at 138,15 (marg. d). Several of the works of art mentioned here he had never seen. See on this passage Six, Protogenes 34–36, and Nealkes 1–6; Hauler, Fronto über Protogenes und Nealkes 317–321, and Lepturgus 106–112.

For *quid* see at 16,1. We should understand these lines in the sense that Phidias made *deum simulacra*, Canachus *ludicra*, that Parrhasius painted *unicolora*, Apelles *versicolora* etc. Phidias is named by Quintilianus, not by Cic. Brut. 70. Cp. Demetr. Περὶ ἑρμ. 14; Dion. Hal. Isocr. 3,541.

Canachus: the younger Canachus of Sicyon must be meant, a disciple of Polycletus, c. 400 BC. See Pausan. 10,9,10; Plin. Nat. 34,50. Cic. Brut. 70 speaks of the elder Canachus (c. 500 BC), stating *Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur veritatem*. G. Lippold, Kanachos, RE X 2 (1919), thinks that Fronto means the elder Canachus, who did make statues of gods; therefore he must reject Hauler's reading *deum simulacra*.

133,7 *aut*[1]: against all editors, Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 379, retains *ut*, but the parallelism with *si* . . . *aut* . . . *aut* proves that he is wrong.

133,7–8 *Calamis* and *Polycletus* do not have their counterparts. Hauler's reading *Calamis lepturga* (a suggestion by Scheindler) *aut Polycletus chirurga* is most unlikely, see Proleg. LXXVIII. On Polycletus see W.H. Gross, Polykleitos 5, Kleine Pauly (1971).

Turena is a clerical error for *Tyrrhena*, see K.E. Georges, Lexi. d. lat. Wortformen s.v. In Hauler's reading *chirurga*, χειρουργός must mean 'rough handiwork' (Haines), referring to Calamis. This does not agree with Cicero and Quintilianus, however: Cic. Brut. 70 *Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora quam Canachi*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,7 *duriora et Tuscanicis proxima Callon atque Hegesias, iam minus rigida Calamis*. The full proof that Calamis is not a χειρουργός but exactly the opposite, a λεπτουργός, is given by Dion. Hal. Isocr. 3 p. 542, who praises him τῆς λεπτότητος ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος. See the literature Proleg. LXXVII n. 5 and at 97,17. *Lepturgus* has been entered by B. Bader in the TLL as 'subtiliter elaboratus'.

Tyrrhenus and *Etruscus* are not exactly the same: *Tyrrhena* are the more strict works of the earlier Etruscan period, *Etrusca* those of a later period. Fronto seems to use *Tyrrhenus* in the sense of *Tuscanicus*: Plin. Nat. 34,34 *signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa; quin in Etruria facta sint, non est dubium*; 34,43 *Tuscanicus Apollo in bibliotheca templi Augusti*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,1 *Tuscanicae statuae* are different from Greek statues. Cp. also the Greek proverb Τυρρηνικὸς ἀνδριάς (Paroemiogr. II p. 223). Benndorf regarded *Etrusca* as a gloss on *Tyrrhena* (*Turena*). I do not understand Ellis' conjecture *Turintina*: does he mean *Tirynthina*? For Schöll's *Corinthia signa* see Plin. Nat. 34,7f.

Dion. Hal. Isocr. 3 compares Isocrates' style with the work of Phidias and Polycletus: κατὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχνον καὶ ἀξιωματικόν.

133,8–9 *Parrhasium*: Cic. Brut. 70 does not name him. Quint. Inst. 12,10,4 only says that *examinasse subtilius lineas traditur*. Diod. Sic. 26,1 states of him and Apelles that they were painters οἱ τοῖς ἐμπειρικῶς κεκραμένοις χρώμασι προαγαγόντες εἰς ἀκρότατον τὴν ζωγραφικὴν τέχνην, which is, as far

as Parrhasius is concerned, the reverse of what Fronto says and also contradictory to Hor. Carm. 4,8,7, who speaks of his *liquidi colores*. As to his coloration, Plin. Nat. 35,67 is no help; 35,38 Pliny only says that he used *Eretria terra*. G. Lippold, Parrasios, RE XVIII 2 (1949), supposes that Fronto had heard something about Parrhasius' uncoloured drawings, but that is hardly convincing.

Versicolora (see at 9,2): 'polychromes'; *unicolora*: 'monochromes', from *versicolor* and *uniciolor* (Prud. Ham. 819 has *unicolorus*). Plin. Nat. 35,58 *Polygnotus... capita earum (mulierum) mitris versicoloribus operuit*; Prud. C. Symm. 2,56 *paries versicolorus*. *Unicolor* is first used by Varro, R.R. 2,4,3 *(sues) unicolores potius quam varias*; Plin. Nat. 11,145 and 32,103 uses it for the colour of the eye; 33,117 he has the neutrum plur. *monochromata* and 35,15 *monochromaton* (*polychromatos* does not exist in Latin).

133,9–11 *Apellen... Pausiam*: on the accusative of these names see at 7,7.

133,9 *Apellen*: according to Plin. Nat. 35,50 and 35,92, Apelles used only four colours; these are not the four primary colours, see O. Rossbach, Apelles, RE (1894), and J.M. Croisille's note in his Budé edition of Pliny (1985). Cic. Brut. 70 is in flat contradiction with Pliny; see also Lucian. Imag. 7. On his colouring, Liban. Descript. 69 τίς διαμορφώσει τοῖς χρώμασι;

Nealces: as he also made large paintings, we should not translate 'grand canvasses or miniature ones' (Haines) but 'grandiose o minute' (Portalupi), 'canvasses with grandeur or with minute details'. The same distinction is made by the painter Nicias in Demetr. De eloc. 76. Rubenbauer, TLL s.v. minutus, erroneously states that here *minutus* is the same as 'vilis', 'tenuis', 'pusillus'. See 58,23 and G. Lippold, Nealkes, RE XVI 2 (1935); Croisille at Plin. Nat. 35,101. Unfortunately, we have no further indication as to the style of Nealces and Protogenes (the words *aut Protogenen minuta* are missing in Mai's and Naber's editions). On Protogenes' Ialysus see at 23,13.

133,10 *Nician*: that his pictures were 'brilliant' (Haines), 'luminose' (Portalupi), is confirmed by Plin. Nat. 35,131 *lumen et umbras custodiit atque ut eminerent e tabulis picturae maxime curavit*. He was also the first to use *usta*, 'vermilion' (Plin. Nat. 35,38). G. Lippold, Nikias, RE XVII 1 (1936), is mistaken when he says of Fronto's characteristic 'das geht nicht auf Farben, sondern offenbar auf die Behandlungsweise und die Wahl der Gegenstände'. The same mistake in B. Neutsch, Der Maler Nikias von Athen, diss. Berlin, Leipzig 1939, 32. A correct interpretation of our passage in O. Rossbach, Dionysios 164, RE V 1 (1903). Dionysius of Colophon (fifth century BC) painted in the style of Polygnotus (Ael. Var. Hist. 4,3), but we know nothing about his colouring. He was an *anthropographos* (Plin. Nat. 35,113).

133,10–11 *Euphranorem... a*: between *Pausiam* and *in poetis* about ten letters are lost or hardly legible, according to Mai, Brakman and Hauler in his first reading; in his second reading (*tristitia satura*), Hauler has fifteen letters, which must set us thinking. Then there is *lascivia*: in Hauler's latest reading it must be an ablative dependent on *satura*, but in the preceding lines we find pluralia neutra: *versicolora*, *unicolora*, *magnifica* etc. Can we, with Hauler, explain this away as a stylistic variation? We have to do here with the adjective *lascivius*, a variant of *lascivus*, which also occurs in Lact. Inst. 1,21,49 and Nicet. Psalm. 2 p. 68,16 B; cp. *lasciviter* in Laev. Carm. frg. 5

and at 57,3f. Six (1907) did not see the difficulty with *lascivius* and, correctly though accidentally, regards *lascivia* as a neutrum plur. There is reason enough to doubt Hauler's reading, which has been much criticized, see Proleg. LXXVII n. 5; also by Neutsch, o.c. 4. We have to supply a word that is the opposite of *lascivius*, but Klussmann's *grandia* is too short. Euphranor was well known for his austere allegories and historical tableaux; Varro, Vita pop. Rom. frg. 1, speaks of his *altitudo*, 'sublimity'; Val. Max. 8,11 ext. 5 of his *excellentissimi maiestatis colores*; Plin. Nat. 35,128 *hic primus videtur expressisse dignitates heroum*. Pausias' *lascivitas* was based on the picture of his girlfriend Glycera, the *stephanoplocos* or *stephanopolis* (Plin. Nat. 35,125). According to Plin. Nat. 21,4, she posed *provocans*; therefore Pausias was called πορνόγραφος by Polemon of Ilion (first half of the third century BC), see Athen. 13,567 b and G. Lippold, Pausias, RE XVIII 2 (1949). So Fronto's criticism was founded on literary gossip.

133,11–134,6 After having treated the characteristics of sculptors and painters, Quint. Inst. 12,10,10 discusses those of Latin orators, and Fronto, too, states that in literature each genre has its prominent author, just as in sculpture and painting certain artists represent a specific style. See on this chapter M. Hertz, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 19 (107), 1873, 337ff.; Düntzer, Über die Namen 424ff.; Warren, On a Literary Judgment XLIIff.; and Ellis, The Correspondence 13. 49,15 Fronto presents the classic, tripartite division of the genera dicendi, ἰσχνός, μέσός and ἁδρός, without Latin translation; see also at 49,20f. Since the first century BC theorists have found new divisions, of four or more genres; so Demetr. Περὶ ἑρμ. 36; Hermog. Περὶ ἰδεῶν; Plin. Epist. 2,3,1; 4,27,1 (of poetry); Fortunat. Rhet. 3,9; Diomed. Gramm. Lat. I 481 (also of poetry); and Macrob. Sat. 5,1,7 (see 273,5). Fronto's quadripartite division probably goes back to his teachers Anthenodotus and Dionysius Tenuis, see at 17,8. *Gracilis* = ἰσχνός, *aridus* = ξηρός, *sublimus* = ὑψηλός, and *mediocris* = μεσός. *Inaequalis* is, of course, not a genus but a defect. Many critics have failed to see the system which Fronto here represents; hence the alterations and additions. In the following lines we find a variegated mixture of terms, of which *multiformis*, *structe*, *multiiugus* and *singuli* refer to the way in which words and thoughts are arranged, the *compositio* or *structura*, the σύνθεσις.

133,11 *ut*: 'how', see at 2,10.

133,12 *Lucilius*: *gracilis* is not 'graceful' (Haines), but 'plain', 'simple'; it corresponds to ἰσχνός, *subtilis*, *tenuis*; cp. 127,1 *summa eloquentiae . . . virtus est de sublimioribus magnifice, de tenuioribus . . . dicere frugaliter*. See also Quint. Inst. 9,4,130; 12,10,24 and 36; and Macrob. Sat. 5,13,1, where Vergil is called *gracilior quam* Homer. Gell. 6,14,1–6 renders ἰσχνός by *gracilis*, quoting Varro: *Varro esse dicit (exemplum) ubertatis Pacuvium, gracilitatis Lucilium, mediocritatis Terentium*. There is no reason to assume that Fronto quotes Varro, let alone to insert Varro's words in Fronto's text, as Warren does, followed by Dorothy Brock, Studies 296; Marache, La critique 160; Bardon, La littérature I 335; G. D'Anna, Pacuvii fragmenta, Roma 1967, 29. Their thesis is rightly rejected by R. Degl'Innocenti Pierini, Studi su Accio, Quad. dell'ist. di filol. class. 'G. Pasquali' di Firenze 1, 1980, 51 n. 134, and by Selvatico, Scambio 289 n. 155.

Albucius must be a poet, but we only know an Epicurean orator T. Albucius, c. 100 BC. Hertz l.l.; R. Klebs, Albuccius RE I (1894); Schanz I 224; and Malcovati, Orat. Rom. fragm. II p. 67, assume that he may have written a didactic poem on Epicurian philosophy, cp. Cic. Brut. 131 *doctus etiam Graecis (litteris) T. Albucius vel potius plane Graecus*, and Tusc. 5,108 *T. Albucius nonne animo aequissimo Athenis exul philosophabatur?* But Warren's *Abuccius* is very tempting, since we know a satiric poet L. Abuccius (first century BC): Varro, R.R. 3,2,17 *L. Abuccius homo, ut scitis, adprime doctus, cuius Luciliano charactere sunt libelli.* See also 3,6,6. *Aridus* should not entirely be taken in malam partem but as an attenuated form of the genus ἰσχνόν: Rhet. Her. 4,11,16 *qui non possunt in illa facetissima verborum attenuatione commode versari, veniunt ad aridum et exsangue genus orationis, quod non alienum est exile nominari*; Sen. Epist. 75,3 *non . . . ieiuna esse et arida volo quae de rebus tam magnis dicentur*, Fortunat. Rhet. 3,9 ἰσχνῷ *quod est contrarium? aridum ac siccum* (see at 273,6); Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,16,4 *nos opuscula sermone condidimus arido, exili.* The *aridum genus* is regarded as characteristic of Atticism by Quint. Inst. 8 proh. 17; 12,10,14.

Sublimis is the Greek ὑψηλός or μεγαλοπρεπής. Fronto uses it 49,22 for the tragedy. Equivalent terms are *magnificus* (57,8; 127,1) and *gravitas et maiestas et nitor* (141,13). On Lucretius: Ovid. Amor. 1,15,23 *carmina sublimis . . . Lucreti*; Stat. Silv. 2,7,76 *docti furor arduus Lucreti.*

Mediocris is not 'mediocre' (Haines) but indicates the *genus medium*, χαρακτὴρ μέσος. Theorists still use this word, even if they have four genera dicendi; Rhet. Her. 4,8,11 *gravem . . . mediocrem . . . extenuatam (figuram); . . . mediocris est quae constat ex humiliore neque tamen ex infima . . . verborum dignitate*; 4,9,13; 4,11,16; Cic. De orat. 3,212 *figuram* ('style') *orationis plenioris et tenuioris et . . . mediocris*; Gell 6,14,1 *(orationem) uberem . . . gracilem . . . mediocrem*; Fortun. Rhet. 3,9 *sublime . . . subtile . . . mediocre sive moderatum.* According to Varro, Pacuvius is not *mediocris* but *uber*, hence Warren's addition. Cp. Cic. Orat. 36 *(delector) Pacuvio, inquit alius: omnes apud hunc ornati elaboratique sunt versus.* However, Varro's opinion is not shared by others, and there are indications that his style was indeed regarded as *medium genus*: Hor. Epist. 2,1,56 *aufert Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti* (= *sublimis*), which is confirmed by Quint. Inst. 10,1,97. Vell. 2,9,3 states that Pacuvius used the file, whereas in Accius *paene plus videatur fuisse sanguinis*, and Cic. Brut. 258 even says that his style was poor. In his literary judgement Fronto is an independent expert, even if his interest is one-sided. Marache, Critique 159f., believes in Varro's judgement; he thinks that Fronto calls Pacuvius *mediocris* for the simple reason that Cic. De orat. 3,27 puts his name between those of Ennius and Accius: *quam sunt inter sese Ennius, Pacuvius Acciusque dissimiles.* Our passage has been translated correctly by Robinson Ellis and Dorothy Brock: 'Lucillus is a type of the meagre, Albucius of the lifeless style, Lucretius is lofty, Pacuvius neither high nor low'. 261,2ff. Fronto quotes *versus iucundissimi* by Pacuvius.

133,16 *fictores* is usually said of sculptors, e.g. Cic. Nat. deor. 1,81 *pictores fictoresque.* As the length of the gap is uncertain, it may as well be *<opera>tores* or *<fabrica>tores.*

134,1 *inaequalis*: 'unequal' (Haines). Accius had his ups and downs in his tragedies; cp. Sen. Suas. 6,27, who calls the otherwise unknown Spaniard Sextilius Ena an *inaequalis poeta*; Contr. 2 praef. 1 on Arellius Fuscus: *summa*

inaequalitas orationis, quae modo exilis erat, modo nimia licentia vaga et effusa; Contr. 3 praef. 18 on Cassius Severus: *declamationes eius inaequales erant*, and 3 praef. 8 *in declamationibus impar sibi*, i.e. he was good when he made a plea in court but far less good when holding a declamation before an auditorium; Mart. 7,90 *iactat inaequalem Matho me fecisse libellum*; Cic. Orat. 106 speaks of a *multiplex et aequabiliter in omnia genera fusa oratio*; Hieron. Epist. 58,10 *Arnobius inaequalis et nimius est et absque operis sui partitione confusus*. According to Quint. Inst. 12,10,71, an author should be *non ubique similis, sed ubique par sibi*. Degl'Innocenti (see at 133,12) is right: *inaequalis* points to an 'alternanza stilistica' and it is not said 'parce que les tragédies sont animées de sentiments variés et tumultueux' (Marache, Critique 159). Unfortunately, we have no testimonies to corroborate Fronto's opinion. Klussmann, Emendationes 54 (followed by Schenkl and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 22), wants to read *aequalis*, contrary to the following *multiformis*, but *multiformis* means 'many-sided' (Haines), 'vario' (Portalupi), and refers to the different styles in his various works; see Düntzer, Ueber die Namen 427; Vahlen, Ennianae poesis LXXIII; Marache, Critique 156. *Multiformis* of style is further only used by Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,11,6 of the poet Lampridius: *in comica materia urbanus multiformisque*, where it seems to be 'versatile'. See at 272,7.

134,2 *structe*: 'with a well-regulated construction of his sentences', as opposed to *incondite*, 'in a set of periodic style' (Ellis), 'symmetrically' (Haines), 'd'un style bien construit' (Marache, Mots 72). The adverb occurs here for the first time, later in Tert. Cult. fem. 2,11,1 in the sense of 'dressed up', and Diomed. Gramm. I 468,19. Cp. Cic. De orat. 3,171 *collocationis est componere et struere verba sic, ut neve asper eorum concursus neve hiulcus sit, sed quodammodo coagmentatus et levis*. On the *structura verborum* see also Cic. Orat. 20; 149; 219; 232. See at 19,2; 134,2; 144,11; 215,16f. Fronto has in mind Sallust's *brevitas*, especially in his maxims (see 44,4) and his antitheses (see 96,22). K. Büchner, Sallust, Heidelberg [2]1982, 282, correctly interprets our passage against K. Latte, Sallust, Leipzig/Berlin 1935.

Pictor: as Fronto is speaking of Latin authors, he must have in mind the Latin translation of Fabius Pictor's Annals, see Teuffel 1,216; Schanz I 173.

Incondite: 'uncultivated', 'roughly' (Ellis), rather than 'without method' (Haines), 'senza eleganza' (Portalupi), since the point at issue is style, not method; Brock's 'in loosely-strung clauses' is too narrow. On Fabius' style, Cic. De orat. 2,51f. *sine ullis ornamentis*; De leg. 1,2,6 *quid tam exile quam isti omnes?*

Q. *Claudius* Quadrigarius: 261,31 Fronto calls him *vir modesti atque puri ac prope cotidiani sermonis*.

Lepide: testimonies on Claudius' style come from archaists only: Gell. 9,13,4 *purissime atque inlustrissime simplicique et incompta orationis antiquae suavitate descripsit*; 15,1,4 *optumi et sincerissimi scriptoris*. Fronto loved certain of his *verba volgaria et obsoleta* (150,22) and *verba sincera* (158,7). *Lepide* is synonymous with *venuste*, see Gell. 2,23,2; Porphyr. Hor. Ars 273.

On Valerius *Antias'* style we have no further testimonies; it must have been a dry enumeration of events.

134,3 *Seisenna longinque* has no antipode. Klussmann, Warren, Haines

and J. Kemper, TLL s.v. longinque, suppose that a name has dropped out, cp. Vell. 2,9,6 *vetustior Sisenna fuit Caelius, aequalis Sisennae Rutilius Claudiusque Quadrigarius et Valerius Antias*. But Schanz I 208f. supposes that the Historiae of P. Rutilius Rufus were written in Greek; see also Teuffel 1,263.

Longinque: 'long-windedly', 'at length' (Haines), 'in modo prolisso' (Portalupi), and so, too, Niese, L. Cornelius Sisenna, RE IV (1901); Teuffel 1,29; 294; Beltrami, Le tendenze 66. The translations 'tediously' (Ellis) and 'wearisome' (Brock) seem exaggerated. The antipode would be *breviter*, but then Fronto would have to name Sallust again. According to Non. 468,10, Sisenna wrote at least twenty-three books on the period of Sulla. Cp. Plaut. Merc. 608 *odiosa est oratio, cum rem agas, longinquom loqui*; Mil. 1020 *brevin an longinquo sermone?* Kemper interprets *longinque* as verbose (correct), copiose (less correct). Mai; Peter, Hist. Rom. rel. I, CCCXLII; Warren; Marache, Mots 69; and Selvatico, Scambio 270, n. 191, were misled by Cic. Brut. 259 *(non) deterreri potuit (Sisenna), quominus inusitatis verbis uteretur*, thinking that *longinque* means 'in unusual style'. Georges' translation 'wie in alter Zeit, antik' is very unlikely for Fronto. Schwierczina, Frontoniana 15, does not refer *longinque* to style but thinks 'narrationem ab eo longinque repetitam esse'. Sisenna himself says ap. Gell. 12,15,2 *gesta litteris . . . continentia mandavimus*, but this has not to be inconsistent with Fronto. The adverb *longinque* is rare; it occurs for the first time in Enn. Trag. 63, which, however, is no reason to regard it as archaic with Ebert, Synt. 21, Hofer and Marache, Mots 69.

Cato . . . singulis: Ellis and Brock correctly translate 'Cato uses words in long teams, Coelius in single words'; 'by Cato with many words abreast by Coelius with words in single harness' (Haines). Less correct the Oxford Dictionary's 'having many parts, forms'; not 'Catone con vocaboli di vario senso, Celio con parole di un solo significato', where Portalupi follows Pepe, Catone maggiore 16 n. 18. Nor can we interpret *multiiugis* and *singulis* as, respectively, 'with polysyndeton' and 'with asyndeton', as Warren suggests (cp. Carmen de fig. p. 65 Halm πολυσύνδετον: *multiiugum*; see at 34,20f.). *Multiiugus* is used here in the original sense of the word, though metaphorically, cp. Liv. 28,9,15 *iret alter consul sublimis curru multiiugis, si vellet, equis*. See also at 263,7 and Gell. 10,2,1 about quintuplets: *eumque esse finem dixit (Aristoteles) multiiugae hominum partionis*; Cic. Att. 14,9,1 *quas (litteras) . . . multiiuges accepi*, 'a bundle of letters tied together'. What Fronto means is evident from 135,13f. *ratio . . . verba geminandi et interdum trigeminandi*. One of Cato's characteristics is his parallelism of cola, as indicated by Rhet. Her. 4,19,26, and his use of synonyms (with or without *atque*), see Maria Sblendorio, Catonis reliquiae 36ff., and at Fronto 34,21. Examples are given by Gell. 6,3,12ff. and 13,25,12ff. *hoc ornatus genus in crimine uno vocibus multis atque saevis extruendo ille iam tunc M. Cato antiquissimus in orationibus suis celebravit*, and it is a *repetitio instauratioque eiusdem rei sub alio nomine* (13,25,9). That *multiiugus* refers to synonymy was already recognized by Peter, Hist. Rom. rel. CXLVII, and Marache, Critique 164. It does not refer to compounds such as *aliquotfariam, magniloquentia, argentifodina*: these are *verba biiuga*, not *multiiuga*, and *verba singula* cannot be *verba simplicia*. *Verbis singulis*, 'in single words', is explained by Schanz I 202 as 'den zerschnittenen Stil' of Coelius Antipater.

On his style, Cic. De orat. 2,54 *Coelius neque distinxit historiam varietate locorum* (most editors read *colorum*, of *color*, but could it be of *colon*?) *neque verborum collocatione et tractu orationis leni et aequabili perpolivit illud opus*; Cic. Leg. 1.2.6 *habuit . . . vires agrestis . . . atque horridas sine nitore ac palaestra.* See also at 42,16; 56,23.

134,3–6 After the historians now follow the orators. Thus Cato is named three times: as a historian (the Origines), as an orator in the assembly or in the senate, and in court.

134,4 *Cato infeste*: Cic. Brut. 65 *quis illo . . . acerbior in vituperando?*: Gell. 6,3,53 *ea* (his speech in the senate Pro Rhodiensibus) . . . *fortius atque vividius potuisse dici non videntur*; Plut. Cato 7,1 φιλοσκώμμων καὶ αὐστηρός, ἀποφθεγματικὸς καὶ ἀγωνιστικός.

C. Sempronius *Gracchus turbulente* corresponds to *tumultuatur.* Val. Max. 8,10,1 *(rempublicam) perturbare impie maluit . . . calor atque impetus actionis.* His *impetus* is also mentioned by Tac. Dial. 26,1 and Apul. Apol. 95,5. Plut. Tib. Gracch. 2,2–5 ἔντονος δὲ καὶ σφοδρός . . . φοβερὸς καὶ περιπαθὴς εἰς δείνωσιν . . . τραχὺς καὶ θυμοειδής. Schol. Bob. p. 96 Stangl (*oratio*) *maledictorum magis plena quam criminum.*

Tullius: see at 57,5–18.

Gloriose: it does not mean 'copious' (Haines) but 'with great display, parade' and corresponds to *triumphat.* Schol. Bob. p. 81 St. *gloriose in hunc locum decurrit orator (Cicero).* Cp. Cic. Dom. 93 *de me ipsum gloriosius praedicare*; Att. 2,1,6 *quem de meis rebus . . . gloriosius quam de suis praedicare*; cp. Fronto 175,26 *gloriosius*, 'with a great deal of fuss', rather than 'con maggior boria' (Portalupi).

134,5 *saevit*: Gell. 1,11,15 of C. Gracchus: *(ut orationem) ferocientem saevientemque cohiberet.*

Tumultuatur: 'rages' (Haines); Quint. Inst. 7 praef. 3 *oratio carens hac virtute* (sc. *ordine dispositionis atque collocationis*) *tumultuetur necesse est*; 10,7,12 *mihi ne dicere quidem videtur, nisi qui disposite, ornate, copiose dicit, sed tumultuari.* Cp. *tumultus*, 'passion', 97,11.

C. Licinius *Calvus rixatur.* Calvus, a friend of Catullus and Cicero's rival in court. Cic. Fam. 15,21,4 *in excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet*; Sen. Contr. 7,4,6ff. *violentus actor et concitatus fuit . . . nihil in illa (compositione) placidum, nihil lene est, omnia excitata et fluctuantia*; Quint. Inst. 10,1,115 *oratio . . . frequenter vehemens.* Tac. Dial. 26,4 says of the orator Cassius Severus: *contempto ordine rerum . . . non pugnat, sed rixatur.*

134,8 *diverso*, i.e. each in his own way.

Zeno of Cition, founder of the Stoa. He paid much attention to the art of persuasion (*docendum*) and to dialectics (*disceptaret*, line 14).

Ad: *planus* and *captiosus* (see at 128,5) with *ad* only here; *promptus ad* since Cato, Orig. ap. Gell. 3,7,6; *magnificus ad* 57,7; *prosper ad* 77,22.

134,9 *Socrates*: Fronto refers to his εἰρωνεία (see at 48,12) and his μαιευτικὴ τέχνη.

Diogenes the Cynic: see at 48,16.

134,10 *Heraclitus* is called ὁ σκοτεινός since Aristot. De mundo 5; also by Cic. Fin. 2,15; cp. Lucr. 1,639; Cic. Div. 2,133; Nat. deor. 1,74; Vitruv. 2,2,1; Aetna 538; Sen. Epist. 12,7; Hieron. Adv. Ruf. 1,30. I have

tuated after *obscurus* because here the use of an adjective with an infinitive seems very hard. Kühner I 686 presents the following examples: Verg. Georg. 1,284 *(dies) felix et ponere vitem et prensos domitare boves*; Hor. Sat. 1,4,8 *(Lucilius) durus componere versus*; Tac. Ann. 14,56,5 *exercitus velare odium* (H. Furneaux in his commentary on the Annals of Tacitus, Oxford I^2 1896, 56, sees in this inf. epexegeticus a Graecism; see also Hofmann-Szantyr 350). Here in Fronto it seems to be a descriptive infinitive (usually, but often wrongly, called a historical infinitive); see at 241,1; 204,5 (marg. c *dare*). Cp. e.g. Ter. Ad. 864 *clemens, placidus, nulli laedere os, adridere omnibus*; Sall. Iug. 101,11 *spectaculum horribile..., sequi, fugere, occidi, capi* (and so Tac. Agr. 37,2); Liv. 7,33,2 *comiter facilis: vincere ac vinci vultu eodem.*

Involvere: 'to mystify' (Haines). Cp. Ver. Aen. 6,100 *Sibylla... canit ambages... obscuris vera involvens.*

Omnia repeated at the end of a period: epiphora.

Pythagora: this nominative also CIL VIII 5164; 5167; see at 7,7.

Mirificus: slightly pejorative, as 180,26.

134,11 *clandestinis... omnia*: 'to give everything religious sanction with secret symbols' (Haines). *Clandestina signa* may be a translation of μυστικὰ σύμβολα, cp. Aristot. frg. 197 Rose (from Porphyr. Vita Pyth. 41) and the title of a lost work of Androcydes Περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων (Iambl. Vita Pyth. 145). *Sancire* refers to Pythagoras' precepts of secrecy.

Signis sancire: alliteration.

Clitomachus (second century BC): being a sceptic, he is *anceps*, 'undecided', 'agnostic' (Haines).

134,11–12 *in dubium vocare* is not a philosophical term (against V. Bulhart, TLL s.v. dubius); it occurs Cic. Fam. 10,31,5, then here and several times in Tertullian and later authors.

134,13–15 Epanaphora of *ne*: see at 97,4.

134,16 *ista*: 'this' (Haines), see at 51,5.

Epistulae modum: see at 59,25f.

134,18 *sodes*: Cic. Orat. 154 *libenter etiam copulando verba iungebant, ut 'sodes' pro 'si audes', 'sis' pro 'si vis'.* Especially *dic sodes (mihi)* is colloquial: Plaut. Bacch. 837; Ter. Andr. 85; Varro, R.R. 1,2,27 etc., etc. See Hofmann, Umgangssprache 133.

Utrumne introduces, as 60,16, an independent question. After expressions like *dic mihi* there often follows a coordinate sentence, hence the indicative. Cp. Plaut. Capt. 987; Merc. 620; Cic. De orat. 2,261. On a subordinate question with indicative see at 51,12.

134,21 *invocatu* is found only here; Cic. De orat. 3,2 is the only author who has *vocatu*. Note the alliteration.

134,22 *Menelaum*: the accusative because it corresponds to *eadem verba*. Hom. Il. II 408 αὐτόματος δέ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος became proverbial: Plato, Symp. 174 b–c; Plut. Quaest. conv. 1,2,3; Lucian. Conv. 12; Ps. Cato, Dist. 7; and several times in the Paroemiographi Graeci, notably I p. 36f.

There is nothing wrong with *quidem*, 'be it', 'indeed', as in line 20. Mai and Naber punctuated *epulas, quidem recipi iubes*, which led to various conjectures.

134,23 *consimile* accentuates *ut si*, on which see at 16,1. *Consimile ut* 155,23.

134,24 *Falerno*: the wine from the ager Falernus in Campania was classified *secunda nobilitas* (Plin. Nat. 14,62) and praised by Horace and Flor. 1,16. The best Falernum was the *Faustianum*, see at 228,3–9.

Superfiat is archaic or colloquial: Plaut. Epid. 346; Mil. 356; Stich. 592; Trin. 510; Colum. 12,1,6; Prud. C. Symm. 2,983; Ter. Maur. 2934.

Rure: see at 109,20.

Cretense was not popular with the Romans. Well known and cheap was its *passum pingue*, 'raisin wine', Plin. Nat. 14,80f.; Iuv. 14,270f.; Mart. 13,106. See also Solin. Coll. 11,12; Aelian. Var. Hist. 12,31; Athen. 10,440f.; Pollux 6,82.

135,1 *Saguntinum*: a wine without reputation.

Malum always after an interrogative or relative pronoun: 228,12; 236,8.

Foris: 'from elsewhere' (Haines), as opposed to *rure eius*.

Sibi: see 7,16.

135,3 (marg. a) *Epictetus incuriosus*: 'unconcerned' (Haines) about style. His Diatribes were written in colloquial language by Arrianus, see his introductory letter p. 5 in the edition of H. Schenkl, Lipsiae ^{2}1916. Fronto is one of the first to mention Epictetus' works, which were edited before 120 AD, see Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Geschichte d. griech. Lit. II^{6} 1,360. Schenkl, in his testimonies on Epictetus, has overlooked our passage.

(marg. b) *Socrates* and his school as opposed to Musonius and his disciples.

Xenophon: see at 141,15.

Antisthenes of Athens: Diog. Laert. 6,1,15f. enumerates his (mostly lost) works. See 141,16.

Aeschines: see H. Dittmar, Aischines von Sphettos. Studien zur Literaturgeschichte der Sokratiker, Berlin 1912.

Plato: on his eloquence see 141,15; 142,5; 148,13.

135,3–4 *nostra memoria*: 'in my young days' (Fronto's, not Marcus'). The four persons are given in chronological order. The youngest, Athenodotus, was Fronto's teacher, see at 17,8. The other three were dead in 120, so *nostra memoria* indicates that Fronto was not born later than 100 AD, see at 25,3. In two more passages Fronto uses *nostra memoria* for events that occurred before 120: 145,5 and 206,8 (Trajan's Parthian campaign, 114–116). It seems probable that Fronto had heard of Euphrates, Dio and Timocrates when they were in Rome, see at 24,8, and it was also in Rome that Athenodotus and Dionysius Tenuis were his teachers, see at 17,8. Therefore it is unlikely that Fronto came to Rome under Hadrian, as Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 69, assumes. Fronto's argument is evident: even modern Stoics whom Marcus admired did not reject eloquence, and actually Marcus in his Meditations praises Euphrates (10,31), Dio (1,14) and Athenodotus (1,13).

Euphrates: Plin. Epist. 1,10 had heard him in Rome and speaks highly of him. See Ed. Zeller, Die Philosophie der Griechen III^{4} 1, Leipzig 1903, 737; H. von Arnim, Euphrates, RE VI 1 (1907); A. Stein, Euphrates 121, PIR III^{2} (1943).

Dio Cocceianus Chrysostomus was in Rome at the end of the first century AD. See Desideri, Dione di Prusa.

Timocrates: a disciple of Euphrates, and according to Lucian. Demon. 3 a philosopher φωνήν τε καὶ γνώμην μάλιτα κεκοσμήμενος. See W. Capelle, Timokrates 14, RE VI A (1937).

Athenodotus: see at 17,8.

C. *Musonius* Rufus (c. 30–100), a Roman eques, born in Volsinii, twice exiled but rehabilitated by Titus. A convincing moralist who converted many an adversary to Stoicism.

If we have correctly assumed that these four philosophers were staying in Rome during the last decade of the first century, we can understand why Musonius is called their *magister*, though Fronto is the only one to testify to such mastership and we should not interpret *magister* as Musonius being their superior in eloquence, as has been done by Zeller l.l. and Grimal, Deux figures 373 n. 2. A.N. Sherwin-White, The Letters of Pliny, a Historical and Social Commentary, Oxford 1966, 108, has justly corrected their view.

135,5 *neque minus quam*: see at 66,7f.

135,6–9 Another outburst against Epictetus, whose Ὑπομνήματα Marcus had received from Rusticus (Medit. 1,7). Epictetus was born as a slave, he was crippled and poor: see the testimonies in Schenkl XVIff. The reasoning is: of course Epictetus did not deliberately formulate his ideas in such a miserable style, he simply had no talent; and of course he would not have worn dirty clothes if he had had better ones; and of course he would not wilfully have been a slave or a cripple if he could have helped it. Housman and Desideri understand this passage better than Haines and Della Corte.

135,9 (marg. d) *Voluntarias*: for the adjective instead of an adverb see Kühner I 236.

Verborum sordes: see at 156,3.

The words *ita eloquentia*... *incolumitate* (line 23) may be Fronto's.

135,7 *pallium*: the mantle of the poor—and often hypocritical—philosopher, as 140,7. Lucian. Bis acc. 6 τὸ δὲ νῦν εἶναι οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσοι τρίβωνες καὶ βακτηρίαι καὶ πῆραι; Demon. 48 Κυνικὸν τρίβωνα μὲν καὶ πήραν ἔχοντα. See also 19; Gell. 9,2,4 *video, inquit Herodes, barbam et pallium, philosophum non video*; Vita Marci 2,6 *duodecimum annum ingressus habitum philosophi sumpsit*... *cum studeret in pallio.*

Obsitum: Liv. 2,23,3 *obsita erat squalore vestis*; 29,16,6 *legati*... *obsiti squalore et sordibus.*

135,10 Chronology: see at 133,1f.

135,11 In the gap we can supply something like 'the orator must know how'.

Loca etc.: these are not rhetorical terms; the point is how to use the right word in the right place; see at 56,15. So we must know where to find the words (*loca*, as 136,9, not *locos*!) and what the 'rank, weight, age and dignity' (Haines) of each word is. These *loca* Fronto calls 136,6f. the *regiones verborum et saltus*, where *saltus* indicates that those words are often difficult to find ('die offenen und versteckten Aufenthaltsorte', Anni Schmitt, Das

Bild 57); *saltus* is not 'coverts' (Haines), see at 136,9 (marg. c). The image reminds us of the hunter in search of the quarry (see at 57,18 and 136,6–8) and resembles that of Quint. Inst. 5,10,20f. in his chapter *De argumentis: locos (argumentorum) appello . . . sedes argumentorum, in quibus latent, ex quibus sunt petenda.* Arguments are like animals: *alia planis gaudent, alia saxosis, regionibus etiam litoribusque discreta sunt.* Further on Fronto even speaks of *verborum populus* (135,17), 'word-population' (Haines), and *verborum praesidia* (136,2), 'word-redoubts' rather than 'word-reinforcements' (Haines), of *castella verborum* and *conciliabula verborum* (136,9 marg. c), 'the boroughs and market towns of words' (rather than 'fortresses' and 'assembly-places' [Haines]).

Gradus: words can be downstairs or upstairs.

Pondera: also 8,19; 56,18; cp. *pondera sententiarum* 119,10. For *pondus verborum* see Cic. De orat. 2,72; Brut. 265; Hor. Epist. 2,2,112; Quint. Inst. 9,4,83; 10,1,97; and at 272,18.

Aetates: cp. Varro, L.L. 7,3 *verborum poeticorum aetas*; Quint. Inst. 8,3,24 *(verbis) propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas.*

Dignitates: Gell. 1,23,3 *virtutes dignitatesque verborum . . . quaeris.*

135,12 *praepostere*: 'back to front', 'in the wrong place'. Haines' *praepostera* is a printer's error; he translates 'absurdly'.

135,13 *conlocentur*: see at 56,15.

Ratio: 'principle' (Haines), 'criterio' (Portalupi).

135,13–15 *geminandi . . . ponendi*: making combinations in groups of two, three, four or five words or cola. See at 215,13. It has nothing to do with the rhetorical term gemination or epanaphora (see at 97,4) but with *verba multiiuga*, see at 134,3. Such combinations can consist of synonyms (e.g. 235,24), synonyms with rhyme and pun (21,2; 25,4; 34,10; 48,19f.) or short cola (e.g. 78,19f.; 137,17ff.; 138,4–8; 236,12; 241,16f.). An example of five words we find 135,16f. *investigata . . . cognita*, with clear distinction and climax. Such combinations, however, can be out of place in a simple narration: 215,13 *neque verba multa geminata supervacanea interficiet.*

Trigeminare occurs only here. In order to vary his exposition, Fronto avoids in what follows the words *quadruplicandi*, *quinquiplicandi* and *quinquiplicia.*

Superlata: 'or even extended further than that' (Haines), 'to a higher degree', from *superferre*, not from *superlatus* ('espressioni iperboliche' [Portalupi]).

135,15 *frustra*: 'to no purpose' (Haines). The more or less abundant combination *frustra temere* also Lucr. 2,1060 and 5,1002 *temere, incassum frustraque*; Cic. Arat. 32 *frustra temere*; Planc. Cic. Fam. 10,9,1.

135,16 *certo . . . uniantur*: 'be combined within fixed and intelligent limits' (Haines).

135,17 *finita*: 'defined' (Haines), 'qualified'.

Ut ita dixerim is said since Quintilian and Pliny junior. Cicero, Livy and others have *ut ita dicam.* See at 1,10f. Here it is used to soften the unusual *populus verborum.*

Since Niebuhr all editors read, with the margin, *de populo*, but we do not have to if we combine *populo* and *utemur*, which is as hard as combining *de populo* and *legimus.* The whole sentence is anacoluthic.

Verborum omnium populus: 'the whole word-population' (Haines), i.e. 'I'

tero patrimonio della lingua nazionale' (Portalupi, Umgangssprache 156), not 'termini populari' (Castorina, Il circolo 181).

135,18 *voluntarios*: since Marius, private soldiers were volunteers, but the *conquisitores* or *dilectatores* did not content themselves with those men who reported of their own accord: they recruited all young men they could get. Men. Dig. 49,16,4,10 *plerumque voluntario milite numeri supplentur*. So the *latentes* are not 'quelli che si tengono nascosti' (Portalupi) but 'the sulkers' (Haines).

136,1 *militari aetate*: for recruiting, men between seventeen and thirty-seven years old were considered; see G. Forni, Il reclutamente delle legioni da Augusto a Diocletiano, Milano 1953, 135ff.

Conquirimus: 'to recruit', a military term. Cp. Quint. Inst. 9,3,5 on the *figurae verborum: se non obvias fuisse dicenti, sed conquisitas et ex omnibus latebris extractas congestasque declarant.*

136,3 *ad imperandum indagabimus*: 'we shall hunt them up to attend orders'. The expression *ad imperandum* itself leaves undecided who gives the orders, and it only seems to have a passive meaning: 'for service' (Haines). Apparently it is an old military expression: the soldier reported with the words *ad imperandum*, 'zum Befehl'. Cic. Fam. 9,25,2 *nunc ades ad imperandum vel ad parendum potius; sic enim antiqui loquebantur*, where the words *vel ad parendum potius* show that it was an uncommon and old-fashioned term. It is also used by Sall. Iug. 62,8 *cum ipse (Iugurtha) ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur*, 'to take orders'; see Kühner I 728f. Fronto, who was all but a military man, may have borrowed it from Sallust.

Indagabimus: see at 151,25.

Hic: 'at this point' (Haines); see at 18,11.

136,4 *conventum*: cp. Sall. Iug. 112,2 *cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse*; Liv. 30,43,7 *quibus conventis*. Impersonal *ita conventum* Turpil. Com. 141. Klussmann follows Schaefer, and Haines adopts Heindorf's *commentandum*. According to Mai, Fronto refers to Ad Caes. IV 3 p. 56, a letter written more than twenty years before.

136,5 *verba quaerantur*: see at 57,16.

Hiantes oscitantesque: 'gaping openmouthed' (Haines). Priebe I 17 supposes that Fronto quotes Caecil. Com. 273 *quid enim oscitans hietansque restas?*

Quando: 'when', not 'till' (Haines) or 'che' (Portalupi). Leopardi, too, thought that here *quando* was the same as *donec* or *dum*.

136,6 *Palladium*: 'a gift from heaven', cp. e.g. Cic. Fin. 1,63 *illa quae quasi delapsa de caelo est ad cognitionem omnium regula*; Serv. Ann. 2,166.

Depluat: quasi-poetical; when speaking of the descent of the Palladium, authors use verbs such as *decidere, cadere, descendere, demitti, delabi*. Cp. Tibull. 2,5,72 *multus ut in terras deplueretque lapis*; Colum. 10,206 *inque sinus matris violento depluit* (*defluit* var. lect.) *imbre (Iuppiter)*. Sometimes *defluere* is used of stars: Avien. Arat. 755 *Sirius alto defluit ab caelo*. MSS occasionally confuse *defluere* and *diffluere*; the latter cannot be considered here.

136,6–8 *regiones... vestigandum*: see at 57,18; 135,11. Cic. De orat. 2,146f. *scrutari locos ex quibus argumenta eruamus... nosse regiones, intra quas venere et pervestiges quod quaeras*; Orat. 141 *quae (praeceptio) quidem ipsa auxilium ab eloquentia*

saepe peteret, ea vero repugnante vix suas regiones finesque defenderet; Top. 7 *ut igitur earum rerum, quae absconditae sunt, demonstrato et notato loco facilis inventio est, sic, cum pervestigare argumentum aliquod volumus, locos nosse debemus; sic enim appellatae ab Aristotele sunt hae quasi sedes, e quibus argumenta promuntur.*

Quaesitis: 'choice words' (Haines). Della Corte and Portalupi have been led astray by Priebe II 4, W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1, and Selvatico, Scambio 215 n. 115, who regard *quaesitis opus sit* as taken from Plaut. Curc. 596 *mi quaesitost opus*, translating 'quando sia necessario cercarle'. But *opus est* in this sense is only used with a singular ablative of the participle, see at 63,19.

Ut is repeated because of the interposed *ubi* sentence and to emphasize *per viam*: an expert knows where to go and find the right word.

136,8 *invio* = *per invium*, 'along untrodden ground'. As a substantive, we usually have the plural *invia*; only Sen. Dial. 2,1,2 has the singular: *prima tantum pars (Stoicae philosophiae) saxa rupesque habet et invii speciem.* Fronto is the only one to have the ablative *invio*; cp. Liv. 44,5,6 *solido procedebat elephantus*; see Kühner I 350f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 131.

136,9 *loca*: see at 135,11.

The words *sed ratione in itinere quaerantur* of the margin are in A 403, so we must assume that they are a free rendering of Fronto's words.

(marg. b) The same thought 159,9–17.

Novum verbum: Fronto turns against all neologisms and *verba ficta* (159,15). Only *poetis concessum est* ὀνοματοποιεῖν, *verba nova fingere* (45,19, a passage completely misunderstood by Marache, Critique 143f. and Mots 14). Yet there are quite a number of words which occur only, or for the first time, in Fronto (marked ** or * in the Index), but these new forms are mostly new comparatives and superlatives, new adverbs, compounds and diminutives. See at 57,16. On neologisms, Cic. De orat. 3,152ff. *tria sunt igitur in verbo simplici quae orator adferat ad inlustrandam atque exornandam orationem: aut inusitatum verbum aut novatum aut translatum. inusitata sunt prisca fere ac vetustate ab usu cotidiani sermonis iam diu intermissa... novantur autem verba, quae ab eo qui dicit, ipso gignuntur ac fiunt*; Orat. 12 *et me saepe nova videri dicere intellego, cum pervetera dicam*; 80 *aut tralatum aut factum ab ipso aut priscum et inusitatum*; 81 *tenuis orator... nec in faciendis verbis erit audax*; Sen. Epist. 114,10 *in oratione quod novum est quaerit et modo antiqua verba atque exsoleta revocat ac profert, modo fingit*; Quint. Inst. 1,5,71f. *(verba) nova non sine quodam periculo fingimus... minime nobis concessa est* ὀνοματοποιία; 1,6,39 shows how we must understand Fronto: *verba a vetustate repetita non solum magnos adsertores habent, sed etiam adferunt orationi maiestatem aliquam non sine delectatione; nam et auctoritatem antiquitatis habent et, quia intermissa sunt, gratiam novitati similem parant*; 8,3,24 *propriis (verbis) dignitatem dat antiquitas*; 8,3,30 *fingere... Graecis magis concessum est*; 8,3,35 *neque enim accedo Celso, qui ab oratore verba fingi vetat*; 8,6,31f. *onomatopoeia quidem, id est fictio nominis, Graecis inter maximas habita virtutes, nobis vix permittitur... vix illa quae* πεποιημένα *vocant... nobis permittimus*; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 4,3,3 *nova ibi verba, quia vetusta* (see at 272,7). See also Varro, L.L. 9,34; Gell. 1,15,18; 4,15,1; 15,25,1; 16,7; 19,7,2; and Pennacini, La funzione.

Aes adulterinum: 'forged money'. The same image 159,10; cp. Cic. Off. 3,91; Lex Cornelia Dig. 48,10,9 pr.; Plin. Nat. 33,132; Paul. Sent. 5,25,1.

Unum et id verbum: 'one word and precisely that word'. *Et* is often used as *et quidem*: 9,14; 20,2; 214,4. See also *idque* 55,1 and *atque id* 62,20. Mai's conjecture has been adopted by Novák (1897), Haines and Marache, Critique 151: 'un seul et même mot'.

Delectet: see at 144,14.

(marg. c) *castella verborum* and *conciliabula verborum*: see at 135,11 and 236,19. The orator should not be above (*respuerit*) looking for the right word in humble places: it is often found, not in the great Roman writers, but in popular language which has conserved a good deal of old Roman stock: 150,22 *ego immo volgaribus et obsoletis (verbis utor)*. *Conciliabulum* in the sense of 'market town' is often combined with words such as *pagus, forum, oppidum, municipium*; with *castellum*, 'borough', Lex Rubr. (CIL XI 1146) 2,2; 2,58 *foro, veico, conciliabulo, castello*; Frontin. Grom. p. 35 *aut colonicus* (sc. *ager*) *aut alicuius castelli aut conciliabuli aut saltus* (see 136,7); Tert. Apol. 37,4 *urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra*; Prud. Apoth. 710 *vicos, castella, macellum, oppida, mercatus et conciliabula et urbes respuerant.*

136,10–14 (with marg. d) Almost all Stoic philosophers have written a Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος. Fronto's source (*ille* 137,4 and *audisse me memini* 140,1) is probably his teacher Athenodotus, see at 17,8. Stoics often distinguish *officiorum genera duo*: τὰ κατορθώματα or τὰ τέλεια καθήκοντα (*officia perfecta*) and τὰ καθήκοντα μέσα (*officia media*), see von Arnim III frg. 494. The first category embraces τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐνεργήματα and is not relevant here. What counts for Fronto is the second category: in daily life there are a lot of things which, in themselves, are neither good nor bad; yet everyone has to choose (ἐκλογή, *dilectus* or *electio* 138,19) what *secundum naturam vivere* means to him, and Fronto thinks that the pursuit of eloquence is an *officium Caesarum* (138,4). Fronto's (or Athenodotus') *tripertitae rationes* ('categories' [Haines]) of the *officia media* are not found anywhere else, and they differ considerably from the categories given by Cicero (Off. 1,9; Fin. 3,20 and 4,14f.). Apparently, they are of a more recent date than Cicero's Stoic sources. In Marcus' Meditations the problem of the *officia* hardly matters, see Medit. 1,12.

136,12 *substantiae*: 'existence' (Haines): in order to live, man must eat. Explicative *ut* is usually put after a substantive with *hic* or *is*, e.g. Plaut. Most. 27 *hocine boni esse officium servi existimas, ut*; Fronto 137,3–5 *hac ratione . . . ut*. Here after ordinalia. See Kühner II 246f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 645.

Qualitatis: ποιότης. Each man's functions *sunt qualitati cuiusque accommodata* (137,17); eloquence may not be a necessity for everyone, but it is for an emperor (138,3ff.).

136,13 *rei*: 'objective' (Haines). Haines notes: 'The third class is that of objective or result, the two previous *officia* enabling him to discharge the third. This third class is concerned wholly with *negotia*, work done, and is self-contained. Under this comes *sapientia*. Since a man must live before he can be wise, a *munus*, like eating, is an *officium* of the wise man, though it

has no direct connexion with his *negotium*, which is wisdom. Eating belongs to *species prima*, which is common to all men, but wisdom to *species tertia*. The pursuit of eloquence comes under *species secunda*, which varies with every man.' See also Champlin, Fronto 122f.

Superiora officia sc. *substantiae* and *qualitatis*.

136,14 *exerceat*: 'executes'; it is explained by the more usual *expleat* in the margin.

136,15 *ritu*: 'way', 'modo' (Portalupi).

The form *promiscus* is found in Varro, Livy, Tacitus and later authors.

137,1 *capiscendae: capiscere* and *capescere* instead of *capessere* are found in some MSS and in the Glossaria.

137,2 *exercendae sapientiae*: cp. Quint. Inst. 1,4,6 *subtilitas quae . . . exercere . . . eruditionem ac scientiam possit.*

137,2–3 *tertiam . . . terminatam*: 'by this third class, however, I mean that of objective and that which has its end in the work to be done' (Haines), not 'io dico che questa terza specie è limitata solo agli affari' (Portalupi).

Se contentam may render αὐτάρκης.

137,3–5 *hac . . . ut*: see at 136,12; 'by this division of obligations . . . those would count as' (Haines).

137,4 *si tamen*: see at 82,12.

137,5 *molimenta*: the Stoic ὁρμή, 'appetence', 'impulse'.

137,6 *vitam salutemque*: the πρῶτα οἰκεῖα. Cp. Cic. Off. 1,12 *(natura hominem impellit ut) studeat parare ea, quae suppeditent ad cultum et ad victum. Accurare* occurs several times in Plautus and also in Colum. 12 praef. 2 *victus et cultus humanus . . . accurandus erat.*

137,6–7 *prandere . . . ungui*: quite different Medit. 6,13 οἷον δὴ τὸ φαντασίαν λαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄψων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐδωδίμων, ὅτι νεκρὸσ οὗτος ἰχθύος, οὗτος δὲ νεκρὸς ὄρνιθος ἢ χοίρου. See also Medit. 8,24.

Lavari: see at 74,6. *Lavari et ungui*: see at 223,10f.

137,8–10 The meaning must be: 'and yet neither at the baths can anyone lave himself with wisdom, nor when he has dined at table (with a select company [*circuli*]), and after the meal had occasion to vomit, will bring up wisdom' (Haines).

Ad mensam: 'at table', as Plaut. Inc. frg. 41; Mart. 2,57,7; Scaev. Dig. 2,14,47,1.

Vomerit: in three articles, P. Rasi (see critical bibliography) has referred to the Carmen de Pascha 52 Hartel, where we find *evomisse* in the most important MSS. He and Petri, Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol. 26, 1909, 1014, regard this form as an archaism.

137,10–11 The underlying thought may be: unless you eat you cannot have life, and you cannot have wisdom unless you live; so to be wise you must eat.

137,12 *istic*: 'on that point', see at 1,11.

137,14 *sine vita*: the margin adds *quae cibo constat*, 'based on food'; it may be part of Fronto's text.

Qua sine: anastrophic *sine* is mainly found in poetry (e.g. Lucr. 4,1173; Verg. Ecl. 10,48; Hor. Sat. 1,3,68; 1,5,99), but also in prose (e.g. Cic. Inv. 2,40).

137,17ff. See at 135,13–15.

137,18f. *gubernatori* and *puguli* are collective singulars. There is nothing wrong with *commune* (κοινόν), in spite of L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 78, and Rosati, Nota 205f.; the latter wants to read *comminutis* or *comminutum* (he is supported by Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 380, and by Portalupi[2]): on the one hand we have the *communia omnium*, 'obligations common to all', on the other *commune* with dative, in the sense of 'usual' (Haines), 'normal'. The TLL does not quote our passage; however, it falls under the heading IV: = 'par', 'humilis', 'simplex', e.g. Paneg. 12,14,4 *epulae mensis communibus parciores*. The helmsman has an easy life, especially compared with the prizefighter's, and his job may have been proverbial: Cic. Cato 17 *si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant* (see at 48,3), *cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi*; and there is the proverb *tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est* (Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. gubernator). Fronto is playing with the different meanings of *communis*, see Hofmann-Szantyr 709.

138,1 *de*: 'consisting of'; cp. Verg. Georg. 3,13 *templum de marmore*. Gudeman, TLL s.v. de 60,72, correctly explains: 'ex integris suum dorsis constat' (not of oxen, as Haines thinks); see at 144,21.

The form *tegus* occurs in Plaut. Capt. 902; 915; Pseud. 198; Varro, L.L. 5,110. It is a vulgar form rather than an adoption from Plautus or an unknown poet, as Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 thinks.

138,2 *pervigilatio* in its original sense: 'time of staying awake'. Before Fronto only in Cic. Leg. 2,37 'night feast'.

138,3 *an*: not 'whether' (Haines) but 'if (perhaps) not'; a positive answer is expected, as after other verba considerandi: *periculum facere* 42,12M; *agitare* 97,11; *temptare* 143,12; *deliberare* 157,17; *putare* 193,7; (*fac me ut sim certus* 265,8). On the other hand, *an* is 'whether' after *videre* 26,19; *fac sciam* 65,5M; *scribe* 75,7M; *percontari* 117,3; (*quaerere* 263,26). See also at 57,28.

138,4–8 *Caesarum est*: see at 122,11; 123,1–10. I have not seen A. Pennacini, Eloquenza dell'imperatore. See at 135,13–15.

138,4–5 *senatu . . . populum*: in 161 Fronto wrote: *an parum animadvertis, quanto studio quantoque favore et voluptate dicentem te audiat senatus populusque Romanus?* (88,25ff.). This might mean that this letter is of a later date.

Populum appellare: in the imperial age, the *contio* is no more than the public listening to the announcement of new *edicta*, cp. e.g. Vita Pii 12,3 *omnium quae gessit, et in senatu et per edicta rationem reddidit*. These edicts still had the form of a speech, sometimes delivered by the emperor himself (by Galba, Tac. Hist. 1,90,2; by Alexander Severus, Vita Al. Sev. 3,4; 25,11) or read by an official: 35,20 it is Marcus Caesar who does so; see also Vita Claud. 7,1. Sometimes such *edicta* were simply posted up. See also at 17,16f., where Fronto speaks *in contione*. It is significant that Tacitus, speaking of the announcement of such *edicta*, sometimes does not use the word *populus* but *plebs*, 'the public'.

Plerisque negotiis: such as law and order, building, traffic, the supply of water and corn, congiaria, spectacles, theatre, the installation of new magistrates, public funerals etc. See Suet. Aug. 53; Cal. 45; Galba 15; Tac. Ann. 3,6,1; 4,67,1; 5,5,1; 11,13,1; 13,17,4; 14,45,3; 15,36,2; and Mommsen,

Staatsrecht I[3] 197ff.; Liebenam, Contio, RE IV (1901); G.W. Botsford, The Roman Assemblies from Their Origin to the End of the Republic, 1909, 139ff.; and at 140,10.

Appellare: according to the contents of the edict, it means 'to address', 'to admonish' or 'to warn'.

Ius iniustum: an etymological figure in the form of an oxymoron. Cp. Ter. Haut. 796 *ius summum saepe summa est malitia*; Cic. Off. 1,33 *summum ius, summa iniuria*; Ovid. Trist. 5,10,43 *iniustum rigido ius dicitur ense*; Epiced. Drusi 54 *iniquum ius sibi... facit (Fortuna)*; Gaius, Inst. 3,25 and 3,41 speaks of the *iuris iniquitas*; see also Dig. 1,1 pr. and Instit. Iust. 1,1 pr. Liv. 21,3,4 *iusto iure*. See Otto s.v. ius 1 and Nachträge zu Otto 174f. For such an oxymoron cp. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 888 γένος ἄγονον. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1214 and Eurip. Hel. 690 γάμος ἄγαμος (= *innuptae nuptiae* Trag. inc. frg. 80 Ribbeck); Cic. Phil. 1,5 *insepulta sepultura.*

138,6 *litteras*: the epistulae principis or rescripta, usually drafted by the ab epistulis. As Caesar, Marcus wrote them himself, see at 45,18; 63,12; as emperor, only the more important ones, see at 276,9f.; 276,25.

Compellare: see at 113,9.

138,7 *coercere*: 'to punish', cp. *delicta coercere* Hor. Sat. 1,3,79; Suet. Galba 9; *peccata coercere* Apul. Flor. 9,36; Augustin. Civ. 17,9.

138,9 *non*: see at 42,20.

Note the alliteration *tibi totiens tantisque.*

138,13 *Homerus*: Plato, Phaedr. 261 b: Nestor and Odysseus used their leisure by drawing up a discourse on rhetoric, and so the thought occurred that Homer was the source of all eloquence: Odysseus stands for the ἁδρόν, Menelaus for the ἰσνόν, Nestor for the μέσον (see at 49,14f.). Cic. Brut. 50 *Menelaum ipsum dulcem illum quidem tradit Homerus, sed pauca dicentem* (Il. III 214); Rep. 5,11 (quoted by Gell. 12,2,7) *Menelao Laconi quaedam fuit suaviloquens iucunditas... breviloquentiam in dicendo colat*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,64 *Homerus brevem quidem cum iucunditate et propriam... et carentem supervacuis eloquentiam Menelao dedit... et ex ore Nestoris dixit dulciorem melle profluere sermonem* (Il. I 249), *qua certe delectatione nihil fingi maius potest, sed summam expressurus est in Ulixe facundiam et magnitudinem illi vocis et vim orationis... tribuit* (Il. III 221ff.); Gell. 6,14,7 *ea ipsa genera dicendi iam antiquitus tradita ab Homero sunt tria in tribus: magnificum in Ulixe et ubertum, subtile in Menelao et cohibitum, mixtum moderatumque in Nestore*; Auson. Grat. act. 4,19 *certent huic sententiae veteres illi et Homerici oratores, subtilis deducta oratione Menelaus et instar profundae grandinis ductor Ithacensius et melleo delibutus eloquio iam tertiae Nestor aetatis.* See also Plato, Phaedr. 261 b and f; Cic. Brut. 40; 50; Sen. Epist. 40,2; Tac. Dial. 16,5; Plin. Epist. 1,20,22; Gell. 1,15,3. On Thersites see Quint. Inst. 11,1,137; Gell. 1,15,11; Ammian. 30,4,15. See Tolkiehn, De Homeri auctoritate 233ff.; Kennedy, The Ancient Dispute 23ff. The genitive *Thersitae* corresponds to forms such as *Anchisae, Achatae, Aeschinae*, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 513f., so it is not necessary to assume a nominative *Thersita.* However, for the genitive *Philoctetae* 139,10 we have the nominative *Philocteta.*

Ulixi: this genitive also 6,9M. It is modelled on the genitive of Greek names ending in -ης, genitive -ου, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 507f.; R.G. Austin,

P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber secundus, Oxford 1966, 30. So we have *Alcibiadi* 230,19; *Euphrati* 212,22 (but *Euphratis* 209,4); *Herculi* 204,2 (marg. a); *Herodi* 13,14M?; *Menoetiadi* 189,7; *Thucydidi* 124,12. But *Ap[p]ellis* 128,15 (marg. d) and *Mithridatis* 124,13. Words in -ης, genitive -ου, have twice a genitive *-is: Antisthenis* 141,16; *Cleanthis* 140,6; but *Polycrati* 223,9 and *Socrati* 64,12. For the genitive of *Achilles* see at 139,9, for *Phalaridi* at 181,1 and *Parthamasiri* at 212,14.

138,13–14 *habitus et status*: 'mien and attitude' (Haines); cp. Quint. Inst. 11,3,2 *voce, vultu, totius prope habitu corporis inardescunt.* See at 14,14.

138,14 *modulationum . . . diversa*: 'different kinds of euphony in eloquence'. In view of what precedes, we may assume that Fronto is going to argue that each *genus eloquentiae* has its own euphony, which is confirmed by 215,22f. Euphony is achieved by *collocatio verborum* (see at 56,15) and by rhythmic clausulae (see at 17,19). *Modulatio* is a musical term, see Vitruv. 5,4,3; Quint. Inst. 1,10,22; and G. Wille, Musica Roma, Amsterdam 1967. Cp. 147,9 *pastores suis modulati . . . fistulis*, 'to play the flute'; 147,10 *fistulae longe avibus modulatiores*, 'more melodious' (Haines); 229,17 *modulorum . . . et tibicinum studio devinctus*, 'melodies' or 'music' (both Haines). Cp. *modulatus* IV at 203,3 (marg. b). These terms are often applied to rhetoric. Haines mostly translates 'rhythmical', but 'armonioso' (Portalupi) or 'euphonious' seems to be better: 124,8 *Cicero modulatius* (the comparative of the adverb occurs here for the first time); 132,1 *verba modulatius collocasti* (cp. Quint. Inst. 1,20,25 *collocationis et vocis . . . modulatione*); 147,6 *vocis modulatae amatores*, 'melodious' (Haines); 156,3 *verba modulate collocata* has a pejorative sense and is almost the same as *effiminate fluentia.* Gellius uses these words for prose rhythm: 1,4,4 *agmen orationis . . . modulo ipso numerorum venustum*; 1,7 tit. *pauca de modulis numerisque orationis.*

138,15 (marg. c) For *quisquam* in rhetorical questions see Kühner I 638.

(marg. d) *Apelles* and *Alexander*: Plin. Nat. 35,85 *Alexandro Magno . . . in officina imperite multa disserenti silentium comiter suadebat, rideri eum dicens a pueris qui colores tererent.* The same story in Plut. De adul. 15 and Tranquill. an. 12, but instead of Alexander it is here the Persian Megabyzus. In Aelian. Var. hist. 2,2 the story is told of Megabyzus and the painter Zeuxis.

Subterunt: 'pestano' (Portalupi), not 'mix' (Haines).

Purpurissum: see at 157,7.

(marg. e) *peritiā deficitur*: 'gli manca la competenza' (Portalupi), not 'his skill is at fault' (Haines). We are dealing with *aliquis deficitur (ab) aliqua re.* Note the alliteration and the homoioteleuton *deficitur . . . despiciatur.*

(marg. f) *notae*: 'rimprovero' (Portalupi).

(marg. g) *relictus* is noted here as a rare substantive occurring for the first time; not 'rimasto' (Portalupi). Gell. 3,1,9 *eos .. occupatos videmus, ut . . . corporis studium relictui sit.*

(marg. h) *tibi*: see at 47,1.

Etiam supersit: 'is even more than enough for fame' (Haines).

138,16 (marg. i) *comis*: Cic. Orat. 128 *duo sunt quae . . . admirabilem eloquentiam faciunt, quorum alterum est quod Graeci ἠθικόν vocant, ad naturas et ad mores et ad omnem vitae consuetudinem accommodatum . . .; illud . . . come, iucundum,*

139,16–17 *quid tandem*: 'what on earth is the matter?'

139,17 *iuste iudicaris*: this was a point Marcus was proud of, see at 95,17f. and 231,2, and see Medit. 3,6,1; 4,33; 6,50; 9,10.

139,18 *parentis*: for Marcus' veneration of Pius see at 93,21.

Spernabere: spernari occurs only in Iuv. 4,4 and Gloss. II 187,36; *spernare* in Itala Luc. 18,9.

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Tametsi introducing a principal sentence: 'and yet' (Haines); see at 118,9–11.

139,20–22 *Plato* etc.: Plut. An seni 1 καλὸν ἐντάφιον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου δόξαν τῷ θανάτῳ προστίθησι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔσχατον δύεται κατὰ γᾶς, ὥς φησι Σιμωνίδης. 'Glory is the last thing to follow a man into the grave', i.e. his glory will outlive him. Εντάφιον means here 'funeral offering' (so C.M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, Oxford 1936, 365), not 'shroud' or 'tomb' (so H. Fraenkl, Nachr. v. d. Gesell. d. Wiss. Göttingen 1924, Phil. Hist. Kl., Berlin 1925, 100 n. 3). Τοῦτο does not refer to ἐντάφτον but to the whole preceding sentence. A correct interpretation is given by W.J. Oates, The Influence of Simonides of Ceos upon Horace, Princeton 1932, 45. However, Simonides' statement differs considerably from Fronto's: according to Fronto, glory for the philosopher is the last temptation which he should not avoid too hastily. The first part of this saying (*periculosa . . . fuga*) is not found in Plato, but cp. Lucian. Peregr. 38 ἐνενόουν τὸ φιλόδοξον οἷόν τί ἐστιν ἀναλογιζόμενος, ὡς μόνος οὗτος ὁ ἔρως ἄφυκτος. The second part, however, is well attested: Tac. Hist. 4,6,1 *erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur (Helvidius), quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur*, and Athenaeus, a contemporary of Fronto, attributes XI 507 D the saying also to Plato: ἔσχατον τὸν τῆς δόξης χιτῶνα ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῷ ἀποδυόμεθα, and so does Euagr. Hist. Eccl. 1,21. For other variations, see J. Schweighaeuser, Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas VI, Argentorati 1804 ad locum. It is not found in the Paroemiographi Graeci, nor in Otto's Sprichwörter, but it is clear that Fronto did not borrow it from Tacitus, as has been assumed by Crossley, The Correspondence 71f., who compares Milton's 'Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise (that last infirmity of noble mind) to scorn delights'; by Priebe II 13; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 33; Teuffel 3,75; Schanz III^3 100; Selvatico, Scambio 294 n. 278; and L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 79. See Mayor, Fronto and Tacitus; Schneidewin, Fronto und Tacitus; Cobet, Fronto et Tacitus.

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139,23 *erit*: fut. gnomicum, which means that *in novissimum usque vitae finem* stands for as long as he will be read. See Kühner I 142f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 310.

140,1 *audisse*: perhaps from Athenodotus, see at 17,8; 136,10 (marg. d).

140,1–2 *in placitis*: several conjectures (and perhaps the reading of m[2] *scil[l]icet*) have as a starting-point that we are dealing with a parenthesis, which is unlikely, considering the following *interdum nonnulla in usu habere debere*. In Hauler's unedited reading, *placita* and *consulta* are synonymous: 'resolutions' and 'decisions'. Haines has *id est in scitis mentis atque consultis*, 'in their mental rules and postulates'; Portalupi[1] has *id inest in* etc. Portalupi[2] reads with Timpanaro *in dogmatis id est in scitis atque consultis*, 'nella maggior parte delle loro dottrine cioè nelle loro teorie ed opinione', but the points at issue here are the ἀδιάφορα, not the principles or postulates; according to 138,19, wise men first examine (*consilium, dilectus, opinio*), then make their choice, come to a decision (*optio, lectio*). Even if we read *in scitis*, the translation must be 'decisions', not 'rules' (Haines) or 'Grundsätze' (Georges). Fronto himself distinguishes between *placita* and *consulta* on the one hand, and *dogmata* on the other. The *placita Stoicorum* of Tac. Hist. 3,81,1 seem to be quite different: they are 'principles', 'doctrines', as in Sen. Epist. 95,10 *quae Graeci vocant dogmata* (Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius) *nobis vel decreta* (Cicero, Seneca, Gellius) *licet appellare vel scita* (Seneca, Apuleius) vel placita (Pliny, Tacitus). Our passage seems to resemble Apul. Plat. 1,4 *quae autem consulta, quae* δόγματα *Graece licet dici, ad utilitatem hominum vivendique . . . rationem extulerit, hinc ordiemur*, but in his Budé edition J. Beaujeu translates *consulta* by 'réflexions' and δόγματα by 'théories'.

Mentis: 'intellectual', genitive instead of adjective.

140,3 *in usu habere* is rare: Varro, R.R. 2,6,4; Quint. Inst. 12,11,21; Plin. Pan. 88,3.

Dogmatis: 'tenets' (Haines), 'teoricamente' (Portalupi). This ablative is found only here, cp. *poematis* 106,13 (marg. d). Greek neutra ending in -μα are sometimes declined as feminina, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 501f., and so we have *dogmam* 249,18M, but *dogmate* 249,7M.

140,4 *usum*: 'practice' (Haines).

140,6–8 Eloquence and emperorship: see at 122,11. At first, Marcus shrank from his task (Vita Marci 5,3), until he realized that he had to live up to his duty (Medit. 5,15; 6,12).

140,6 *fac*: 'suppose' (Haines), not 'cerca' (Portalupi). Gloss. V 658,13 *fac aliquando pro finge accipitur*, e.g. Cic. Verr. 2,141 *fac ita esse*; Sen. Benef. 4,18,2 *fac nos singulos* (sc. *esse*). See Ph. Thielmann, Facere mit dem Infinitiv, Archiv 3, 1886, 179.

140,7 *ingratiis*: 'against your will' (Haines).

Purpureum pallium: the emperor wore a purple *paludamentum* or, on special occasions, a purple *toga picta* (see at 15,11; 19,5), not a *purpureum pallium*, which is only mentioned in late authors: Vita Probi 10,5; Vita Albi 2,5; Ammian. 22,9,11. Fronto speaks here of a purple *pallium* because he wants to emphasize that an emperor cannot at the same time wear the *pallium philosophorum* and the imperial purple. Note the alliteration.

140,7–8 Priebe; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 25; Marache, Mots 95; and

139,16–17 *quid tandem*: 'what on earth is the matter?'

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139,23 *erit*: fut. gnomicum, which means that *in novissimum usque vitae finem* stands for as long as he will be read. See Kühner I 142f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 310.

140,1 *audisse*: perhaps from Athenodotus, see at 17,8; 136,10 (marg. d).

140,1–2 *in placitis*: several conjectures (and perhaps the reading of m[2] *scil[l]icet*) have as a starting-point that we are dealing with a parenthesis, which is unlikely, considering the following *interdum nonnulla in usu habere debere*. In Hauler's unedited reading, *placita* and *consulta* are synonymous: 'resolutions' and 'decisions'. Haines has *id est in scitis mentis atque consultis*, 'in their mental rules and postulates'; Portalupi[1] has *id inest in* etc. Portalupi[2] reads with Timpanaro *in dogmatis id est in scitis atque consultis*, 'nella maggior parte delle loro dottrine cioè nelle loro teorie ed opinione', but the points at issue here are the ἀδιάφορα, not the principles or postulates; according to 138,19, wise men first examine (*consilium, dilectus, opinio*), then make their choice, come to a decision (*optio, lectio*). Even if we read *in scitis*, the translation must be 'decisions', not 'rules' (Haines) or 'Grundsätze' (Georges). Fronto himself distinguishes between *placita* and *consulta* on the one hand, and *dogmata* on the other. The *placita Stoicorum* of Tac. Hist. 3,81,1 seem to be quite different: they are 'principles', 'doctrines', as in Sen. Epist. 95,10 *quae Graeci vocant dogmata* (Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius) *nobis vel decreta* (Cicero, Seneca, Gellius) *licet appellare vel scita* (Seneca, Apuleius) vel placita (Pliny, Tacitus). Our passage seems to resemble Apul. Plat. 1,4 *quae autem consulta, quae* δόγματα *Graece licet dici, ad utilitatem hominum vivendique* . . . *rationem extulerit, hinc ordiemur*, but in his Budé edition J. Beaujeu translates *consulta* by 'réflexions' and δόγματα by 'théories'.

Mentis: 'intellectual', genitive instead of adjective.

140,3 *in usu habere* is rare: Varro, R.R. 2,6,4; Quint. Inst. 12,11,21; Plin. Pan. 88,3.

Dogmatis: 'tenets' (Haines), 'teoricamente' (Portalupi). This ablative is found only here, cp. *poematis* 106,13 (marg. d). Greek neutra ending in -μα are sometimes declined as feminina, see Neue-Wagener I[3] 501f., and so we have *dogmam* 249,18M, but *dogmate* 249,7M.

140,4 *usum*: 'practice' (Haines).

140,6–8 Eloquence and emperorship: see at 122,11. At first, Marcus shrank from his task (Vita Marci 5,3), until he realized that he had to live up to his duty (Medit. 5,15; 6,12).

140,6 *fac*: 'suppose' (Haines), not 'cerca' (Portalupi). Gloss. V 658,13 *fac aliquando pro finge accipitur*, e.g. Cic. Verr. 2,141 *fac ita esse*; Sen. Benef. 4,18,2 *fac nos singulos* (sc. *esse*). See Ph. Thielmann, Facere mit dem Infinitiv, Archiv 3, 1886, 179.

140,7 *ingratiis*: 'against your will' (Haines).

Purpureum pallium: the emperor wore a purple *paludamentum* or, on special occasions, a purple *toga picta* (see at 15,11; 19,5), not a *purpureum pallium*, which is only mentioned in late authors: Vita Probi 10,5; Vita Albi 2,5; Ammian. 22,9,11. Fronto speaks here of a purple *pallium* because he wants to emphasize that an emperor cannot at the same time wear the *pallium philosophorum* and the imperial purple. Note the alliteration.

140,7–8 Priebe; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 25; Marache, Mots 95; and

A. Daviault, Comoedia togata, Fragments, Paris 1981, 93f., see here a possible quotation from Titinius, Com. 3 *ego ab lana soloci ad purpuram data*, but *solox* is also found in Lucil. 1246; Fest. p. 301; Tert. Pall. 4,4; Symm. Epist. 1,1,2; and Philarg. Verg. Georg. 3,385. For the abl. qualitatis see at 194,4.

(marg. a) *si* = *etiamsi.*

Consucidum: a new word: 'fresh', in the sense of not cleaned; not 'wool newly shorn' (Haines); Varro, R.R. 2,11,6 *a . . . sudore recens lana tonsa sucida appellata est.* Normally, the wool was cleaned and washed before it was used for a pallium. Apparently Stoic philosophers wore cloaks made of sheepskin with the dirt still on it. It has nothing to do with the *sucina* girl of Plaut. Mil. 787.

(marg. b) Cleanthes: Diog. Laert. 7,168 πένης ὢν . . . νύκτωρ μὲ ἐν τοῖς κήποις ἤντλει . . . ὅθεν καὶ Φρεάντλης ἐκλήθη. See at 149,9.

Tibi: contrary to Cleanthes.

Curandum exprimatur: see at 37,11; 113,10.

Crocum: see at 8,16. Ovid. Ars 1,104 *tunc* (in Romulus' time) . . . *nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco*; Prop. 4,1,16 *pulpita sollemnis non oluere crocos*; Sen. Epist. 90,15 *qui invenit, quemadmodum in inmensam altitudinem crocum latentibus fistulis exprimat*; Lucan. 9,809 *solet pariter totis se effundere signis Corycii pressura croci* (Adnot. super Lucan. *quam [pressuram] in amphitheatro fieri scimus, cum ex omnibus locis hoc iaculatur unguentum*); Mart. 3,65,2; 5,25,8 *rubro pulpita nimbo spargere et effuso permaduisse croco*; 9,38,5; 11,8,2; Vita Hadr. 19,5 *in honorem Traiani balsama et crocum per gradus theatri fluere iussit*; Apul. Met. 10,34,2 *tunc de summo montis cacumine per quandam latentem fistulam in excelsum prorumpit vino crocus diluta sparsimque defluens pascentis circa capellas odoro perpluit imbre . . . iamque tota suave fraglante cavea montem illum ligneum terrae vorago decepit.* On the *Ctesibica machina* which produced such saffron water see Vitruv. 10,7 and A.G. Drachmann, The Mechanical Technology of Greek and Roman Antiquity, Copenhagen 1963, 155f.

140,9 (marg. c) *Diogenes*: Diog. Laert. 6,21 ἔνιοι δέ φασι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν λαβόντα τὸ νόμισμα διαφθεῖραι. Suda s.v. πολλῆς οὔσης αὐτῷ ὑπεριδὼν οὐσίας.

(marg. d) *pro mea mente et parte*: 'in accordance with my inclination and possibilities', 'per parte mia e secondo le mie intenzioni' (Portalupi); see at 227,6. J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v. mens, does not believe in Hauler's reading. Liv. 23,33,10 *bellum pro parte sua . . . gereret.*

140,10 *seirint*: earlier editions present this sentence as a question, but M. Haupt, Emendantur Frontonis epistulae 8, has seen the correct interpretation: *seirint* (= *sirint* = *siverint*) is the subjunctive of the perfect and has, in a negative wish, the same meaning as *sinant.* The form *seirint* also in Plaut. Merc. 613 *ne di seirint.* It is a sacral formula (not a quotation from Plautus l.l., as Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115, thinks); cp. Plaut. Bacch. 468 *ne di sirint*; Merc. 323 *ne di siverint*; Cornelia, Epist. fragm. ap. Nepotem, *ne ille sirit Iuppiter*; Liv. 28,28,11 *ne istuc Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit*; 34,24,1 *ne istuc Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit Iunoque regina*; Curt. 5,8,13 *nec di siverint*; 10,6,20 *nec di sierint*; Petron. 112,6 *ne istud dii sinant*; 126,9 *nec hoc dii sinant*; Plin. Epist. 2,2,3 *illud enim nec di sinant ut.*

Comitium et rostra et tribunalia: a rhetorical anachronism: in Fronto's time it was only used for proclamations, see at 138,4f.

140,12 *vocalem*: 'vocal' (Haines), in the sense of 'risonante di voci' (Portalupi).

140,14 *exsicari*: the form *exsicare* also in Plaut. Rud. 122 and Cato Agr. 42. *Non* should not be altered, see at 42,20.

140,15 *ut*: Naber's reading *et* is more appropriate.

141,1 *Tereus* cut out his sister-in-law Philomela's tongue in order to keep his evil deed secret. Lycurgus interdicted the Dionysus cult.

Tandem: see at 11,13.

Admisit: 'did he commit' (Haines), as 238,9.

141,2 *quam* is correct after *quid* in the sense of *quid aliud*. Hofmann-Szantyr 595 present only examples of the fourth century.

Gentibus ac nationibus: this expression was coined by Cic. Verr. II 5,188. *Gentes nationesque* Verr. II 4,108.

141,3 *undique gentium*: see at 118,21.

Tamen: see at 76,22.

141,6 *Minerva*: the *quinquatrus* (19 March) was the *artificum dies*; on that day the grammatici and the rhetores received the *Minerval*, a gift of their pupils.

141,7 *praeditus* with dative: see at 43,8.

Paeanum: hymns in honour of Apollo, who was their *auctor*, 'establisher' or 'inventor', after having killed the python.

Cognitor: 'patron', 'defender' (Haines), not 'connoisseur', as Lambertz, TLL s.v., thinks. Cp. Manil. 5,322 *cognitor est urbis*; Quint. Decl. 345 p. 363,13 *non dabitis tyrannicidiis cognitorem*.

The *Fauni* enunciate the mysterious voices of nature and they are the instigators of prophets: Verg. Aen. 7,81 *oracula Fauni, fatidici genitoris, adit*; Cic. Brut. 71, Orat. 171, and Varro, L.L. 7,36, quote from Ennius *(versus) quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant*; Nemes. Ecl. 2,73 *formosus Apollo, Pan doctus, Fauni vates*. See also Fest. 325; Serv. Aen. 7,47; 7,81; Plut. Quaest. Rom. 20; and A. Lippold, Faunus, Kleine Pauly (1967).

141,8 *incitatores*: this word occurs here for the first time; later in Cyprianus and others.

Calliope is since Hesiod. Theog. 79 the Muse of epic poetry.

Enni: Homer appeared to Ennius in a dream and inspired him to write the Annals, see at 7,15; 203,14.

141,10 *tum si*: see at 139,11.

Rebus: 'actualities', 'practice' (Haines), as opposed to *ceratinae* etc.

141,11–12 *discere . . . fidicularia*: Marcus, Medit. 1,7 παρὰ Ῥουστίκου . . . τὸ μὴ ἐκτραπῆναι εἰς ζῆλον σοφιστικόν, μηδὲ τὸ συγγράφειν περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων. 1,17 Marcus is grateful μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἴς τινα σοφιστὴν . . . ἢ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν. 7,67 ἀπήλπισας διαλεκτικὸς καὶ φυσικὸς ἔσεσθαι. 8,1 τὸ εὖ ζῆν οὐκ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς. So Fronto seems to tilt at windmills, for we can hardly assume that in the sixties Marcus was engaged on dialectics; see at 143,4 and 151,22. However, Vita Avid. Cass. 3,5 calls Marcus also a *dialogista*. See at 151,22f.

Ceratinas: Gell. 18,2,9 (and Sen. Epist. 49,8; Diog. Laert. 7,187) *quaesitum*

est, in quibus verbis captionum istarum fraus esset:... quod non perdidisti, habes; cornua non perdidisti; habes igitur cornua. On this and the following fallacies see Cic. Lucull. 92; 147; Sen. Epist. 45,8; Lucian Dial. Mort. 1,2; Conv. 23; Diog. Laert. 2,108; 2,111; 7,44; 7,82; Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. 2,241. The Latin form is found only here and Quint. Inst. 1,10,5.

Soritas: σωρ(ε)ίτης, the 'heap problem': how many grains make a heap? Cic. Lucull. 49 *hoc reprehendendum, quod captiosissimo genere interrogationis utuntur,... quom aliquid minutatim et gradatim additur aut demitur: soritas hoc vocant qui acervum efficiunt uno addito grano.* Cic. Div. 2,11 *quomodo autem mentientem, quem* ψευδόμενον *vocant, dissolvas aut quemadmodum soriti resistas (quem, si necesse sit, Latino verbo liceat 'acervalem' appellare, sed nihil opus est; ut enim ipsa philosophia et multa verba Graecorum, sic sorites satis Latino sermone tritus est)?* And, indeed, *acervalis* was not successful. See also Cic. Hort. frg. 45 K; Lucull. 92; 147; Hor. Epist. 2,1,47; Sen. Benef. 5,19,7; Pers. 6,80; Mart. Cap. 4,327; Apoll. Sid. Carm. 23,119; Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. 9,182; Pyrrh. 3,80.

Pseudomenus: the 'liar syllogism'. The acc. plur. of Greek words of the second declination is sometimes *-us*, see Neue-Wagener I³ 209. The Latin form also in Cic. Hort. frg. 45 K; Lucull. 147; Sen. Epist. 45,10. Cic. Lucull. 95 *quid igitur haec vera an falsa sunt, si te mentiri dicis idque verum dicis, mentiris <et si te mentiri dicis idque mentiris>, verum dicis?* Gell. 18,2,10 *quaesitum ibi est, quae esset huius quoque sophismatis resolutio: cum mentior et mentiri me dico, mentior an verum dico?* Ψευδόμενον Cic. Div. 2,11.

141,12 *contorta et fidicularia*: 'verbal quibbles and entanglements' (Haines); 'giochi di parole contorti come corde' (Portalupi); 'parole torte e intrecciate' (Della Corte); 'mots contournés et qui mettent à la torture', or 'tordus comme une corde' or 'd'une mécanique compliquée' (Marache, Mots 53). For *contorta* cp. e.g. Cic. Lucull. 75 *contorta et aculeata quaedam sophismata*; 98 *istos aculeos et totum tortuosum genus disputandi*; Hieron. Epist. 57,12 *syllogismos Aristotelis contortaque Chrysippi acumina. Fidicularius* occurs only here and in Gloss. III 309,55, where it is erroneously explained as φορτιαφόρος. According to our lexica, *fidiculae* are instruments of torture, used when applying the *eculeus*, the 'little horse', but its exact nature is not clear, perhaps cords set with *ungulae*, 'iron claws'. These cords tied the person fast to the horse, after which his limbs were extracted. Cp. Val. Max. 3,3 ext. 5 *rupit enim verbera, fidiculas laxavit, solvit eculeum*; Ps. Quint. Decl. 19,12 *tendebam fidiculas.* So *fidicularius* seems to mean 'like twisted cords', 'entangled'. See Hitzig, Fidicula, RE VI (1907); J. Vergote, Folterwerkzeuge, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1969); D. Medicus, Tormenta, Kleine Pauly (1975).

141,13 *maiestatem* also 153,16; *nitorem* also 27,12M.

141,14 *loqui... eloqui*: 'mere speaking'; 'real speaking' (Haines), speaking with eloquence. Note the pun.

Potius is abundant.

Friguttire: 'twitter', 'prattle', 'twaddle', not 'mumble' (Haines), 'cincischiare' (Portalupi) or 'balbettare' (Della Corte). Cp. Plaut. Cas. 267 *quid friguttis?* Ennius ap. Fulg. Serm. ant. 19 *anus admodum friguttit*; Iul. Vict. Rhet. 26 *qui sicci ac sobrii nihil sunt, eos madidos frigittere.* W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1; Priebe I 14; Hofer; and Marache, Mots 94,

regard it as an archaism, but it is rather a colloquialism, a word from the nursery. Fr. Vollmer, TLL s.v., thinks that it is an onomatopoeia. A younger form—since Apuleius—is *fringultire.*

141,15 *clangere*: metaphor of the sound of the tuba, see at 35,22. Cp. Hieron. Adv. Pel. 1,33 *audi apostolum evangelica clangentem tuba.*

Diodori: Diodorus of Iasus, Megarian school, c. 300 BC. Diog. Laert. 2,111 πρῶτος δόξας εὑρηκέναι τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ κερατίνην λόγον κατά τινας. Cic. Lucull. 75 *Stilponem, Diodorum, Alexinum, quorum sunt contorta et aculeata quaedam sophismata.* Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. 1,310 calls him διαλεκτικώτατος. See H. Dörrie, Diodoros 9, Kleine Pauly (1967).

Alexini: Alexinus of Elis, a contemporary of Zeno. Diog. Laert. 2,109 ἀνὴρ φιλονεικότατος· διὸ καὶ Ἐλεγχεῖνος ἐπεκλήθη. Fronto calls him 143,3 *sycophanta*, 'humbug'.

Verba verbis: polyptoton.

Xenophontis: in his Memorabilia Socratis and Symposium.

141,16 *ut si*: see at 16,1.

Quis: see at 162,23.

Histrioniae: it is hardly possible to keep *histrioni* as a metonymy: 'anyone with a passion for the stage' (Haines), though *studiosus* is found with dative (Plaut. Mil. 802; Iustin. 9,8,4; Vita Hadr. 2,1). From a palaeographical point of view, Klussmann's *histrionis* as dat. neutrum plur. (= *histrioniis*, see Proleg. XXXIV) would be the best solution, but the adjective *histrionius* occurs only in *histrionia* sc. *ars* (since Plaut. Amph. 90). For the pantomimes see at 47,1; 154,15.

Tasurci: *Tasurc(i)us*, an unknown and apparently inferior actor.

141,17 Q. *Roscius* Gallus: see at 14,14. His gesticulation is praised by Cic. De orat. 1,251; 3,102; Val. Max. 8,7,7; 8,10,2; Tac. Dial. 20,3. See at 14,14. *Roscius'* name became proverbial, see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v.

141,17–18 Both *rana* and *delphinus* appear in proverbs, see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. rana, and Stebbins, The Dolphin 90,

141,18 *coturnicum*: the form *cotornix* also as a variant in Varro, R.R. 3,5,2. In proverbs the eagle is opposed to the dove and the screech-owl, not to the quail, see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. aquila 4.

Breviculis: see at 44,8.

141,20 Cic. Tusc. 1,12 *ubi est acumen tuum?*

Evigila: Fronto is the first to use this verb metaphorically; particularly the imperative became popular: Apul. Met. 2,6,4 *evigila et tecum esto*; Claud. Max. Anim. 3,3 *evigila . . . ac . . . intuere*, and in other authors.

141,21 *Chrysippus*: pour les besoins de la cause, Fronto credits the most important of all Stoics with stylistic qualities. Especially Cicero criticizes his style: Lucull. 73 *quis hunc philosophum* (sc. *Democritum*) *non anteponit Cleanthi, Chrysippo, reliquis inferioris aetatis, qui mihi cum illo collati quintae classis videntur*; De orat. 2,159 *genus sermonis adfert non liquidum, non fusum ac profluens, sed exile, aridum, concisum ac minutum*; Par. Stoic. praef. 2 *quae (haeresis) nullum sequitur florem orationis neque dilatat argumentum; minutis interrogatiunculis quasi punctis quod proposuit, efficit*; Brut. 118 *ut omnes fere Stoici . . . traducti a disputando ad dicendum inopes reperiantur*; Fin. 4,7 *scripsit artem rhetoricam Cleanthes, Chrysippus etiam,*

sed sic, ut, si quis obmutescere concupierit, nihil aliud legere debeat; Lucian. Icarom. 24 calls Chrysippus' syllogisms ψυχροί.

Contentus with infinitive: in poetry since Publilius Syrus, in prose since Velleius, Celsus and others.

141,22 *explanare*: 'to explain in detail'; cp. Cic. De orat. 2,82 *(facio iudicem) docilem... cum doceo et explano*; Brut. 152 *rem... latentem explicare definiendo, obscuram explanare interpretando.*

141,22–142,3 We must realize that there are ten Latin terms to seven Greek ones, and that only four of them are identical: *auget* = αὔξειν, *iterat* = πάλιν λέγειν, *accommodat* = παράπτειν and *personam fingit* = προσωποποιεῖν. So we must stick to the traditional text if we do not want to rewrite with Orth the whole passage. The terms used are only partly rhetorical.

141,22 *auget*: see at 75,16.

In quantum: see at 51,2.

Exaggerat is not identical with δασκευάζειν, 'to elaborate', see at 75,16 and 89,8.

141,23 *praemunit*: 'he forestalls objections' (Haines), not 'lo difende' (Portalupi). For the rhetorical term *praemunitio* (προκατάληψις, προδιόρθωσις), see Cic. Orat. 137; De orat. 2,304; 3,32; 3,204; Quint. Inst. 4,2,71; 7,10,12; 8,3,37; 9,2,2; 9,2,17 *mire... valet praesumptio, quae* πρόληψις *dicitur, cum id, quod obici potest, occupamus...; diversas species habet; est enim quaedam praemunitio*; Rufin. 32 p. 46 Halm προϋπεργασία *vel* παρασκευή: *praemunitio, qua ante utimur, ut confirmetur id quod subiecturi sumus; ut si testem producturi sumus, ante necesse est ei fidem habendam esse doceamus... Cicero Pro Milone* (3,7) *ante praemunit licere hominem occidere et tum subicit occisum P. Clodium iure* etc. I now regret that I have written 142,2 προϋπεργάζεσθαι, which is never used as a rhetorical term, and προϋπεργασία occurs only in Rufinianus. We should keep ἐξεργάζεσθαι, 'to work out', 'to treat fully' (Haines). (Add to the passages quoted by Liddell & Scott: Quint. Inst. 8,3,88.)

Iterat, 'he repeats' (Haines), is not the rhetorical *iteratio* of 97,4.

Differt: 'he postpones' (Haines).

Recurrit: 'he harks back' (Haines).

Interrogat: the Stoic puts a question to which the answer must be either yes or no. Sen. Benef. 7,4,1 *dic mihi, quemadmodum potest aliquis donare sapienti, si omnia sapientis sunt. nam id quoque quod illi donat, ipsius est. itaque non potest dari beneficium sapienti... idem autem me scito et de amicis interrogare: omnia dicitis illis esse communia*; Epist. 87,35 *Posidonius sic interrogandum ait: quae neque magnitudinem animo dant nec fiduciam nec securitatem, non sunt bona. divitiae autem et bona valetudo* (see at 64,7f.) *et similia his nihil horum faciunt; ergo non sunt bona.* See also Cic. Fat. 28 *sic... interrogant.*

Describit: 'describes' (Haines), 'circumscribes'. The following *dividit* shows that we should not read *discribit* with Heraeus.

141,31 *Mire*: see at 90,28.

142,1 *personas fingit* is a rhetorical term, 'to introduce fictitious characters' (Haines), as e.g. the fatherland in Cic. Cat. 1,17; Orat. 85. Quint. Inst. 9,2,29ff. discusses various kinds of *fictiones personarum, quae* προσωποποιίας

dicuntur and he adds: *sunt quidam qui has demum* προσωποποιίας *dicant, in quibus et corpora et verba fingimus: sermones hominum adsimulatos dicere* διαλόγους *malunt, quod Latinorum quidam dixerunt sermocinationem. ego iam recepto more utrumque eodem modo appellavi; nam certe sermo fingi non potest, ut non personae sermo fingatur.* Fronto belongs to these *Latinorum quidam*: he distinguishes between προσωποποιία (*personas fingit*) and *sermocinatio* (*orationem suam alii accommodat*). See also Rhet. Her. 4,43,55; 4,52,65; Quint. Inst. 3,8,49f.; 6,1,25; 9,3,89; 11,1,39; and Lausberg, Handbuch 411ff.

Accommodat is synonymous with παράπτειν, 'to adapt', 'to make the application' (Haines). Liddell & Scott have only the medium of this verb (Soph. Oed. Col. 717 χερσὶ παραπτομένα πλάτα is not passive).

142,2 διασκευάζειν also 75,16.

142,4 *oratorum arma*: see at 39,16f.; 130,9–13.

142,5 *ut ne* after *postulo* also Cic. Verr. II 2,38; II 3,115; Cluent. 6. After *dicere* Fronto ap. Gell. 263,16 and Venul. Dig. 43,23,2. In the passages of Cicero, *ut ne* is used for stylistic reasons instead of *ne*; in our passage, a single *ne* would give a negative meaning to *sed potius Platonis*. See Kühner II 209; Hofmann-Szantyr 643; and at 263,16.

Dialecticorum: Cic. De orat. 2,157–161 founds his objections to Stoic dialectics on more reasonable grounds: *in hac arte* (sc. διαλεκτική), *si modo est haec ars, nullum est praeceptum, quo modo verum inveniatur, sed tantum est, quo modo iudicetur.* Gudeman, TLL s.v. dialecticus, erroneously thinks that Fronto is aiming at the Peripatetics, see 143,6; 144,2.

Platonis: see at 135,3 (marg. b).

142,6 *convenit* with acc. cum inf. since Plautus.

142,7 *robiginoso*: Plaut. Stich. 230 and Mart. 5,28,7 are the only writers before Fronto who use this word, but this does not mean that it is an archaism, as Schwierczina, Frontoniana 20; Priebe I 15; Hofer; and Lannoy assume; see at 128,5.

Interest with *utrum . . . an* only in Iavol. Dig. 28,5,64 and Iulian. Dig. 34,5,13,3.

142,9 (marg. b.) *Epictetum*: Fronto had an aversion to him, see 135,6ff., but Epictetus had little interest in dialectics.

Sub platanis (also 142,12 marg. d) seems to refer to Plato, Paedr. 229 a, see at 249,14f.

(marg. c) *ausus esset* sc. Epictetus. Fronto ridicules his epitaph (Anthol. Pal. 7,676; Macrob. 1,11,45; Ioh. Chrys. Hom. 13 PG LX 111 Migne):

> δοῦλος Ἐπίκτητος γενόμην καὶ σῶμ' ἀνάπηρος
> καὶ πενίην Ἶρος καὶ φίλος ἀθανάτοις

and he confronts it with the dignified words of Simonides (frg. 90):

> Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
> χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν

and frg. 96:

> Ὦ ξεῖν', εὔυδρόν ποτε ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,

νῦν δ' ἄμ' Αἴαντος νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς
Ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἑλόντες
καὶ Μήδους ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα.

Before Fronto, the word *epitaphium* occurs only in Varro, Men. 110. *Epitaphium dicere* is used as *versum dicere, carmen dicere.*

Lucem: 'lustre'.

Pertulisset: 'to be able to transmit'.

143,2 (with marg. a) *Aesopus*: see at 14,14. He is also called *tragicus* by Porphyr. Hor. Sat. 2,3,239. It is an actor's task to put himself in his character's shoes: Cic. De orat. 2,193; Quint. Inst. 6,2,34.

Induisse: induere aliquid alicui rei in poetry since Ovid. Am. 2,15,4; in prose since Seneca and the elder Pliny.

Personam: each role had its own mask. See C. Fensterbusch, Maske, Kleine Pauly (1968).

Ex adverso: 'sitting in front of it'.

Contemplaretur with infinitive only here; with acc. cum inf. since Frontin. Strat. 1,2,7. However, the scholiast may have altered the original text. Fronto has certainly written *voltu*, see at 186,1.

Pericles: another argument that philosophy should be combined with rhetoric. Cic. Orat. 15 *in Phaedro Platonis* (269 e) *hoc Periclem praestitisse ceteris dicit oratoribus Socrates, quod is Anaxagorae physici fuerit auditor*; De rep. 1,25 *Pericles ille et auctoritate et eloquentia et consilio princeps... docuisse cives suos dicitur id, quod ipse ab Anaxagora, cuius auditor fuerat, acceperat*; Brut. 44 *ab Anaxagora physico eruditus*; De orat. 3,138; Plut. Pericl. 4,3ff.

Alexini: see at 141,15.

143,3 *sycophantae*: not 'sycophant' (Haines) or 'cavillatore' (Portalupi[1]), but 'swindler', 'humbug', as several times in Plautus and Terence, and e.g. Gell. 14,1,32. Prud. Apoth. praef. 25 *solvunt ligantque quaestionum vincula per syllogismos plectiles. vae captiosis sycophantarum strophis!* Cp. Apul. Met. 7,12,1. It is of course not an archaism, as Schwierczina, Frontoniana 24, and Hofer assume.

143,4 (marg. c) *conamen*: a poetical word.

Stillicidiis: Fronto attacks the natural philosophy of the Stoa, as well as (in marg. e) *tu de fulmine disputas.* Again, Fronto tilts at windmills, see at 141,11f.

(marg. e) *fulmine*: see the second book of Sen. Nat. quaestiones.

(marg. f) *an*: see at 75,19.

Maiorem rem (Niebuhr and Haines) is tempting, but I have not followed them because it concerns a marginal note.

Amphiaraum: the thought is: it is more important for an emperor to speak with eloquence of the disaster of an earthquake than to write a tragedy on the fate of Amphiaraus, who met his death when Zeus' lightning split the earth and he was swallowed up by the abyss. Does Fronto have in mind the earthquake of Cyzicus? See at 89,3. Carcinus and Cleophon wrote a tragedy called Amphiaraus.

143,5–6 (and marg. g) Here must have been written the words *dabit philosophia... dicas.*

143,8 *dignam sensibus*: see at 10,10–12.

143,9 *augustius*: Cic. Brut. 83 *non . . . quo de religione dici possit augustius*; Tac. Dial. 4,2 *sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam*; Suet. frg. 4 Reiff.; Apul. Plat. 3.

143,10 *extolle* etc.: Acc. Trag. 407 *ego me extollo in abietem altam*. The text and the meaning of Acc. Trag. 261 are uncertain.

Tortores: 'tormentatori' (Portalupi), not 'tree-twisters' (Haines).

143,11 *chamaetorta*: according to the Anonymus in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung 1817, it is a hybrid formed for the occasion; it occurs nowhere else. Dwarf trees (see at 265,8f.) are indicated by *chamae-* and Fronto seems to connect it with *tortus* (cp. *tortores* and *retortus* 144,1 marg. a): 'maltreated dwarf trees', 'cespugli rachitici' (Portalupi). Fronto was very much against such artificial growing, see at 4,15. Niebuhr's *chamaestrota*, 'plants stretched on the ground', has been adopted by Klussmann, Georges, Hofer, Graeber (TLL s.v. detraho) and Haines, but this meaning is found nowhere else. The plural χαμαίστρωτα means 'a bed on the floor'. On hybrids see at 41,22.

143,12 *tempta an*: 'examine if (perhaps) not', see at 138,3.

Comitem philosophiae: rhetoric.

144,1 (marg. a) *gibberosos*: 'crooked' (Haines). Fronto is the only one to use this word metaphorically.

Has sc. *sententias, elocutiones* or a similar word.

Tenueris: 'to adhere to' or 'to take in' (Haines), 'se raggiungerai' (Portalupi).

144,2 *nescias*: 'you would ignore' (Haines).

De . . . tenes: 'do you take anything in from your dialectics?' (Haines). *Ecquid* refers to *de*, see at 21,1; it is not an adverb, as J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v., assumes. As often in Cicero, *dialecticis* is neutrum plur.

144,3 *nolo* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

144,4 *tenuerim*: up to now all editors had *tenueris*: 'though you have kept many of your friends loyal to this teaching' (Haines) or 'poiché hai avuto molti amici in questa disciplina' (Portalupi[1], who has corrected her reading in the second edition). As *disciplina* is here 'philosophy', it is better to read 'because I have had', for Fronto had friends among philosophers: Rusticus (88,4) and Iulius Aquilinus (174,3).

On the gap after A 389 see Proleg. LIII n. 7 and LIV n. 4.

144,6 (marg. b) O. Seyffert, Philol. 29, 1870, 398f., saw here a trochaic septenarius: *Cónsiliario huíc magis aetati ópus est quam auxiliário*, but W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXX n. 1; Ehrenthal 44; and Priebe II 5 see it as a free quotation from Plaut. Truc. 216 *magisque adeo ei consiliarius hic amicust quam auxiliarius*. Marcus is no longer a disciple who needs help but an emperor who needs a counsellor.

144,7 *exordiorum*: it is not clear whether it here means the same as *prooemiorum*; see at 155,4.

144,11 (and marg. c) In his unedited notes Hauler has corrected his reading of Wien. Stud. 23, 1901, 338 (see also TLL VI 2,2847,33; cp. Proleg. LXXVII). *Mutilum perficrere*: 'to set in order what is mutilated', rather than 'to complete what is imperfect' (Haines). There are two passages which

explain what Fronto means: Cic. Orat. 32 *cum mutila quaedam et hiantia locuti sunt (oratores), . . . germanos se putant esse Thucydidas.* Thucydidean brevity has led them to incomprehensibility, a general remark. More specific is Cic. Orat. 177f. in a discussion on the *orationis numerus: aures enim vel animus aurium nuntio naturalem quandam in se continet vocum omnium mensionem. itaque et longiora et breviora iudicat et perfecta ac moderata semper exspectat. mutila sentit quaedam et quasi decurtata, quibus . . . offenditur, productiora alia et quasi immoderatius excurrentia . . . animadversum est . . . esse quosdam certos cursus conclusionesque verborum.* The point of this passage of Fronto is that a period should have its correct order of words and a smooth rounding off, which is achieved in the first place by avoiding what is *hiulcum* and *asperum*. *Hiulcum* is the hiatus and *asperum* is the situation when, at the end of a word and the beginning of the next one, two rough consonants (*s*, *x*, *r* or *f*) come upon one another, especially at the end of a sentence. See at 19,2; 134,2; 215,16f.; and Lausberg, Handbuch 475f. Both *hiulcus* and *asper* are grammatical and rhetorical terms: Cic. De orat. 3,171 *componere et struere verba sic, ut neve asper eorum concursus neve hiulcus sit, sed quodammodo coagmentatus et levis*; Orat. 150 *ne extremorum verborum cum insequentibus primis concursus aut hiulcas voces efficiat aut asperas*; 77 (quoted by Quint. Inst. 9,4,37) *verba etiam verbis quasi coagmentare neglegat; habet enim ille tamquam hiatus et concursus vocalium molle quiddam*; Quint. Inst. 9,4,33 *vocalium concursus qui cum accidit, hiat et intersistit et quasi laborat oratio*; Fronto 215,16 *laborandum est, ne quid inconcinnum vel hiulcum relinquatur*; Hieron. In Zacch. 3 praef. *(oratio) vel hiulca vocalibus fit vel aspera consonantibus.* See also Cic. De orat. 3,45; Auson 340 p. 158 P.; Scaur. Gramm. VII 30,1; Iul. Vict. Rhet. 20. Haines and Portalupi have misinterpreted our passage.

Fartis iugare: 'to link by means of insertions'; in the margin it is rendered by *explere.*

Asperum levigare (of *levis*, 'smooth'): Ovid. Fast. 5,481 *aspera mutata est in lenem . . . littera* (the *r* into *l*); Quint. Inst. 9,4,37 *(consonantes) asperiores in commissura verborum rixantur, ut s ultima cum x proxima, quarum tristior etiam, si binae collidantur, stridor est, ut 'ars studiorum'.* Fronto is the first to use *levigare* for 'smoothing sounds'; cp. Ter. Maur. 454 *quos* ἱππεῖς *solebant aut* Ἀχαρνῆς *dicere, levigant* ἱππῆσ*que potius aut* Ἀχαρνῆς *nominant.* See also Charis. 13,32 B. Apparently, in a certain document Marcus had sinned against these rules.

144,12 *copias* 'resources' (Haines).

We must read *sectabare* because of *fulciebas* in line 19. Fronto reproaches Marcus for giving up his former interest in rhetorical devices.

144,13 *augendi*: see at 75,16.

144,14–15 *permovendi* etc.: the genitives depend on *potentiam ac potestatem.*

144,14 *permovendi delectandique*: Cic. Brut. 276 *ut (orator) doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret*; Quint. Inst. 3,5,2 *ut doceat, moveat, delectet* and so 8 praef. 7; 12,2,11; 12,10,59. It seems significant that Fronto has *eloquentia docet* only once (122,14), whereas *movere* and *delectare* occur three times: 89,12; 80,8; and 136,9 (marg. b).

Ornandi, 'to praise', is followed by two verbs without counterparts, so it should not be altered. Haines, Portalupi[2] and Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 380, accept Beltrami's conjecture. The object is a person, not a speech; so

it is not 'ornare', as Plepelitis, TLL s.v. orno, assumes with Portalupi[1]. Cp. e.g. Quint. Inst. 4,2,129 *initium narrationis quidam utique faciendum a persona putant eamque, si nostra sit, ornandam, si aliena, infamandam.*

144,15 *infamandi* is the opposite of *ornandi* and should be retained, against Niebuhr, Naber, Haines, Timpanaro l.l. and Portalupi[2], who read *inflammandi*. The orator can either praise his client or defame his adversary, or try to find a compromise between these two extremes.

Alliciendi: Cic. De orat. 1,30 *dicendo . . . mentes adlicere, voluntates impellere quo velit.*

Rectam: 'downright' (Haines).

144,16 *potentiam ac potestatem*: paronomasia with alliteration, as Tac. Dial. 5,5; Tert. Resurr. 11,3.

144,17 *tum si*: see at 139,11.

Perpetuae orationis: see at 39,7.

144,18 *tumultuaris*: 'of odd moments', 'casual'. Gell. 7,16,1 *tumultuariis et inconditis* ('irregular') *linguae exercitationibus ad famam sese facundiae promiserat*; 13,25,4 *quas (voces Latinas) subsicivo aut tumultuario studio colo.*

Et lucrativis: 'yet valuable' (Haines) cannot be correct: *lucrativus* means 'of your spare time' and it occurs Cic. Att. 7,11,1 *in illo lucrativo tuo sole* (see Tyrrell & Purser's note) and Quint. Inst. 10,7,27 *neque enim fere tam est ullus dies occupatus, ut nihil lucrativae, ut Cicero Brutum facere tradit, operae ad scribendum . . . rapi aliquo momento temporis possit.* The quotation is Cic. Orat. 34 *in maximis occupationibus numquam intermittis studia doctrinae*: 'you always find spare moments for your studies' (see also Plut. Brut. 4,6; 36,4). In the same sense Fronto has *lucrativus* 105,21. Hieron. Epist. 114,1; In Ezech. 7 praef.; and In Zacch. prol. combines *lucrativus* and *furtivus.*

144,19 *fulciebas: se fulcire* only in Sen. Epist. 33,7.

144,19–145,2 For the choice of the right word see at 56,15; 57,16; 57,28ff.

144,19 *synonimis: synonymum* (*-on*) occurs here and 152,1 for the first time. 260,22 Gellius makes Fronto use the Greek συνώνυμος. Synonyms were collected and learned by heart (Quint. Inst. 10,1,7), but at the same time attention was paid to the *differentiae verborum.* See J.W. Beck, De differentiarum scriptoribus Latinis; G. Goetz, Differentiarum scriptores, RE V 1 (1903); G. Galboli, La sinonimia latina fino alla prosa classica, Quaderni d. Ist. di glottografia 8, 1964–65, 32ff. *De differentiis vocabulorum* is the title of a collection which Mai and Niebuhr inserted in their edition of Fronto, because Janus Parrhasius (Giano Parrasio, 1470–1534) had—falsely—attributed it to Fronto.

144,19–20 *verbis . . . requirendis*: see at 56,15 and 57,16. Special words are called *verba notabilia* 104,9. In the second century AD lexicography came into fashion and Statilius Maximus wrote De singularibus apud Ciceronem quoque positis.

144,20 *veterum*: see at 19,16. Authors are meant, not *verba*, as E. Baehrens in Beck's work 17 thinks.

Commata . . . cola: Cicero and Quintilian use the greek words: Orat. 211 *illa, quae nescio cur, cum Graeci* κόμματα *et* κῶλα *nominent, nos non recte incisa et*

membra dicamus; also 223; Quint. Inst. 9,4,22 *illa conexa series tris habet formas: incisa, quae* κόμματα *dicuntur, membra, quae* κῶλα, περίοδον *quae est vel ambitus vel circumductum vel continuatio vel conclusio.* Fronto does not use these Latin words because of his Greek education, see at 17,8. Before him, the Latin *comma* occurs only in Varro ap. Mar. Victorin. Gramm. VI 55,11, *colon* only in Augustus ap. Suet. Vita Verg. p. 61 R. The feminine *cola, colae* is found in Ven. Fort. Carm. praef. 1 and 5,16, but it is hardly probable here.

Synonymorum ratione converteres: 'to turn by the system of synonyms' (Haines). For *convertere*, 'to convert', 'to turn', see at 44,3. The pupil has to paraphrase parts of a sentence, using his knowledge of synonyms. See at 41,17; 152,1; 157,1. As *ut* and *aut* are frequently confused in MSS, ours included, the correction by the anonymous philologist is very likely.

144,21 *de volgaribus . . . redderes*: for *de* see at 138,1. Quite common words (sometimes colloquialisms, sometimes archaisms) which are hardly used in literary language can, in a certain context, be elegant: see at 57,16; 57,26f.; 136,9 (marg. b); 150,22; and it is possible that *verbum vetustate noscatur et novitate delectet* (136,9 marg. b).

Contaminateis: 'words soiled by daily use', not 'un' espressione eterogena' (Portalupi). Also 159,13. Gell. 2,6,25 *multo assiduoque usu totum id verbum . . . contaminatum est.*

145,1 *imaginem*: see at 65,24f.

Figuram: see at 177,22f.

Prisco verbo: see at 57,16.

145,2 *colorem*: see at 124,3.

Vetusculum occuurs here for the first time; also Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,16,2; see at 272,7 and Grammatical Index s.v. diminutives.

Adpingeres: 'to add a slight patina of age'. The verb is rare (Varro, Men. 534; Cic. Att. 2,8,2; Hor. Ars 30; Firm. Math. 4,14,20), but Fronto uses it three times: also 150,14 and 219,3.

145,3 *discendo*: see at 50,10.

145,4 *ea* in the sense of *talia.*

145,5 the first *Crassus* is well known: M. Licinius Crassus Agelastus, who lived in the second half of the second century BC; he was the grandfather of the triumvir. Cic. Tusc. 3,31 *quem (M. Crassum) semel ait in omni vita risisse Lucilius* (1299 Marx and Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. labrum 5). See for other passages Münzer, M. Licinius Crassus Agelastus, RE XIII 1 (1926), and TLL s.v. Crassus.

The photophobic Crassus is unknown. *Nostra memoria* indicates that he died before 120 AD, see at 135,3f. Mai; Reisch, TLL s.v. Crassus; Haines; Portalupi; and Champlin, Fronto 137, suppose that he was the intriguer C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus, consul in 87 and, perhaps before 113, relegated to an island, but E. Groag, Calpurnius 32, RE III (1899), and Calpurnius 259, PIR II^2, doubts it strongly, and Crassus 1599, PIR II^2, denies identity. Other identifications, such as e.g. with C. Licinius Crassus Scribonianus (Licinius 192, PIR V^2), are equally uncertain.

Hic is adverb, 'recently', because of its position between *nostra* and *memoria*; as opposed to *olim.* Portalupi regards it as a pronoun: 'l'altro Crasso',

but in that case we should translate 'junior', a usage we find when two persons of the same name are compared, e.g. Cic. Verr. II 5,25 *neque ad illius superioris Africani . . . celeritatem neque ad huius, qui postea fuit, singulare consilium*; II 4,56 *L. Pisonem . . . huius L. Pisonis . . . patrem.*

145,6 *itidem* is used in the same way by Plaut. Rud. 1158 *securicula . . . itidem aurea*; Gell. 13,21,12 *in illo quoque itidem Vergilii versu.*

Vir consularis: unknown. On agoraphobia see Pack, Camporum formido.

145,7 *Pomptinum campum* also Mart. 13,112,1; usual is *Pomptinus ager.*

145,10 Chronology: see at 133,1. On the order of the folia see Proleg. LIV.

145,14 *comes . . . opifex*: Marcus had made a wrong choice of words, see at 56,15; 57,5–18.

Opifex is sometimes used metaphorically, e.g. *verborum opifex* (Cic. Tusc. 5,34), *dicendi opifex* (Cic. Fam. 7,25,2), *ille opifex rerum* (Ovid. Met. 1,79).

145,15 *communio inter* is used since Cic. Leg. 1,23.

145,16 *ingruens diversitatem* can hardly be correct: 'in an increasing measure it shows its own contradiction'? 'Assalendoci rileva la sua deversità' (Portalupi)?

145,19–21 On word order see at 59,4ff.

Similitudine . . . formae: 'by the likeness in the form of the words' (Haines), because they are disyllable words. *Forma* is not 'elegance', as Ida Kapp, TLL s.v., asumes. A diferent and better reason why the use of *penis* is admissible is given by (Ps.?) Augustin. Dial. 7 p. 13 Crecelius: *unde enim est, quod non offenditur aurium castitas, cum audit 'manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat'? offenderetur autem, si obscena pars corporis sordido ac vulgari nomine appellaretur*, and Augustine has in mind words such as *coda* or *mentula*. The word *penis* is found in Naev. Scen. 102, in Catullus, Horace, in the Priapea, in Phaedrus, Persius, Martialis, Iuvenalis etc. Cic. Fam. 9.22,1f. *placet Stoicis suo quamque rem nomine appellare. sic enim disserunt: nihil esse obscenum, nihil turpe dictu . . . ergo in re non est, multo minus in verbis . . . hodie penis est in obscenis. at vero Piso ille Frugi in Annalibus suis queritur adulescentis 'peni deditos' esse. quod tu in epistula appellas suo nomine, ille tectius penem; sed quia multi, factum est tam obscenum quam id verbum, quo tu usus es* (sc. *mentula*). See Tyrrell & Scott ad locum and F. Ritter, Uebertriebene Scheu der Römer vor gewissen Ausdrücken und Wortverbindungen, Rhein. Mus. 3, 1844, 569–580; H. Herter, Genitalien, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1976).

145,20 *parum pudicum*: the same alliteration Plaut. Trin. 661 *parum pudere*; Val Max. 6,3,6 *parum pudicas . . . lacrimas.*

145,21 *ideo quod* with subjunctive only here in Fronto.

Praecedat: a second argument for the admissibility of the word, the *collocatio verborum*, see at 56,15.

146,1 The words *praecedant* and *haec verba* seem to imply that *manu ventre* should be added, though only Klussmann and Portalupi[2] agree with C.F.W. Müller.

146,2 *inaudita*: the reading *inedita* of m[1] probably appeared in more Fronto MSS, since m[2] does not present its reading *insolita* with the addition *in alio. Insolita* is an explanation, not a varia lectio, see Proleg. XL.

It is more difficult to defend *inedita* than *incognitam* 47,22. R. Ellis, Journ. of Philol. 1, 1868, 19, translates it by 'not found in our actual editions'. In my first edition I kept *inedita*, in the sense of 'what cannot be said' (cp. *invictus*).

146,8 See Proleg. LIII n. 7.

Trita: Lucr. 1,926f. (= 4,1f.) *Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante trita solo.*

Sensum: 'thought' (Haines). Champlin, Chronolgy, thinks that Marcus' speech in the senate is meant, on account of the Cyzican earthquake, see at 133,1, but that is not very likely: this is an awkward subject.

Dictu: Fronto is the only author to use this supinum with *periculosus*. Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 sees here a senarius: *dictú periculosum ét paene obstetrícium*, which is quite possible since *obstetricius*, 'needing a midwife's aid' (Haines), is very rare; before Fronto only Plin. Nat. 35,140 has it as a subst. neutr. plur.: *inter obstetricia dearum*, 'the activities of a midwife'. After Fronto it occurs only in Arnob. 3,10; 3,20; and Don. Ter. Andr. 473,6.

146,9 *cultu*: 'dress' (Haines), 'forma' (Portalupi).

Honestissimo: see at 57,15.

Ornatu: 'setting' (Haines) rather than 'ornamenti' (Portalupi).

146,10 σώζεό: 'may you be preserved to me' (Haines). Because of the poetic form, it seems to be a quotation rather than an epistolary formula. Callim. Del. 151f. σῴζεο χαίρων, σῴζεο. Anthol. Pal. 5,240 σώζεό σοι μέλλων ἐνέπειν. At the end of the Epistle of Barnabas we have σώζεσθε, ἀγάπης τέκνα, and Iulian. imp. Epist. 43,2 σώζοιό μοι. Procop. Epist. 128 Hercher σώζοισθέ μοι.

146,11 *librari manu*: see at 28,20; 38,4.

Consului with dative and *ab*: 'I have saved my fingers from a heavy task' (Haines). E. Lommatsch, TLL s.v. ab, erroneously thinks that *a* here means 'statim post'. Mai[1] assumes that 234,11M (see crit. app.), a letter of 161, refers to our passage; actually, however, it refers to 226,1–3.

146,12 *suspicione*: 'as they are not at present to be trusted' (Haines), because of his gout, see at 265,29.

146,13 Chronology: see at 133,1.

146,14 *Vestales*: Gell. 1,12,3 *quae lingua debili sensuve aurium deminuta aliave qua corporis labe insignita sit* cannot be chosen as a Vestal. Gellius' source is M. Antistius Labeo's De iure pontificis.

146,16 *sirbenam* (*syrbenam*): the word occurs only here. The following text and Gellius indicate that it is a corporal defect, though different from *balba*. Since Mai[1] lexicographers identify *sirbenus* with συρβηνός, 'noisy', 'turbulent', from σύρβη or τύρβη, 'confusion'; cp. the adverbs σύρβα (τύρβα), 'pell-mell', συρβάβυττα, 'topsy-turvy' (which A. Nauck, Philol. 2, 1847, 154f., altered to σύρβα τύρβα, see Paroemiographi Graeci II p. 212). Buttmann alone is not convinced of the identification with συρβηνός, but he has no alternative. Georges: 'verworren redend'; Haines and the Italian translators: 'that speaks indistinctly'.

146,18–147,1 *balbuttientium* etc.: according to Haines, these lines must be out of place because the same subject is treated in De orat. 156,15f. See Quint. Inst. 11,3 *De pronuntiatione*, especially 11,3,15 and 40.

The opposite of *vox inperfecta, vox absona* is not *vox lenis*; this does not mean, however, that in 147,1 a word has been dropped, as Haines assumes, see at 141,22–142,3. The expressions *vox difficilis, vox inperfecta* (also 156,17), *vox eximia, vox absoluta* ('free', 'distinct' [Haines]), *vox integra* do not occur elsewhere. *Vox impedita* also 156,15; Vita Veri 10,8 *lingua impeditior fuit*; Vulg. Exod. 4,10 *impeditioris et tardioris linguae sum.*

Vincta: Verg. Georg. 2,94 *(vitis) vinctura . . . linguam.*

Trunca: Stat. Theb. 12,479 *trunco sermone.*

Absona: Cic. De orat. 1,115 *sunt quidam aut ita lingua haesitantes aut ita voce absoni*; 3,41 *(vox) quasi extra modum* ('unmusically') *absona atque absurda*; Apul. Apol. 59,6 of a drunkard; Auson. 76 (title); Prud. Perist. 10,11 *haerens sermo lingua debili balbutit et modis laborat absonis*; Cassiod. Gramm. VII 212,10.

Quaerenti: see at 57,16.

Subvenisse: 'to come into one's mind', as 57,11; 65,18; and Apul. Met. 3,29,1.

147,1 *eximia* seems unlikely: the opposite of *vox impedita* is *vox expedita*, but this occurs only 156,16.

Facilis: Quint. Inst. 11,3,40 *(pronuntiationi) suffragatur vox facilis, magna* etc.

147,2 *lenis*: Cic. Brut. 259 *suavitas vocis et lenis appellatio* ('pronunciation') *litterarum*; De orat. 3,43 *lenitas vocis* as opposed to *rustica asperitas.*

147,5 *percensio*: 'survey' (Haines), 'esame completo' (Portalupi[1]). The word occurs nowhere else. *Percensere* 157,3.

147,6–9 This is a *fabella* (148,3 or *fabula* 148,14), an allegorical story (apologus) which must explain the origin of music and—in the illegible paragraph 3—the origin of eloquence. See at 53,10–21; 215,1–3. Ehrenthal 40f. was the first to see that we have to do here with a free quotation from an elder poet; he reconstructs the hexameters in this way:

> – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ *modulatae*
> *vocis amatores primas audisse feruntur*
> <*dulcia*> *aves vernas* <*in*> *opaco* <*carmina*> *luco*
> <*clangentes*>, then a senarius with alliteration:
> *Post pástores recéns repertis fistulis.*

E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 40, 1918, 173–178, also sees poetical elements in these lines: a trochee *luco opaco concinnentes*, an iambus *recens repertis fistulis*, but he rightly states that a reconstruction is impossible (in his anecdota he tried without success). According to Ehrenthal, Fronto possibly quotes the Ornithogonia of Aemilius Macer, a contemporary of Vergil. Hauler, in his anecdota, is thinking of Ennius or Vergil. Or is it Accius? see 148,10. Cp. Lucr. 5,1379ff. (1,1366ff. is an error) *at liquidas avium voces imitarier ore / ante fuit multo quam levia carmina cantu / concelebrare homines possent aurisque iuvare* (Lachmann regards the verses 1379–1435 as a later supplement). That man learned his music from the birds is an old story, first found in Democritus ap. Plut. Soll. anim. 20.

Modulatae: see at 138,14.

Luco opaco: the ablative without preposition is poetical, see Kühner I 353f. In his article, Hauler reads *visi sunt perdulcia audire, avium murmura prosus sine*

discrimine prodere, etiam alibi plerique crapula affecti. This is totally improbable: *prodere* must be a historical infinitive, and a fit of drunkenness is out of place here (cp. *crapula*) as well as *alibi.* Hauler's unedited readings, and especially those of his pupil Franz Miltner, show that we must reconcile ourselves to a non liquet.

Visa sunt sc. *eis. Visi sunt* and *audire* would be a platitude.

Perdulcia: perdulcis occurs only in Lucr. 4,635 *hoc tamen esse aliis possit perdulce videri,* and in E. Diehl, Inscr. Lat. Christian. veteres 1993 *coniugi . . . perdulcissimo.*

Avium murmura is poetical.

Prosus uti: 'so that for certain'.

Modulati: see at 138,14. The participle has the value of a part. praesens, 'playing', see Kühner I 759f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 391f.

Recens as adverb in Fronto only here. The alliteration *recens repertus* also Tac. Ann. 11,25,5. See Ed. Wölfflin, Rhein. Mus. 36, 1882, 111f., and Das Adverbium recens, Archiv 9, 1896, 353ff.

Fistulis: the *fistula pastoralis* or *syrinx.*

147,11 *videbaris . . . declarare* seems to refer to a speech of Marcus. *Ridenter*: 'jokingly'; the adverb does not occur elsewhere, nor does *adridenter.*

147,12 *e . . . turis* is one of Hauler's readings. The *luscinia* (*luscenia*) is a mere guess.

s.l . . . might be *sonis.* It is not clear where the quotation from Plautus ends.

148,1–2 *inceptui canere* is a joke; it is not found elsewhere as a military term. Before Fronto, *inceptus* IV is found only in Sen. Epist. 108,15 and in Val. Flacc. 6,124 (Liv. 1 praef. 10 *inceptu* is supinum). Fronto adds *signum* because the expression is unusual; normally it is either *signum canere* or *receptui canere.*

148,8 The sentence is very uncertain: 'you say that likewise Sallust has made clear many things in a speech, while you used this example too'. For *exemplum* see at 65,23. If we could read *aio* and *usum,* all would be clear. *Ais,* in particular, is suspect: the letters De eloquentia are not a correspondence but monologues by Fronto, and Marcus plays no part in them.

Pleraque seems to be neutrum plur., not an adverbial accusative (see at 59,6), nor an adjective connected with *oratione,* as Portalupi thinks.

Sallustium: if we read *ais,* Marcus had quoted in his speech a speech of Sallust, which is hard to believe in 161 or later. However, if we read *aio* and *usum,* Fronto is quoting a speech of Sallust, an author he often quotes. This speech of Sallust cannot be one of the speeches and letters of his Historiae, because we have a complete collection of them in the cod. Vatic. 3864. Therefore, Hauler assumes that it is one of the speeches Sallust delivered himself during his political career. See Schanz III 377. La Penna, Per la ricostruzione 21, supposes that it is the prooemium of the Historiae, which is unlikely because of the word *oratio.* See Pennacini, La funzione 108 n. 51.

148,9 *multi . . . oblectantur*: 'many of the whisperers, or warblers, take delight in the grove of eloquence' (Haines). This indicates the first stage of human eloquence; *lucus eloquentiae* is the primitive entourage in which

quence developed. The metaphor is found only here. The second stage is the *mugitus* of Ennius, Accius and Lucretius; then follows the golden age of eloquence: Cato, Sallust and Cicero. Pennacini 119f. misinterprets this passage because he sees in *murmurantes* the *genus humile*, in *mugitus* the *genius medium* and in *tuba* the *genus sublime*. The reading *luco* is confirmed by the margin; Haines prefers *in loco*, 'by way of'.

148,10 *mugitu*: see at 49,20f.

148,11 *tolerant*: those who put philosophy above rhetoric.

Tuba: see at 35,22.

148,11–12 Ehrenthal 48 sees here a quotation from a tragic poet:

⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – *ubi*
tuba éxauditast trépidant et pavént, fugam
frustra meditantur (or *frustra meditantes*).

Note the alliteration *frustra fugam*.

148,13 *disciplinis*: 'teachings' (Haines).

148,14 ἴδια ῥήματα has been accepted by Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 374, and Nuovi contributi 356, as well as by Portalupi[2], but she translates 'la prosa'. Earlier editors had *phonemata*, 'resonant periods' (Haines), 'parole' (Portalupi[1]), which is not in our lexica. Φωνήεντα could mean 'sounding words'. *Epiphonemata* is impossible, see at 77,11.

Fabula: see at 147,6–9.

Competit in: 'applies to' (Haines). With *in*, only Fronto and Symm. Epist. 10,27,3. Other authors with dative or *ad*.

148,15–16 *ut cui maxime*: 'if ever to a man' (Haines), 'pre-eminently'. Cic. Fam. 13,62 *te ... tuebor ut quem diligentissime*; Liv. 7,33,5 *proelium ut quod maxime umquam*; 23,49,12 *ex provincia ut quae maxime omnium*. See Kühner II 293; Hofmann-Szantyr 635; and at 91,2.

148,16 *amplificum*: 'splendid' (Haines), occurs here for the first time; *amplifice* already Catull. 64,265. On Marcus' *ingenium* see at 87,30.

148,17 *primi ... tuorum* does not mean that Fronto was then already Marcus' teacher; see at 93,12.

148,18 *sensus*: 'thoughts' (Haines).

Incunabula: 'elements', 'the infancy' (Haines), 'inizi' (Portalupi). Cic. De orat. 1,23 *repetamque non ab incunabilis nostrae veteris puerilisque doctrinae quendam ordinem praeceptorum*; Orat. 42 *non alienum fuit de oratoris quasi incunabilis dicere.*

148,19 *lumina*: see at 88,18.

149,1 *mora temporali* also Augustin. Gen. ad litt. 4,32 and 5,3; *temporaria mora* Plin. Nat. 36,114. See at 67,16.

Laboris taedio: Quint. Inst. 12,3,11 *multos cognovimus, qui taedio laboris, quem ferre tendentibus ad eloquentiam necesse est, confugerint ad haec deverticula desidiae* (i.e. legal studies).

149,2–5 Note the epanaphora of *nullus*; see at 97,4. On four or more *partes orationis* see Lausberg, Handbuch 147ff. Here Fronto presents the *prooemium, narratio, partitio quaestionum* and *argumentatio*. The *argumentatio* is subdivided in *exaggeratio* and the *ambiguendum*. Other theorists have here the

confirmatio and the *refutatio* or *reprehensio.* Again we may assume that Fronto's last two terms go back to his Greek teachers, see at 17,8. He omits here the *peroratio.*

149,2 *ad philosophiam devertisse*: see at 67,16.

149,3 *excolendum*: 'to be elaborated' (Haines), a rhetorical term, also 150,10. Quint. Inst. 2,6,2 *quosdam . . . locos non minore cura . . . excolebant.*

Narratio: Rhet. Her. 1,9,14 *tres res convenit habere narrationem: ut brevis, ut dilucida, ut veri similis sit*; 1,9,15; Cic. Inv. 1,28 *oportet . . . eam (narrationem) tres habere res: ut brevis, ut aperta, ut probabilis sit*; Quint. Inst. 4,2,31 *eam plerique scriptores . . . volunt esse lucidam, brevem, veri similem.*

149,4 *collocanda*: 'marshalling' (Haines), not 'inserire' (Portalupi).

Quaestiones ('subject' [Haines], 'tema' [Portalupi]) *partiendae*: see Cic. Inv. 1,31f.

149,5 *exaggerandam*: see at 89,8.

Ambigendum is not a rhetorical term.

Adhoc: see at 160,8.

149,9 *iste sine aquis* seems to refer to Cleanthes 140,8 (marg. b) or to the fountains mentioned there.

149,11 *saepe . . . sicut*: alliteration.

149,12 *si . . . tulerunt*: 'if the circumstances so required'. The expression is used since Terence.

Puteo: this may refer to Cleanthes, see 140,8 (marg. b), but it is also possible that Thales is meant: watching the sky and the stars he fell into a well or pit: Plato, Theaet. 174 a (φρέαρ): Tert. Nat. 2,4,18; Anim. 6,8 (*puteus*); Diog. Laert. 1,34 (βόθρος). See Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. pes 1.

Istic: see at 231,6.

149,18 (marg. b) *De amicitia*: see at 3,20–5,18.

149,19 *inopinatas*: see at 57,16.

Exin: 'from that', 'from those'; see at 31,12.

149,20 *figurationibus moderatis*: 'apposite (rather than "sparingly used" [Haines]) figures of speech'; see at 89,2.

Temperantur: 'are balanced', 'qualified' (Haines), as 150,9.

149,21 *Graecis verbis*: as he had learned them from his Greek teachers, see at 17,8; not because they are *verba inopinata,* as Maselli, Considerazioni 236ff., supposes; see at 260,12.

150,1 ἐνθυμημάτων: this word is used in a general sense 24,6, but here and in line 8, as well as 244,3 and 246,11, it is a technical rhetorical term: 'arguments', not 'thoughts' (Haines). It is used this way since Aristot. Rhet. 1335 a 6 and 1396 b 24: an imperfect syllogism drawn from probable premises. Cic. Att. 1,14,4; Top. 55; and Plin. Epist. 2,3,3 *crebra* ἐνθυμήματα, *crebri syllogismi,* use, like Fronto, the Greek form. Quint. Inst. 5,10,1 *(argumenti) nomine complectimus onmia, quae Graeci* ἐνθυμήματα, ἐπιχειρήματα, ἀποδείξεις *vocant.* See also 5,14,2; 5,14,24. In line 8, ἀδοξότερον refers to what Quint. Inst. 5,14,2 calls an *ex repugnantibus probatio.*

Εἴδωλα, 'images': see Index Rhetorical terms s.v. imago.

Πλάσματα: 'laboured expressions', a rhetorical term since Philodemus. Quint. Inst. 1,8,2 and later authors have *plasma.*

150,4 *misti* is also found in Catull. 14,14; *misse* Lucil. 742 Marx. For such contracted forms see Neue-Wagener III 500f.

150,6 *claudere*: see at 49,5f.

150,7 *etiam atque etiam*: see at 59,27.

150,8 ἀδοξότερον ἐνθύμημα: 'un argomento un po' oscuro' (Portalupi). Ἄδοξος is not *inopinatus*; see at 57,16.

150,8–9 *volvas . . . temperesque*: the same advice 44,3 and 7 *bis et ter eandem (gnomam) convertito. Volvas* and *verses* are synonymous indicating the paraphrasing a writer has to do over and over again until he finds the best wording. Quint. Inst. 10,5,9 *nec aliena tantum transferre, sed etiam nostra pluribus modis tractare proderit, ut ex industria sumamus sententias quasdam easque versemus quam numerosissime, velut eadem cera aliae aliaeque formae duci solent. Volvas* etc. is an independent adhortative subjunctive, not depending on *moneo ut* (so Haines) or *meminerit* (so O. Prinz, TLL s.v. memini).

150,9 *tumet: volvas illud tumet* cannot mean 'lo ripensi fra sé' (Portalupi). So we must choose between *tumet* (why the emphasis?) and the conjecture *tecum* or *tecum et. Tumet* is rejected by Priscian. Inst. 12,23 but accepted by Diomed. Gramm. I 320. It occurs Cic. Caecin. 56, but there editors since Baiter have rejected it. It is found only Iul. Val., Alex. 2,1. We might defend *tumet*, however, because Ter. Haut. 374 and Lucr. 1,102; 4,915 have *tutemet*. For the suffix *-met* in Fronto see the Index Latinitatis and at 235,18 and 19.

Figurationibus: see at 177,22f.

Temperes: 'balance', cp, 149,20 *(sententiae) figurationibus moderatis temperantur.*

150,10 *excolas*: see at 149,3.

Inopinata: see at 57,16.

150,11 *figurentur*: see at 177,22f.

Absurda: see at 47,22.

150,12 *tibi*: 'for you' (Haines). It is not a dat. Graecus, as Tillmann, De dativo Graeco 94, assumes.

Explorata, 'clear', is accepted by Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 374, and Nuovi contributi 356, and by Portalupi[2]. G. Gerhard & G. Meyer, TLL s.v. explano, read *explanata*, stating that here—and only here—it means 'expedire', 'in ordinem redigere'. Haines keeps *explanata*: 'made clear'.

150,12–13 *verba quaerere . . . collocare*: see at 56,15; 57,16. Cicero speaks of *verba invenire* and *collocare* Orat. 50; 52; Part. 3; 12; also Quint. Inst. 8 praef. 28; 9,4,1.

150,13 *colorem*: see at 124,3 (marg. b). Gell. 10,3,15 *umbra et color quasi opacae vetustatis.*

The form *sinceris* is also found in Varro ap. Isid. Rer. nat. 38,5 and in a few late writers.

150,14 *appingere*: see at 145,2.

150,15 *patefactae sunt*: the subject is something like *leges rhetoricae.*

150,16 *denique*: 'consequently', see at 10,6.

Rhetora: this accusative also Mart. 2,64,1; Iuv. 10,132. Varro, Cicero and others have *rhetorem*. Generally speaking, rhetoricians were as well off, or as badly off, as philosophers. See H.I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans

l'antiquité, Paris 1948, 380ff.; Clarke, Rhetoric 130. Marcus favoured philosophers: Lucian. Eunuch. 3 συντέτακται . . . ἐκ βασιλέως μισθοφορά τις οὐ φαύλη κατὰ γένη τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, Στωικοῖς λέγω καὶ Πλατωνικοῖς etc.; Cass. Dio 71,35,2 παμπληθεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπλάττοντο, ἵν' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλουτίζωνται. See also Ps. Iust. mart. Ad Graec. 19.

150,17 *observari et coli*: a frequent combination in Cicero, e.g. Fam. 6,10,2; Att. 2,19,5.

150,18 *obscuri et tortuosi*: Cic. Div. 2,129 of dreams: *tortuosa et obscura.*

150,19 *haereat*: see at 119,14.

150,19–20 *vinctus vinculeis*: this etymological figure also in Plaut. Men. 93 *eo vinclo vincies*; Cic. Leg. agr. 1,16 *(Italiam) omnibus vinculis devinctam.*

150,20 *attineatur*: see at 1,12.

150,21 *dicet aliquis*: see at 36,15.

150,22 *volgaribus et obsoletis*: of course Fronto exaggerates, but if we compare the notes at 56,15; 57,16; 57,26f.; 104,12–14; 136,9 (marg. b); 144,21; and 160,8, we can see that he has in view those obsolete words which survived in colloquial language (the combination *vulgaris et obsoletus* in speech also in Cic. Quinct. 56 and De orat. 3,97). Fronto's interest in this kind of words is in the first place philological; in his speeches he avoids archaisms, but in his letters he feels freer; see at 10,14; 57,16. His theory of common and obsolete words differs from Cicero's and Quintilian's; see Cic. De orat. 3,33; 3,97; Quint. Inst. 1,6,39; 4,1,58; 10,1,9. How things had changed in the second century is shown by Gell. 11,7,1, where we should mark the word *videtur*: *verbis uti aut nimis obsoletis exculcatisque aut insolentibus . . . par esse delictum videtur. sed molestius equidem culpatiusque esse arbitror verba nova, incognita, inaudita dicere quam involgata et sordentia.* Our passage has been misinterpreted by Marache, La critique 143: 'Fronton éprouve un insurmontable dégoût pour la langue courante'. *Obsoletus* means 'disusitati' (Portalupi), not 'old ones' (Haines) or 'hackneyed', as A.S. Wilkins assumes in his commentary on Cicero's De oratore, Amsterdam 1962, at De orat. 3,33. On the form *volgaris* see Index s.v. vul-.

150,23 *deterioribus*: 'still worse' (Haines) than I usually do, a joke.

151,1 Chronology: see at 133,1f.; 151,9. We do not know what the *oratio recens* was.

151,3 *admodum*: see at 57,16.

Uno tenus verbo, 'to the extent of a single word' (Haines), does not occur elsewhere. *Verbo tenus* Cic. Leg. 3,14; Liv. 34,5,4; and in Tertullian and later authors. *Verbis tenus* since Gell. 17,19,1. See Ed. Wölfflin, Tenus, Archiv 1, 1884, 421. In Fronto we also find the unusual words *illatenus* (234,12M) and *quadamtenus* (130,9).

151,4 *elocutio novella*: 'the modern style'. *Elocutio*, λέξις, or φράσις, concerns in the first place the choice of words so important to Fronto; cp. Quint. Inst. 8,1,1 *quam Graeci* φράσιν *vocant, Latine dicimus elocutionem. ea spectatur verbis aut singulis aut coniunctis.* See also Rhet. Her. 1,2,3; Mart. Cap. 5,442; 5,508. When Serv. auct. Aen. 3,572, Pompon. Gramm. V 296,12 and Schol. Hor. 59 speak of *nova elocutio*, they simply mean a 'new expression'. See also at 270,11. A misinterpretation of the word *signatum* has led to the idea that Fronto is here speaking of his own new style: 'not sufficiently

marked with novelty of expression' (Haines), 'un po improntata al nostro stile novello' (Portalupi), 'distinguished' (Oxford Dict.). However, Fronto is not speaking of the style of his time or of his own style but of Seneca's style, for in later Latin *signatus* means 'lucid', 'clear', 'expressive': Gell. 2,5 (lemma) *quam lepide signateque dixerit Favorinus* (where Marache in his edition of Gellius correctly translates 'avec combien de grâce et précision'); 2,6,6 and 13,25,32 *(veteres) qui proprie atque signate locuti sunt*; Tert, Resurr. 13,3 *quid expressius atque significatius?*; and so several times in later writers. It was L. Holford-Strevens, Elocutio novella, who found the correct translation: 'insufficiently clear through new-fangled diction', though he did not realize that, for Fronto, the new style is Seneca's style; see at 153,12. The idea that Fronto is speaking of his own style was endorsed by J.W. Mackail, Latin Literature, 1895, 232f.; Leroy, Fronton et la philosophie 298; H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature, London 1936, 519; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 37; Pepe, Marco Aurelio latino 55; Portalupi, Marco Cornelio Frontone 38, Contributo 473 n. 9, Un mino 90 n. 29 and La presenza 108 n. 18; Jannacone, Appunti 296f.; Grube, The Critics 391ff.; Castorina, Il circolo 181; Cova, Problematica 480; Kennedy, The Art 601; A. Cameron, Poetae novelli, Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol. 84, 1980, 157. Only Marache, La critique 135f., has seen that Fronto is here speaking of Seneca's style; he translates: 'certains passages n'ont pas assez la marque du style nouveau' (which is incorrect), and he comes to the conclusion that after all Seneca's style was not unacceptable to Fronto, which is in flat contradiction with 153,12.

151,5 *particulatim*: 'in detail' (Haines), see at 57,2.

151,6 *ut qui*: see at 35,21.

151,9 *scripsi*: according to Mai and Champlin in De orationibus. See at 133,1f.; 153,1f. In De orationibus, Fronto corrects expressions used by Marcus 156,12f.; 159,1ff.; 160,5; but this does not help us to date this letter.

Scripturum sc. *me*, see at 55,28. *Deinceps* is to be connected with *scripturum* (so Haines), not with *confide* (so Portalupi).

151,14 *genere*: probably the *genus dicendi.*

151,19 διασκευῇ: 'elaboration' rather than 'disposition' (Haines) or 'interpolazioni' (Portalupi); see Hermog. Inv. 3,15 and at 75,16. It is a rhetorical term, just as παρέκβασις, 'digression' (Haines), often used since Isaeus 6,59. The Latin term is *egressio* or *digressio*. Διασκευάζειν 75,16; 142,2.

παρέκβασις also Quint. Inst. 4,3,12 and 14. Note the Greek dative instead of the Latin ablative.

151,20 *enimvero*: an ironical 'to be sure' (Haines).

Ad... legas: 'you would read a book in philosophical class', better than 'you would read a book to your philosopher' (Haines), not 'prova in realtà a leggere un libro alla presenza dei filosofi' (Portalupi), nor 'aber jetzt wirst du vielleicht deinem Philosophen aus einem Buch vorlesen' (Birley, Mark Aurel 171). For *ad philosophos* see at 7,19 and 62,13. And it is not 'against the philosophers' (A. von Mess, TLL s.v. ad).

Legas is a potential subjunctive, not a jussive, as W.H. Friedrich, TLL s.v. enimvero, supposes.

151,21 *adtendas* with dative is often found in post-classical authors.

Intelexisse adnuas: cp. Plaut. Curc. 342 *annuo visitasse*. For the ellipsis of *te* see at 55,28.

Dormites: 'you would fall asleep'.

151,22 τί . . . δεύτερον: 'qual è la premessa? quale la conseguenza?' (Portalupi), not 'what is the first premiss? What is the second' (Haines). Stoic teaching began with logic, but in this period Marcus had lost all interest, and so, again, Fronto's argument was pointless, see at 141,11f.

Diu multumque: 'at length and often' (Haines), not 'e cosí avanti per un bel po'' Portalupi). The same combination Plaut. Most. 85; Cic. Carm. frg. 3,60; Lucan. 3,645.

Numerari: 'reiterated' (Haines).

151,22–23 εἰ . . . ἐστί is a well-known conclusion in Stoic dialectics, see Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. 8,223 and Diog. Laert. 7,71ff. The Latin translation *si dies est, lucet* is found in Cic. Inv. 1,86; Lucull. 143 (see also 96ff.); Sacerd. Gramm. VI 469,11. Mai and Naber suppose that Marcus had learned such dialectics from Sextus Empiricus himself, but it is common use in Stoic philosophy, see Gercke, Seneca Studien 148 note, and J.M. Rist (ed.), The Stoics, Berkeley 1978, 6ff.

151,23 *laborari*: 'to work out in a laborious way'. Transitive *laborare* is found in poetry since Verg. Aen. 1,639, in prose since Tac. Germ. 45,3.

Securus: Portalupi, Il pensiero 395, compares Plut. An seni 790 F ἀκίνδυνοι.

151,24 *meditandum*: for a rhetor the *meditatio* is important: Cic. De orat. 2,118; Liv. 40,15,12; Tac. Dial. 30,2; Fronto 80,15; 181,3.

151,25 *de memoria*: reciting by heart was an important exercise: Rhet. Her. 3,16,28–3,24,40; Cic. De orat. 1,18; 2,350–360; Inv. 1,7,9; Part. 1,4; Brut. 219; Opt. gen. or. 2,5; Quint. Inst. 11,2; Fortun. 3,13f.; Vict. 24; Mart. Cap. 42,538f. Cicero and others have *ex memoria*.

Verbi indagatio: see at 57,18.

152,1 *synonymi*: 'no garniture of a single synonym' (Haines). See at 41,17; 144,19. There is no reason to adopt Heindorf's conjecture, with L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 78.

152,2 *convertendum* is not 'tradurre' (Portalupi) but to present a 'parallel turning' (Haines); see at 44,3.

Dionysius: see at 17,8 and 135,3f. Athen. XI 475 F Διόνυσιος ὁ λεπτός, ἐξηγούμενος Θεοδορίδα τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα μέλος. His dispute between the Vine and the Holm-oak is not mentioned elsewhere; it reminds us of Fronto's own dispute between Vesper and Lucifer (231,9ff.), his Laudes fumi et pulveris (215,1ff.) and his Laudes neglegentiae (218,1ff.). Dionysius' point was that—contrary to what philosophers might think—the oak was preferable to the vine.

152,3 *arboris ilicis*: see at 59,4f. *Arbor* is usually put before the class name, so *arbor ilex* Sisenn. Hist. 8.

152,4 *se . . . ferebat*, 'vaunted above' (Haines), is found only here. The usual expression is e.g. *se quisque belli ducem potiorem ferre* (Liv. 4,45,7).

152,5 *Osiris*: this genitive (instead of *Osiridis* or *Osiridos*) is found since Plin. Nat. 5,60. Osiris is the god of fruitfulness and resurrection.

Crearet; 'bore' (Haines), cp. Quint. Inst. 5,11,24 *(terra) fructus creat.*

Idem: 'alike' (Haines), but *dulce* and *iucundum* show that *idem* has not yet become adverbial; cp. Hofmann-Szantyr 40 and 188.

Esu . . . haustu: the supinum II with *dulcis* and *iucundus* is frequent. On the use of the supinum II see Grammatical Index s.v. supinum and at 12,4f.; 203,2 (marg. b).

152,6 *se*: note the acc. cum inf. referring to *se ante ilicem ferebat*; see at 215,6.

Comptius: this comparative is found only here.

Laidem: there were several hetaerae of this name; the most famous were Lais of Corinth (the elder) and Lais of Hyccara in Sicily (the younger). We should not try to find out which Lais is meant here and 249,16: in both cases Lais is the prototype of a charming woman. See for the tropical use Plut. Amat. 16,1; Sext. Emp. Adv. dogm. 3,153; Anthol. Pal. V 250; VII 222.

Libero: Fronto never uses the name Bacchus.

152,8 *corona*: the representative singular alongside of a plural also 4,16 *alnus et cedrus et piceae*. And so the collective singular *conchim* alongside of *caepas et maenas* 62,16M. See Grammatical Index s.v. singular.

Nymphis: the *nymphae* are the female counterparts of the satyrs and sileni. The *Bacchae* are Bacchus' companions, 'Maenads' (Haines).

Horridam: 'rough' (Haines), not 'sterile', as W. Ehlers, TLL s.v., assumes; cp. Verg. Aen. 9,382 *silva . . . dumis atque ilice nigra horrida*; Mart. 6,64,3 *hirsuta . . . sub ilice.*

152,9 *infructuosam*: 'useless', not 'barren' (Haines); see 105,23.

152,10 In A 387 Fronto has presented a defence of the *ilex.*

152,11 *conlacerata*: this verb occurs only in Tac. Hist. 3,74,2.

152,12 (marg. b) *in fabulis* instead of the dative; see Hofmann-Szantyr 126 and at 30,2. Ter. Ad. 997 *in istac finem faciat.* 67,5 we have *finem facere* with dative; it is not a quotation, see at 67,5.

Permixta fabulis molliantur: Rhet. Her. 1,6,10 *si defessi erint audiendo, (exordiamur) ab aliqua re, quae risum movere possit, ab apologo, fabula* etc.; Cic. Inv. 1,25. *Finiantur* is hardly defendable.

152,16 *quam* seems to stand for *de laude tam vitis quam ilicis.* On this ellipsis see Hofmann-Szantyr 591. It is not *potius quam* (see at 8,5), because Fronto prefers the oak.

153,1–2 Chronology: the title is fictitious, see Proleg. LIXf. As to the date, we have two starting-points: 157,8 *nondum quicquam* and the name *Commodus* 159,12. If Commodus is L. Verus, as I think he is, there is no chronological problem: the letter has been written between 161 and 167, but we do have a ceremonious problem of address. If he is Marcus' son Commodus, there is a serious chronological problem, for then we must date this letter, with Mommsen, 175 or even later, whereas no other letter can be dated later than 167. See at 159,12. 157,8 is clear: Fronto could not say 'nothing as yet' (Haines) to a man of fifty-five or older who had been emperor for at least fifteen years: it must refer to a period when Marcus had not yet been emperor for a long time to come. So Naber,

Brakman and A.R. Birley, A Nickname for Commodus, date our letter 162; Faider, Études sur Sénèque 65, shortly after 162; Portalupi 163; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 136, c. 163; and Champlin 161–167. Haines does not believe that Commodus is L. Verus, but in his Chronology he dates our letter 165–166 and in his edition 163 (when Commodus was two years old!). If we assume that this is a letter written when Marcus had been emperor for only a short time yet, the *oculos convenientes* 156,12 might refer to the eyes of the newly crowned divi fratres; however, see at 156,12. And if Mai[3]'s and Naber's assumption that *scribemus* 89,24 (a letter of October 161) refers to De eloquentia and/or De orationibus is correct, we have another argument for a dating shortly after Marcus' accession to the throne, 161–162; see at 159,12. At any rate, De orationibus was written before De eloquentia 5, see *scripsi* 151,9. Moreover, there is a remarkable resemblance between De eloquentia 4 p. 146,18ff. and 156,15ff. Fronto wrote De orationibus in order to warn Marcus about some expressions he, Marcus, had used in an official document: they had reminded him of the abominable style of Seneca.

153,4 *faxo*: this futurum, frequent in the comici, is hardly used after Fronto and Apuleius and must be regarded as an archaism. *Faxo* with subjunctive is found in Plautus, Terence and other poets; since Fronto and Apuleius in prose. See at 37,11. For *faxit* see at 189,22.

153,5 *neque ignoras*: for this litotes see at 59,6.

Hanc: see at 78,21.

Manum has been added by Cornelissen and Novák, cp. Sen. Contr. 7,1,20 *magna novorum rhetorum manus*. Orelli's *nationem* has been adopted by Haupt, Mai's *turbam* by Haines.

153,6 *vanam et stolidam*: Sall. Hist. 4,1 M. *stolidior an vanior*. Fronto mocks himself, not philosophers (against Faider, Études sur Sénèque 65) nor writers like Seneca (against Beltrami, Seneca e Frontone 512). See at 93,10.

<e>t (not *e<t>*): 97,1 Fronto quotes *satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum* and 4,21 *satis odoris, parum roboris*. Vogel, Quaestionum 407, and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 17, delete *et* with Haupt, whereas all editors of Fronto retain it.

153,7 *bona venia*: see at 25,5.

Quod res est: 'and that is the point at issue' seems better than 'what is the fact' (Haines) and 'ed è una realtà' (Portalupi).

153,9 *causa*: for the repetition of the antecedent see at 40,14 and 191,13.

Claudat: see at 49,5f.

153,10 *neglegas neglegeas*: see at 118,13f.

Neglegas . . . potius censeo: 'I think you should rather neglect it', not 'I would rather you neglected' (Haines) or 'penso tuttavia sia meglio che tu la trascuri' (Portalupi). *Censeo* without *ut* is usual, also 233,16; see at 37,11 and 123,12. Ebert, Synt. 43, erroneously sees in *censeo* a parenthesis. *Neglegere* is not 'abbandonare', as Cova, Problematica 479, suggests.

Tamen vero: 'yet indeed' (Haines); it is not a pleonasm, as Ebert, Synt. 45; Kühner II 576; and Hofer 123 think.

153,11 *confusam eam*: there is nothing wrong with *eam*: in the lost opening sentences of this letter Fronto had already mentioned such an eloquence. Haupt's conjecture has been adopted by P. Faider, Musée Belge

31, 1927, 202. *Confusam* ... *ritu*: 'that confused (disorderly) eloquence grafted like a catachanna'. *Confusaneus* occurs only in Gell. praef. 5. *Confusicius* is a conjecture by W. Studemund here and Plaut. Cist. 472. *Catachannae*: the nucipruna, see at 4,15 and 29,14.

153,12 *pineis nucibus*, 'pine-nuts' (Haines), as in Cato, Agr. 48,3; Colum. 7,8,6; Plin. Nat. 15,35; 17,71; Pallad. 12,7,12. Henderson, Cato's Pine Cones 256f., and the Oxford Dict. assume that not the 'nuts' are meant but the 'shaggy cones' which enclose the seeds, the *nuclei*; however, the reference to Macrob. Sat. 2,6,1 is not convincing: Macrobius narrates that the public in the arena were not allowed to throw anything else but apples; then someone asked *an nux pinea pomum esset*. But in Fronto the point at issue is the fruit of the nucipruna: the nuts and the plums. Fronto does not criticize Cato here, as Henderson thinks; he protests against a heterogeneous style which combines the rough and austere eloquence of Cato (Cic. Brut. 68; Orat. 152; Quint. Inst. 2,5,21; 8,5,34 *veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim quam istam novam licentiam*; 12,10,10; Tac. Dial. 18,1) and the effeminate style of Seneca (see at 151,4; 228,6). Speaking of the nucipruna, Plin. Nat. 15,41 calls them a *peculiaris impudentia*, which is exactly what Fronto holds against Marcus.

Mollibus: see at 19,2.

Febriculosis: 'feverish', 'fever-ridden', 'hectic' (Haines), 'malaticce' (Portalupi), as in Plaut. Cist. 406; Catull. 6,4; Gell. 20,1,27. It has been correctly interpreted by Leroy, Fronton et la philosophie 299, and by Henderson. It is not 'producing fever', as Georges s.v.; Priebe I 10; Bannier, TLL s.v.; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 122; Marache, Mots 47; and Trillitzsch, Seneca 70, think. See at 128,5.

Prunuleis: of *prunulum*, not of *prunulea*, as Mai thinks; see Proleg. XXXII. The word ocurs only here, and Fronto uses the diminutive because of the *minutissimae sententiae* of Seneca, Quint. Inst. 10,1,130. Seneca is Fronto's antipode: he will not hear of archaisms (Epist. 58,5; 114,13 and 17–19), and the Frontoniani as well as the Ciceroniani reject his new style, see at 151,4. This time it is not philosophy Fronto is fighting but style. Marcus, for that matter, does not show any sympathy for Seneca; he does not mention him in his Meditations. See Brakman, Overeenkomst. Quintilianus is Seneca's first antagonist, Inst. 10,1,125–131; later Gell. 12,2 supports Fronto's view. See S. Rocheblave, De M. Fabio Quintiliano L. Annaei Senecae iudice, Paris 1890; Gercke, Senecastudien 136ff.; Norden, Kunstprosa I 288ff.; Trillitzsch, Seneca 69ff.

153,13 *Plautino et rato*: 'with a word guaranteed by the authority of Plautus'. The conjecture *Plautinotato* of W. Studemund ap. Klussmann, Emendationes XXXII, and M. Hertz, Zu Apuleius 367, has met with more success than it deserved: Wölfflin, Komparation 2; Georges, Wörterbuch s.v. Plautinotatus; Ehrenthal 4 n. 20; Ebert, Synt. 26; Hofer; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, RE IV (1901); Brock, Studies 308; Birt, Kritik 47; Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 22; W. Heraeus, Rhein. Mus. 79, 1930, 265; Terzaghi, Storia 493 n. 6; Groth, TLL s.v. eradicitus; Henderson l.l.; Marache, Mots 75; Portalupi; Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 114; Cugusi, Evoluzione 86; Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 317 n. 20, and Il nuovo

Frontone 376; L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 78. Not convinced is P. Frassinetti, Athenaeum 59, 1976, 217. Haines follows Brakman, and R. Marache, Rev. d. Étud. lat. 32, 1954, 424, follows Orth. The conjecture *Plautino ter apto* of Solverini, Note Frontoniane 291, needs no comment. We cannot compare *Plautinotatus* with *Plautinissimi* (Gell. 3,3,4), nor with Πλατωνικώτατοι (Lucian. Verae Narr. 2,19) or Ὁμηρικώτατος (Longin. Περὶ ὕψ. 13,3), because then we should read Πλαυτινωτάτῳ with Fr. Leo. No more can we compare it with *Pseudocato* (Cic. Att. 1,14,6), *Pseudodamasippus* (Cic. Fam. 7,23,3), Fronto's *epistolicotata* and *rhetoricotata* (188,4f.), or with Σηστιωδέστερον (Cic. Att. 7,17,2). *Plautinotatus* would be a hybrid form like *facteon* (Cic. Att. 1,16,13) and Laberius' *hominem levennam* (Sat. 80 Ribbeck), a Latin word with an Etruscan suffix. See at 41, 22.

For *ratus* cp. 59,6f. *vel rata verba ... vel supervacanea.*

153,14 *exradicitus*: in Plaut. Most. 1112 the MSS have *eradicitus*; so, too, Iul. Augustin. C. Iul. Op. imperf. 6,17 *omnes illi oblocutionum rubi ... radicitus et, ut ille ait, eradicitus monstrantur evulsi.*

Neque ignoro: see at 59,6.

Copiosum sententiis: Quint. Inst. 10,1,129 *multae in eo claraeque sententiae, multa etiam morum gratia legenda, sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundant dulcibus vitiis*; Gell. 12,2,1 *scientiam doctrinamque ei non deesse dicunt*, where *dicunt* refers to Quintilian, not to Fronto; see at 260,6.

153,15 *tolutares ... quadripedo*: see at 19,13f. *Tolutaris* occurs only here; Sen. Epist. 87,10 has *tolutarius*, 'going at a trot'. This way of writing is called *tolutiloquentia* (Nov. Com. 38 of Asianic rhetoric). *Quadripedo* is an adverb, 'at a gallop', as in Plaut. Asin. 708 and Fronto 19,13. It is not an adjective, as in Ammian. 14,2,2 *quadrupedo cursu*; see Hofmann-Szantyr 117. E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 125; Haines; Portalupi; and the Oxford Dict. take *quadripedo* here as an adjective.

153,16 *concito cursu*: 'full speed'. Dorothy Brock and Haines have adopted Klussmann's *concitas*: 'under the spur at a free gallop' (Haines); cp. 2,1. But Apul. Met. 4,2,3 and others also have *concito cursu.*

Tenere may be correct, sc. *cursum*, 'shape their course', 'speeding on' (Brock). Intransitive *tenere* is often used of ships or winds (Nepos, Milt. 1,5); cp. *movere, ducere, recipere, appellere*; Kühner I 94; Hofmann-Szantyr 35. Heindorf thinks that we should understand *tenere* as *tenere lectorem*, which is just as unlikely as Beltrami's translation 'non resistono mai a un rapido gallopo' (Beltrami, Seneca e Frontone 512) or Portalupi's 'non resistono mai ad un'impetuosa corsa al galoppo'.

Pugnare: 'forcing an issue' (Brock), 'shew fight' (Haines), not 'join issue' (Ellis, The Correspondence 13). Klussmann supports Heindorf's *pungere.*

Maiestatem: 'grandeur', 'sublimity' (Haines), as 141,13.

Studere is used with the accusative of pronouns and with *res* (Plaut. Mil. 1437; Titin. Com. 85). Fronto is the first to use it with other substantives: *obtecta* 183,3; Apul. Plat. 2,9 *virtutes*; 2,13 *bonum.* See Kühner I 310. For Cic. Red. in sen. 14 see Hofmann-Szantyr 32. Elsewhere Fronto has the dative: 110,24; 157,11?; 176,13.

154,1 *et* has been rejected by Gercke, Senecastudien 136f., and by

Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 317. But *et* seems necessary to separate Fronto's words from Laberius' *dictabolaria*. Gercke puts a colon after *studere*.

Dictabolaria: the quotation seems to be limited to this word, as Heindorf, Priebe I 7 and Ribbeck have rightly seen. E. Hauler, Festschrift Gomperz, Wien 1902, 392, supposes that *dictabolari*, *dicteria* and *confingere* were the quotations, and in Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 126ff. he went even further, regarding the entire passage as a quotation from Laberius against Publilius Syrus:

Tolútares ecce ístius senténtiae
nusquám quadripedo cóncito cursú tenent,
nusquám pugnant, nusquám maiestatém student.
Dictábolaria <*iste*>, *immo dictéria*
potiús quam dicta cónfigit <*mimis suis*>.

In my first edition I have followed Hauler; so do Della Corte; M. Bonaria, Romani mimi, Romae 1965, 476f.; F. Giancotti, Mimo e gnome, Studio su Decimo Laberio e Publilio Siro, Messina 1967, 116; Trillitzsch, Seneca 70; and Portalupi[1]. Marache, Mots 59, and Timpanaro, Citazioni 317, also saw that we should limit the quotation to *dictabolaria*. Haines regards *dictabolaria* and *dicteria* as words of Laberius, but *immo* shows that *dicteria* does not belong to them. *Dictabolaria* occurs only here; it is one of the words which Laberius had coined, see at 56,23–57,1. It seems to be a combination of *dicta* and βωλάριον, 'lump', a hybrid formation: 'word-lumps'. See Grammatical Index s.v. hybrid forms. Βωλάριον, a diminutive of βῶλος, occurs in Strabo 16,4,18 and Marcus' Medit. 4,15. In Seneca the words stick together, as it were. If this interpretation is correct, the usual translations must be false: 'wit-bolts' (Haines), 'piccoli aforismi' (Portalupi[1]), 'witty sallies' (Ellis and Brock), 'beissende Witze' (Georges), 'spiritose sortite' (Beltrami), 'verbal jokes' (Oxford Dict.). It is certainly not 'Lehrsprüche' (Trillitzsch). Heindorf and Orelli also saw a hybrid composition, formed after ἐπεσβολία, 'scurrility', and Heindorf's verb *dictabolari* should render ἐπεσβολεῖν. The Anonymus in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung 1817 proposes *dicta abollaria*, 'words of the (pseudo-)philosopher', but *abollarius* is not found in our lexica (for *abolla* see Mart. 4,53,5 and Iuv. 3,115); moreover, the expression is not strong enough. Gercke wants to read *dict-obol-aria*: 'Sammlung kleiner, in Scheidemünze ausgeprägten Gedanken', a real possibility. E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v., suggests that it may be a derivation from δικτυβόλος, 'fisherman'(?). *Immo* shows that *dicteria* must be stronger than *dictabolaria*. Fronto did not borrow *dicteria* from Laberius but from Novius, Com. 118, or from Pomponius, Com. 194; see at 57,2f.; 62,14M. E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v., derives *dicterium* from δεικτήριον, 'show-place', cp. δεικτηριάς, 'mimic actress'. In Varro, Men. 352, the meaning is not clear: *neque orthopsalticum attulit psalterium quibus sonant in Graecia dicteria*, but Mart. 6,44,3 seems to use the word the way Fronto does: *omnibus arrides, dicteria dicis in omnes*, and Macrob. 2,1,14 *Novius vero Pomponiusque iocos non raro dicteria nominant.* The usual translation is 'beissende, witzige Einfälle' (Georges, Hauler, Walde-Hofmann, Lat. etym. Wörterb.). It is not 'Apophthegmata' (Trillitzsch). But I have my doubts: if *dicteria* is the Greek δεικτήριον, we might translate 'show business': Fronto

upbraids Seneca for *dictabolaria, minutissimae sententiae* (Quint. Inst. 10,1,130), for a stylistic parade.

154,2 *dicta*: 'real words', 'motti veri e propri' (Portalupi[1]), 'detti veramente sottili' (Beltrami), rather than 'wit-sayings' (Haines), 'maxims' (Brock), 'Sentenzen' (Trillitzsch) or 'vere e proprie sentenze' (Portalupi[2]).

154,3 *itane*: 'really', as 44,21M; (264,13).

154,4 *Sergium*: apparently, Fronto respects him even less than Seneca. Quint. Inst. 8,3,33 *multa ex Graeco formata nova ac plurima a Sergio Flavo, quorum dura quaedam admodum videntur, ut 'queens' et 'essentia'.* But 2,14,2 and 3,6,23 Quintilian says that *queens* and *essentia* were hard words used by a Plautus. Hence Teuffel proposes to read 8,3,33 *a Sergio Plauto.* He must have been a Stoic philosopher because of *et eadem de re*, which corresponds to Quint. Inst. 10,1,124 *Plautus in Stoicis rerum cognitioni utilis.* Klotz, L. Sergius Plautus, RE II A 2 (1923), is wrong to doubt the words *et eadem de re.* The Flavus mentioned by Quint. Inst. 7,4,40 cannot be our Sergius, because Quintilian esteemed him highly, unlike Sergius. The Sergius Plautus who is fond of unusual expressions is probably also meant by Ps. Apul. Herm. 1 *absolutam sententiam . . . quam vocat Sergius effatum, Varro proloquium, Cicero enuntiatum.* The Sergius who was a source of Plin. Nat. 1 ex auctoribus libri II, XVII seems to be a different person, and whether L. Sergius Plautus (CIL II 1406 = Dessau 2922) is our Sergius is not clear. It is very likely that Quintilian was Fronto's source. See Schanz II 361; H. Dessau, Sergius 370, 375 and 378, PIR III.

Modulatas: see at 124,8.

154,5 *cordaces*: the κόρδαξ is the 'rollicking dance' of the chorus in Greek comedy. Marcus' objection requires a rather positive meaning: 'exuberant', 'sprightly' (Haines), 'sautillantes' (Faider, Études 67), 'vivaci' (Portalupi), not 'taumelend, haltlos' (Georges), 'sbrigliamente danzanti' (Beltrami, Seneca e Frontone 513), 'staggering' (Leeman, Orationis ratio I 281), and certainly not 'sententiae quae ut ebrii homines obscaene saltant' (Norden, Kunstprosa I 310 n. 2). Aristot. Rhet. 3,8 calls the trochee κορδακικώτερος, 'tripping'; he is quoted by Cic. Orat. 193 *trochaeum . . . cordacem appellat* and by Quint. Inst. 9,4,88 *licet . . . trochaeum ut nimis currentem damnet eique cordacis nomen inponat.* Ps. Bass. Gramm. VI 307,7 *hunc (trochaeum) alii chorium appellaverunt, alii cordacem.* Undoubtedly, Fronto has Cicero and Quintilian in mind, using, with them, *cordax* as an adjective (*trochaeus* is also an adjective); so Heindorf's *chordaceas* (which is non-existent) is superfluous, as is *choricas*, 'dancing'. Gercke's *cordatas* does not go with *modulatas* and *tinnulatas*, and Haupt's *crepaces* (supported by Warnicke, Kordax, RE XI 1 [1929]) has an outspoken negative meaning (the word occurs only in Maecen. Sen. Epist. 114,5).

Tinnulas, 'with such a ring' (Haines), is a word often used by poets, and in a positive sense. Fronto pretends not to know that rhetoricians use the word in malam partem: Quint. Inst. 2,3,9 *tumidos et corruptos et tinnulos*; Tac. Dial. 26,1 *tinnitus Gallionis*; Hieron. Epist. 143,2 *exceptis verbis tinnulis . . . nihil aliud loquitur*; Demosth. Aristog. 25,90 οὗτος μόνον οὐ κώδωνας ἐξαψάμενος διαπράττεται. Ps. Long. Περὶ ὕψ. 23,4 τὸ πανταχοῦ κώδωνας ἐξῆφθαι λίαν σοφιστικόν.

154,5–6 *quid vero si*: see at 9,8.
154,6 *idem utriusque*: 'the same of two persons'. For Mai's *utrisque* (supported by Ehrenthal) see at 212,20.
154,7 *ius fasque*: 'the decent and proper manner' (Haines), coined by Ter. Hec. 387.
154,9 *praestrigiator*: see at 9,7. The juggler who sometimes appeared at dinner parties (*convivae*) had a box with pebbels or dice (*calculos*) which he showed and let disappear: Sen. Epist. 45,8 *ista sine noxa decipiunt, quomodo praestigiatorum acetabula et calculi, in quibus me fallacia ipsa delectat*; Manetho 4,448 ψηφάων παίκτας.
Primoribus labris: see at 56,11f.
154,9–10 *ea re... laudent*: 'hence (as 154,13), of course, children would applaud the feat', 'find it splendid'. Droz 82 and Beltrami read with Jacobs *plaudant*, Novák (1886) with Ehrenthal *ludant*.
Pueri: Ps. Long. Περὶ ὕψ. 3,4 calls those stylistic tricks τὸ μειρακιῶδες. Fronto probably refers to Quint. Inst. 10,1,125 *tum autem solus hic (Seneca) fere in manibus adulescentium fuit*; 10,1,130 *si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset (Seneca), consensu potius eruditorum quam puerorum amore comprobaretur*; cp. 2,5,22 *alterum (genus pueris cavendum puto)... ne recentis huius lasciviae flosculis capti voluptate prava deleniantur, ut praedulce illud genus et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius est, adament*; 8,3,57 *corrupta oratio in verbis... redundantibus... vocum similium... puerili captatione consistit*; 12,10,73 *vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus, quod... puerilibus sententiolis lascivit.*
154,10 *pudice*: 'decently' (Haines), not 'secondo le convenienze' (Portalupi) or 'avec réserve' (Marache, Mots 69).
Labellis: the diminutive expresses contempt.
154,11 *atenim*: see at 229,4.
154,11–12 *quaedam* etc.: cp. Quint. Inst. 10,1,131 *multa... probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt*; Gell. 12,2,1 *scientiam doctrinamque ei non deesse dicunt.* See at 153,14.
154,12–13 A variation on the proverb *aurum in luto quaerere* (Hieron. Epist. 54,11); see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. lutum 6, and Nachträge zu Otto. According to the Vita Donati 71 p. 35 Diehl, Vergil is said to have declared *se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii.* Cp. Sen. Epist. 87,16 *(pecunia) sic in quosdam homines, quomodo denarius in cloacam, cadit.*
Laminae: 'plates', 'strips' of ornaments, crowns, furniture, not 'coins' (Haines). Cp. Curt. 8,5,4 *scutis (militum) argenteas lamnas, equis frenos aureos addidit (Alexander)*; Suet. Cal. 32 *publico epulo servum ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam carnifici... tradidit.*
Argentiolae: 'of fine silver'.
154,13 The form *cluaca* in Varro, L.L. 5,157, in two MSS of Sall. Hist. frg. 4,16 and in some late texts and inscriptions. It is rejected by Probi App. Gramm. IV 198,12, but Mar. Vict. Gramm. VI 25,9 *non est cloaca, ut putatis, sed cluaca, quasi conluaca.* The *curatores alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis* farmed out the cleaning of the sewerage to a *redemptor cloacarum* (Plin. Nat. 36,6) and his *purgatores* (Plin. Epist. 10,32,2; Firm. Math. 8,20).
Eane: in *-ne*, see at 48,7.

154,15 *milliens*: since Terence *milliens* and *mille* are used as our 'a thousand times'.

Amictu: see at 88,9.

Histriones: 'pantomime players' rather than 'actors' (Haines); see at 47,1. The same meaning 123,12; 128,8 ('actors' Kroeker, TLL s.v.); 141,16; 156,7 ('actors' Kroeker); 213,2; 229,13; 233,12. *Histrio* in a more general sense 213,10; only 68,10M it is used of actors.

Indutam: see at 88,9.

154,16 *palliolatim*, 'with the short mantle', is the form we find in Plaut. Pseud. 1275 *palliolatim amictus sic incessi* (also of a dancer), and, as a conjecture by Ribbeck, in Caecil. Com. 133 *peniculamentum tenet palliolatim*. Because it is a derivation from *palliolum*, we can hardly assume with Marache, Mots 66, that *palliolatim* is more elegant than *palleolatim*. *Palliolatim saltare* means 'doing the mantle dance', whereby the pantomime renders different scenes *eodem pallio*; Tac. Dial. 26,3 *histriones diserte saltare dicantur*. Cp. Suet. Nero 54; Lucian. Salt. 67f.; Arnob. Nat. 7,44; Lact. Inst. 6,20,29; Isid, Orig. 18,48.

Caudam cycni may refer to Leda and the swan, cp. Iuv. 6,63 *chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo*; Arnob. 7,33; Prud. Perist. 10,220f. *in theatris . . . cygnus stuprator peccat inter pulpita*; Apoll. Sid. Carm. 23,286. Since the swan does not have a long tail, Cornelissen reads *Glauci*, quoting Vell. 2,83,2 *cum (Plancus) . . . caudam trahens genibus innixus Glaucum saltasset in convivio*. Cp. also Stat. Silv. 3,2,38 *litoream blanda feriens (Glaucus) Anthedona cauda* and Lucian. Salt. 49,

Capillum Veneris: perhaps after Apelles' painting of the Ἀφροδίτη ἀναδυομένη.

Furiae flagellum: Furia singular because the dancer represents only one Erinys. The scourge is one of the Furies' attributes; it is often mentioned in poets since Vergil and Ovid; see Wasser, Furiae, RE VII (1910); H. Funke, Furie, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1971). It must have been one of the performances of τὰ περὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην δράματα (Lucian. Salt. 46).

154,17 *pallio*: the context shows that this *pallium* has nothing to do with the comoedia palliata, as Cornelia Zäch, TLL s.v., thinks.

Demonstrant: 'represent' (Haines); cp. Suet. Nero 39 *(Atellanarum histrio Neronem) ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret.*

Ita: the comparison falls short: the dancer renders several ideas with one mantle, Seneca renders one idea with several formulations.

Unam eandemque: see at 58,13.

154,18 *multimodis*: see at 41,1.

Faciunt: 'make up' (Haines).

Ventilant: 'air', 'flourish it' (Haines), not 'besprechen, erörtern' (Georges).

Comvertunt: see at 44,3; 96,7.

Eadem lacinia, 'with the same piece of cloth', the palliolum.

154,19 *saltitant* is palaeographically better than *saltant* (Leopardi and Haines). *Saltitare* occurs here for the first time, but see the crit. app. ad Quint. Inst. 9,4,142.

154,20 *olfactaria sucina*: 'perfumed amber-balls'. The form *olfactarius* (from *olfactare*?) is also found in Scrib. Larg. 104 and as a varia lectio in Plin.

Nat. 30,97; elsewhere it always is *olfactorius*. Scribonius l.l. (= Marcell. Med. 20,9) uses *olfactaria* as a substantive: *olfactariis reficere (stomachicos)*, 'odorous unguents', and so does Plin. Nat. 30,97 *lethargum olfactoriis excitari*. In Plin. Nat. 20,92 we find the singular: *farinae in olfactorio* (*olfactoria* J. André) *collectae*, and this singular means 'perfume bottle'; cp. Isid. Orig. 19,31,19 *olfactoriola vascula sunt muliebria, quibus odoramenta gestantur*. But Haines (who has here *olfactoria*) is right not to regard *olfactaria* as a substantive but *sucina*: 'their perfumed amber', as does Marache, La critique 125: 'leur ambre perfumé'. The Oxford Dict. translates *olfactarius* less correct: 'used to sniff at'. Kuhlmann, TLL s.v., cannot decide whether *sucina* is a substantive or not. Young girls used to walk about with an amber-ball in their hands, rubbing it (*refricare, terere*) until by the warmth of their hands (*regelare*) the amber produced the refreshing fragrance of the pine tree (*pineus odor*). Mart. 3,65,5 on odours: *sucina trita*; 5,37,11 *sucinorum rapta de manu gleba*; 11,8,6 *sucina virginea . . . regelata manu*; Iuv. 6,573 avoid the girl in *cuius manibus ceu pinguia sucina tritas cernis ephemeridas*; Plin. Nat. 37,43 on amber: *pinei autem generis arboris esse indicio est pineus in adtritu odor*; Prud. Perist. 3,211 of a young girl who does *spernere sucina*. See E. Courtney, A Commentary on the Satires of Iuvenal, London 1980 ad loc. In Mnemos. 12, 1944, 238, I have tried in vain to defend the reading *olfactariae*: 'Mädchen, die einen Wohlgeruch verbreiten'; hence 'fanciulle amanti degli odori' (Della Corte) and 'fanciulle profumate' (Portalupi). Forcellini-De Vit and a few modern dictionaries, e.g. Lewis & Short, see in *olfactoriae* the genitive of *olfactoria*, a 'nosegay'! Mützell's conjecture *olfactoria et sucina*—improbable though it is—has been adopted by Klussmann and Schwierczina.

154,21 *primor*: the singular of this word is frequent, but never in the nominative. According to Georges, Wortformen, and Neue-Wagener II 147, Osbern (twelfth century) is the first to use the nom. sing. *primor*. It seems that our second hand questions the rule set up by grammarians that *primores* is a plurale tantum (Charis. p. 34,26 B.; Priscian. Gramm. III p. 468,12). The thesis that *primor, -oris* is a hypostasis of *primo ore* (Walde-Hofmann, Lat. etym. Wörterb.) is not very likely, because the oldest examples have *primorem sulculum* (Cato, Agr. 40,3) and *primore clivo* (Varro, L.L. 5,47).

155,1 *dicendum . . . aliquid*: 'I can add that the same is the case with Fortuna': in spite of the different temples and the different attributes, she is always called Fortuna. K. Latte, Römische Religion 182 n. 1, has misunderstood our passage. In Antium and Praeneste there were the most famous sanctuaries of Fortuna, see Latte, o.c; J. Toutain, Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain I, Paris 1908, 428ff.; Otto, Fortuna, RE VII (1910); G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, München [2]1912, 259; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 137f.; TLL s.v. Fortuna; I. Kajanto, Fortuna, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1970); G. Radke, Praeneste, Kleine Pauly (1971).

155,2 *respicientis*: 'regardant' (Haines). Cic. Leg. 2,28 *respiciens ad opem ferendam*; Sen. Contr. 7,1,6; Sen. Dial. 9,8,3; Calpurn. Buc. 4,164; Nerva ap. Plin. Epist. 10,58,9; Curios. urb. reg. 10 p. 14,9; and in inscriptions. *Balnearum: Fortuna balnearis* often in inscriptions, for physical well-being.

Pennis: Petron. 120,78 *volucrem Fortunam*; Ammian. 27,11,2 *Fortuna vehens praepetibus pinnis*; 31,1,1 *Fortunae volucris rota*; Curt. 7,8,25 *(Scythae) sine pedibus dicunt esse Fortunam, quae manus et pinnas tantum habet.*

155,3 *roteis*: Soph. frg. 871 Pearson πότμος ἐν . . . θεοῦ τροχῷ κυκλεῖται. Cic. Pis. 22 *Fortunae rotam pertimescebat*; Tibull. 1,5,70; Tac. Dial. 23,1; see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. Fortuna, and Nachträge zu Otto; add Ammian. 14,11,26; Claudius, Anthol. Lat. I 723,16 Riese; Poet. Lat. min. V 108,82 and 117,8 Baehrens; Fulg. Virg. const. p. 107,3; Hieron. In Is. 23,9.

Gubernaculis: Ter, Eun. 1046 *an Fortunam collaudem, quae gubernatrix fuit?*; Lucr. 5,107 *Fortuna gubernans*; Ovid. Trist. 5,14,29 *rara . . . virtus, quam non Fortuna gubernet*; Val. Max. 9,12 pr. *prout Fortuna gubernaculum rexit*; Lac. Inst. 3,29,7 *simulacrum eius (Fortunae) cum copia et gubernaculo fingunt*; Ammian. 25,4,14 *Fortunae . . . bonae gubernatricis*; and *Fortuna gubernatrix* in inscriptions. See I. Kajanto, Fortuna, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1970).

155,4–6 Cp. Quint. Inst. 9,3,47 *nam et geminatio et repetitio et qualiscumque adiectio* πλεονασμός *videri potest. nec verba modo, sed sensus quoque idem facientes acervantur.*

155,5–6 *initio carminis*: apparently, Fronto has no doubt about the authenticity of the first seven verses; the Commenta Bernensia and the Adnotationes super Lucanum note at 1,1: *hos VII versus primos dicitur Seneca ex suo addidisse.* H. Genthe, De M. Annaei Lucani vita et scriptis, diss., Berolini 1856, 77; F. Weber, De duplici Pharsaliae exordio, Marburg 1860; and F. Marx, Annaeus Lucanus, RE I (1894), wrongly assume that Fronto's criticism gave rise to such a doubt. See at 203,14. Most ancient critics see in Lucanus an orator rather than a poet: Petron. 118,6; Mart. 14,194; Quint. Inst. 10,1,90; Serv. Aen. 1,382; Iordan. Geth. 5,43; Isid. Orig. 8,7,10; Comment. Bern. ad loc. A more favourable judgement in Iuv. 7,79 and Tac. Dial. 20,5. On the prooemium in general see Cic. Orat. 137; Quint. Inst. 3,8,10. See Eva M. Sandford, Lucan and His Roman Critics, Class. Philol. 26, 1931, 233ff.; C.B. Conte, Il proemio della Pharsalia, Maia 18, 1961, 42ff.; S. Doepp, Fronto's critique on Lucan. 1,1–7; P. Schrijvers, Interpréter Lucain par Lucain, Mnemos. 42, 1989, 62ff. It seems that Fronto had a particular interest in poetical prooemia: 7,15f.; 144,7?; 155,16; 203,14.

155,6–7 *bella plus quam civilia* became a popular idea: Sen. Phoen. 355; Tac. Ann. 1,12,6; Florus 2,13,4; Aur. Vict. Caes. 39,3; Augustin. Civ. 3,14 p. 113,15 D.; Oros. 2,18,1; Isid. Orig. 18,1,2 and 4. See C. Hosius, De imitatione scriptorum Romanorum imprimis Lucani, Greifswald 1907.

155,7 *num* is not possible. Read either with Brakman *numera replicet* (so Haines, my first edition and Portalupi[1]) or, rather, *nunc hoc replicet* with the ellipsis of *vide: nunc (vide) quot sententiis hoc replicet.* 'Con quante espressioni egli lo svolge' (Portalupi[2]).

155,9 *erit*: 'is as you will see'. The future together with the present, as Plaut. Persa 437 *quin das? :: nummi sescenti hic erunt*; Ter. Phorm. 801 *sic erit; non temere dico* See Kühner I 143 and at 174,8.

155,10 *numerat*: 'brings the number up to four'. The subject of *numerat* is not 'he' (Haines) but the quotation.

155,10–11 Fronto quotes freely, as 155,19 and 7,6; 30,20f.; see Index s.v. quotations. Metri causa he cannot have written *obvia signa signis*. See Höhne, Die Geschichte 40.

155,11 *haec*: see at 67,21.

Herculis aerumna: add to Otto, Sprichwörter, and Nachträge zu Otto: Cic. Dom. 134; Petron. 48,7; Iuv. 10,361. For the Greek equivalent see Barogazzi, Favorino 548. The *sexta aerumna* in Plaut. Epid. 179 refers to Hercules' fight with Hippolyte. See at 204,1f.

155,12 *septimum*: the shield of Ajax was ἑπταβόειον (Hom. Il. VII 220). Earlier editors retained *septima*: 'a seventh! a bull's hide from the shield of Ajax' (Haines).

De: see at 21,1.

Quis: see at 162,23.

155,13–14 *et similes . . . tubarum*: Niebuhr, Ehrenthal 39f. and O. Hey, TLL s.v. carmen, assume that *et similes . . . tubarum* is a quotation from some unknown poet, but these words are of course from Fronto himself, as Philibert-Soupé 121 n. 2 and Lucian Müller, Frontoniana 752, have rightly seen. The structure of Fronto's verse reminded Müller of Lucr. 5,1188ff. *et / rapidi / fremitus / et / murmura / magna / minarum.*

Addas licet: see at 37,11.

155,15 *sequere*: 'lug in' or 'follow up with' (Haines).

155,16 Apollonius enjoyed a certain esteem in Rome, see Quint. Inst. 10,1,54. He was translated by Varro Atacinus, adapted by Valerius Flaccus. Ps. Longin. Περὶ ὕψ. 33,4 compares him with Homer, to the latter's advantage. Homer's prooemium was highly esteemed: Quint. Inst. 4,1,34; 10,1,48; Iul. Vict. p. 423,5 Halm. See Tolkiehn, De Homeri auctoritate 230.

By *non . . . est* Fronto means that he will not compare Lucan with Homer—who is hors concours—but with a minor poet like Apollonius. This is neither a criticism of Apollonius (against Mai[1] and G. Knaack, Apollonios, RE II [1896]) nor a criticism of Homer ('Homer's openings are not equally skilful' [Haines]; the same mistake Marache, La critique 118). *Par* means 'on the same level': not, of course, a work of art on the same level as Homer's prooemia. Lucan needed seven lines to express one idea, Apollonius presents five different themes in four lines. *Par* with genitive 175,9 *parem sui*, with dative *par pari*, see at 21,4; 207,2 *pensis parem*; indeterminable 80,13 *parem materiae*. On proems see at 203,14.

Artificium, if correct, is a metonymy for Apollonius.

155,17 *Argonautas*: Περὶ ὕψ. 33,4, Strabo 14,655 and Lucian. Demon. 31 have Οἱ Ἀργοναῦται. Apollonius' MSS have Ἀγοναυτικά. *Argonautica* also Serv. Aen. 4,1 and Priscian. Gramm. II 289,10.

155,18 *imploratione*: of Apollo.

155,19 διά: Apollonius has κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας. See at 155,10f.

155,20 *navigassent*: *navigare* with accusative since Cic. Fin. 2,112.

155,21 χρύσειον με: according to Hauler, nine letters are illegible; according to Miltner, less than nine.

155,22–23 *tam . . . quam = et . . . et*, as 205,11 (marg. d).

155,23 *oratores* not infrequently means 'prose writers', e.g. Rhet. Her. 4,1,1 *ab oratore aut poeta*; Cic. De orat. 1,11 *pauciores oratores quam poetae boni*; Gell. 12,2,1, speaking of Seneca's style, uses the word *oratio* (besides, Seneca did write speeches: Quint. Inst. 10,1,129). See at 272,22.

Ut: Fronto avoids the unharmonious *atque quae*; Mai, Naber, A. Klotz (TLL s.v. atque) and Haines have wrongly changed *ut* into the usual *atque* (so 18,6). Cp. *consimile ut si* 134,23 and Lucr. 2,272 *nec similest ut cum impulsi procedimus ictu*; Gell. 3,12,3 *non enim simile est ('bibosus') ut 'vinosus'*; Apul. Met. 11,27,6 *ecqui vestigium similis ut somnium*; cp. Cic. Tusc. 2,54 *ut onera . . . facilius feruntur . . .*, *simillime* etc. *Consimile ut* only in Fronto. *Citharoedi* are also compared with orators by Cic. De orat. 2,325 and Quint. Inst. 1,12,3; 2,8,15 (but in a different respect).

156,1 *unam aliquam*: 'some single' (Haines). This combination is used since Plaut. Truc. 102; Ter. Hec. 313; and several times in Cicero.

Vocalem litteram: 'vowel' (Haines).

De: 'of (the word) Ino'; see at 21,1. Haines thinks that performances are meant named after their subjects; Portalupi thinks arias, though this does not tally with *unam vocalem litteram*. What Fronto means is the coloratura, the πεττεία, the repetition of the same vowel with varied pitches, see Bergk, Poetae lyrici Graeci I^{4} XII n. 1. The reading *Inone* has been established by Hauler. In his first edition, Mai wrote <*Iu*>*none*, which in his later editions he changed without a word into *Henone*, and Naber followed him. Already before Naber's edition, however, Bergk and Peerlkamp corrected this *Henone* to *Inone*. Later conjectures were influenced by Naber's text. *Xenone* (J. Pöschel, TLL III 289,45) must be a misprint. Ino (Leucothea) is connected with the legend of the Argonauts, and her adventures were popular on the stage: Lucian. Salt. 42; 67.

Aedone: the story of Ἀηδών, the daughter of Pandareos, who turned into a nightingale, was of course a very suitable subject for a coloratura singer. On the *modulatus sonus* of the nightingale see Hom. Od. 19,518ff.: Plin. Nat. 10,81f.

156,2 *accentibus* is mostly used as a grammatical term; here for the first time as a musical term, 'toni' (Portalupi), rather than'intonations' (Haines).

156,3 *quid ego* sc. *commemoro* seems better than 'what shall I say of' (Haines); cp. Cic. Tusc. 1,34 *sed quid poetas?* (sc. *commemoro*); Plaut. Bacch. 1049 *quid ego istic?* (sc. *faciam*); Cic. Att. 2,21,1 *quid ego tibi subtiliter?* (sc. *scribam*). *Quid ergo* (so Hildebrand and Ebert) would require the ellipsis of a verbum sentiendi, but *quid ergo* is not used that way, see TLL s.v. ergo.

Sordes et illuvies: 135,9 (marg. d) Fronto speaks of the *verborum sordes* of Epictetus; see also 265,10. Plaut. Mil. 1001 *loquitur laute et minime sordide*; Cic. Att. 15,2,2 *contionatum . . . sordide*; Sen. Contr. 4 praef. 9 and 7 praef. 4 *sordida verba*; Sen. Epist. 114,13 *dum nihil nisi tritum et usitatum volunt, in sordes incidunt*; Quint. Inst. 2,5,10 finds in authors like Seneca *humilia, sordida, lasciva, effeminata*; Plin. Epist. 5,8,9 opposes *sordida oratio* to *splendida*; Tac. Dial. 21,4 *sordes . . . illae verborum . . . redolent antiquitatem*; Gell. 12,2,1 calls Seneca's style *vulgaris et protrita*; 16,7,4 *ex sordidiore vulgi usu*.

156,4 *effeminate fluentia*: see at 119,11. Quint. Inst. 8 prooem. 20 *illa translucida et versicolor quorundam elocutio res ipsas effeminat*; see also 2,5,10 and 9,4,142.

156,5 *aversantes*: probably a Stoic term, see at 139,11.

156,7 *ventilare*: 'wave' (Haines). Mart. 5,31 4 *ventilat arma*; Sen. Contr. 3 praef. 13 *totum aliud est pugnare, aliud ventilare*. See at 154,18.

Hastulis: 'sham lances' (Haines); in this original sense it occurs only here. See at 39,16f.

Histriones: see at 47,1; 154,15.

Aquae salientes: 'fountains', cp. the German 'Springbrunnen'. See Vitruv. 10,7,3; Frontin. Aquaed. 9,9; 11,2; Suet. Aug. 82,1; Paul. Dig. 50,16,79,2.

Sipunculi: 'small pipes'; Plin. Epist. 5,6,23 and 36. The point is: 'this is all very *concinnum* ("dainty" [Haines]) and people *rem laudant*, but only rain-water is useful'. For *concinnus* see at 41,10; 159,16f.

De: see at 21,1.

156,10 *delicias*: 'playful luxuriousness'; Ovid. Trist. 2,349 *delicias et mollia carmina feci*; 5,1,15 *delicias si quis lascivaque carmina quaerit*; Sen. Epist. 114,7 *laudem suam corrupit (Maecenas) istis orationis portentosissimae deliciis; apparet enim mollem fuisse, non mitem*.

156,12 *oculos convenientes*: 'harmonizing (or converging) eyes' (Haines), the opposite of squint eyes; the expression does not occur elsewhere. Haines supposes that Marcus alludes to himself and L. Verus as the eyes of the state; he is followed by Grube, The Critics 321 n. 1; Birley, A Nickname 470; and Champlin, Fronto 140, who compares Apul. Apol. 9,12 *hoc mihi vos eritis, quod duo sunt oculi*. In his Chronology, however, Champlin has his doubts: the next lines with *enodata voce* show that Marcus was speaking of something quite different. Marcus' speech was held in the senate or in a contio populi (*clamores* 17,20).

156,13 *quis*: see at 162,23.

Iteratur. Liv. 4,37,9 and 8,38,10 of the *clamor* on the battlefield. Klussmann has an improbable interpunction: *Quis clamor! iteratur* sc. *a te*.

Utrumque verbum: oculos convenientes and *voce enodata*.

Quaesitum: see at 56,15.

156,14 *inventum*: see at 10,10–12.

Ubi with pluperfect is found since Ter. Phorm. 573 but not in Cicero; see Kühner II 361; Hofmann-Szantyr 652.

Verbum repeated: see at 40,14; 191,13.

156,15–18 See at 146,18–147,1.

156,15 *soluta*: 'free' (Haines), 'easy'. Cp. Val. Max. 8,7 ext. 1 *(Demosthenes) fertur . . . ore insertis calculis multum ac diu loqui solitus, quo vacuum promptius esset et solutius*. 147,1 we have *absoluta*.

156,16 *expedita voce* does not occur elsewhere. O. Hiltbrunner, TLL s.v., erroneously assumes that it is said here of the orator.

Enodatus is found only in Augustin. Ord. 2,12,36 of vowels: *qui moderato varie hiatu quasi enodati ac simplices faucibus sine ulla collisione defluerent*.

156,17 *ex . . . loco*: cp. *locus* lines 11 and 20, but see at 97,10. It does not seem to be 'that same passage' (Haines) or 'questo punto di vista' (Portalupi), because of *quaesisse* and *quod* (relative) *est* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου: *locus* is 'argumentation', 'locus communis'. In an argumentation the right antitheton emphasizes the remark, and therefore Marcus' *oculi convenientes* and *vox enodata* were a lucky strike. See at 57,16 *insperata atque inopinata verba*.

Fronto uses the Greek term which he had learned from his Greek master Apollodorus (see at 17,8) or from the treatise on argumentation of Theodorus of Gaza: 41,20 Θεοδώρου *locos* ἐπιχειρημάτων, where *locos* also indicate the loci communes. See at 85,21.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου: *e contrario*, 'drawn from the contrary' (Haines).

156,18 *perfecta vox* is not found elsewhere. Put a full stop after *perfectam*, because *quia* refers to what follows.

156,22 *clipeo: certare* has dropped out.

157,1 *Theodorus* of Gaza: see at 6,3; 41,20; 231,16ff.

Πολλαχῶς λέγεσθαι: an argument drawn from the various meanings a word can have; this fits in very well with the three meanings of *convenire* and ἡρμόσθαι. It is the opposite of ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου and has nothing to do with abundancy. J.W.E. Pearce suggested to Haines the translation 'method from synonyms'. Cp. Aristot. Top. 8,3,3 ὀνόματα ἃ . . . ἀδηλά ἐστιν εἴτε ἁπλῶς εἴτε πολλαχῶς λέγεται. See also Aristot. Pol. 3,1,11 and at 41,17; 149,19f.; 152,1.

157,3 *straboni* is probably dative; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 36, and Portalupi regard it as a genitive of *strabonus*, a form which occurs only in Petron. 68,8.

157,4–5 *oculi dispares, pares, inpares, concinni*: not said elsewhere, and the word *disconcinnus* occurs only here. Cic. Nat. deor. 1,79 and Firm. Math. 8,26,13 have *oculi perversi*.

157,6 *dicas fortasse*: see at 36,15.

Crispulum: 'a bit crisp', hence 'artificial' (Haines). Fronto is the only writer to use it metaphorically.

157,7 *fuscum*: 'dark'. Haines has *luscum*, but he translates 'obscure'.

Purpurisso litum: 'made up with rouge'. 138,15 (marg. d) *purpurissum* is 'purple paint'; it is of course not an archaism, as Lannoy 80 thinks. Nov. Com. 83 *inlino cretam cerussam purpurissum*. See at 58,15 and Plaut. Most. 261; Apul. Apol. 76,5; Tert. Cult. fem. 2,7,3; Hieron. Epist. 38,3; 54,7; 108,15; 127,3.

157,10–158,5 Two more arguments against Seneca's style: it is, like the *ludus talarius*, attractive but undignified, and compared with Ennius it is the nervous style of a *declamator*.

157,10 *censoris*: of the list of censors in R.V. Cramm, The Roman Censors, Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol. 51, 1940, 71ff., we can strike off Appius Claudius and C. Plautius (312 BC); Liv. 9,30,5 says that by them the *tibicines . . . prohibiti . . . erant in aede Iovis vesci*. According to Klussmann, Emendationes 63, and E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 39, 1917, 175, it is Cato, though none of the many testimonies on Cato mentions a ban on musicians or dancers. The severe P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (142 BC) can also be crossed off. It must be one of the censors of 115 BC, L. Caecilius Metellus or Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus: quoting Livy, Cass. Chron. ad ann. 115 states: *his consulibus L. Metellus et Cn. Domitius censores artem ludicram ex urbe removerunt praeter Latinum tibicinem cum cantore et ludum talarium* (so Mommsen, *talanum* MSS). Hertz, De ludo talario 11, was the first to see that Fronto and Cassiodorus refer to the same edict; see also J.C.G. Boot, Observationes criticae ad M. Tulli Ciceronis epistulas,

stelodami 1880, 41; Th. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte II 462; and G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, München [2]1912, 462. Hertz puts a comma after *cantore* lest we should understand that the censor did not prohibit the dance, which is exactly what Teuffel 1,16 and Altheim, Talarius ludus, RE IV A 2 (1913), have against Hertz's interpretation: according to them, the censor indeed did not prohibit such a dance. See also W.H. Gross, Talarius ludus, Kleine Pauly (1974). It seems, however, that Cassiodorus reproduces Livy's words rather clumsily: if the *ludus talarius* is a dance of foreign origin, the opposition to *Latinus tibicen* is understandable (Altheim also rejects Mommsen's conjecture *talarium*). On the effeminate effect of music see H. Herter, Effeminatus, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum IV (1959). The *ludi talarii* are entertainments in a long gown, a *tunica talaris*, reaching to the ankles. A normal man's tunic reached to the knees, and only effeminate men wore on such occasions the womanly long tunic (it bears no relation to the χιτών ποδήρκης or ποδηνεκής). On the *tunica talaris* and the *ludus talarius* see Cic. Verr. II 5,31 *cum iste (Verres) cum pallio purpureo talarique tunica versaretur in conviviis muliebribus*; Cic. Cat. 2,22 friends of Catilina *manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis*; Att. 1,16,3 *non enim umquam turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit*; Off. 1,150 *saltatores totumque ludum talarium*; Suet. Cal. 54,2 *magno tibiarum et scabellorum* (wooden shoes to beat time) *crepitu cum palla tunicaque talari prosiluit*; Quint. Inst. 11,3,58 *ludorum talarium licentia* (Radermacher: perhaps *ludorum saltatariorum*). Maybe Sen. Contr. 9,2,8 refers to it: *quid . . . referam . . . ludorum genera, saltationes et illud dedecoris certamen, praetorne se mollius moveret an meretrix*. See also Gell. 6,12,2. (Later the *tunica talaris* became the liturgical talar of priests: Apul. Met. 11,24,2f., who calls it an *Olympiaca stola*; Lact. Inst. 4,14,8; Hieron. Epist. 64,14). Hertz and Hauler identify the *ludus talarius* with a rude pantomime like the μαγῳδία and the λυσῳδία (Aristox. Frag. Hist. II 57 Müller; Athen. XVI 621 C; Strabo 14,1,41). But the testimonies and Fronto's *cum praeteriret* show that this *ludus* was not performed on the stage and that it had a private and extemporaneous character. A. Reifferscheid, Jahresb. ü. d. Fort. d. class. Alterthumswiss. XXIII 267 (followed by Teuffel, Wissowa and Altheim), supposes that this *ludus* is the same as what Lyd. De mag. Rom. 1,40 calls the καταστολαρία, a word which is not found in Liddell & Scott; it seems to refer to the *Quinquatrus minores*, when the guild of *tibicines* went in procession through the city, cp. Ovid. Fast. 6,653f. *quid sibi personae* ('masks'), *quid toga longa volunt?* According to Hertz, the *ludus talarius* was of Italic origin, Altheim regards it as Etruscan and compares Liv. 7,2,4 *ludiones ex Etruria acciti ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant*, but *haud indecoros* is at variance with the depreciatory testimonies on the *ludus talarius*, which is not 'uno spettacolo' (Portalupi 386 n. 31).

Quod: 'viz. that' or 'in view of the fact that', not 'because' (Haines), on account of the subjunctive, nor 'dicendo che' (Portalupi).

157,11 *ea*: 'that way' (Haines).

Difficile: H. Amman, TLL s.v., is wrong in stating that Fronto is the first to use this adverb in the sense of 'vix', 'aegre'; cp. e.g. Bell. Alex. 48,1. See at 112,15.

Servire: 'pay attention to', 'consult' (Haines), not 'mantenere' (Portalupi).
Quin: see at 5,3. *Difficile* is practically a negation: 'almost not'; cp. Plaut. Cas. 239 *vix teneor quin* ... *dicam*; Hor. Sat. 2,2,23 *vix tamen eripiam* ... *quin*; Claud. Quadr. ap. Gell. 17,13,6 *paene factum est quin*; Ovid. Met. 7,728 *male me, quin vera faterer, continui*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 678.

157,12 *crotali aut cymbali*: 'castanets or cymbals' (Haines); cp. Priap. 27,3 *cymbala cum crotalis, pruriginis arma*. In Apul. Met. 8,24,2 and 9,4,3 the two instruments are used by wandering mendicants. In both Latin and Greek the plural is usual and Fronto is the first to have the singular *cymbalum*; *crotalum* already in Copa 2.
Pedem poneret: 'keep step', not 'dancing' (Haines). Note the alliteration, also in *sinceris similia*. Περὶ ὕψ. 39,2 (ὁ αὐλὸς) βάσιν ἐνδοὺς τινα ῥυθμοῦ πρὸς ταυήν ἀναγκάζει βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ.
Tum praeterea: see at 59,9.

157,13–14 *iurisque* ... *eo* is not very likely. 155,7 Fronto quotes correctly *iusque datum sceleri*. If *iuris* is correct, we must assume that m^2 is right to add *eo*. *Eo iuris* itself presents no problem, but with *datum* it does. Is it a free quotation, like 155,10f. and 155,19? On first thoughts (*nisi quis diligenter examinat*), Lucanus' formulation is not bad, but the opposition *ius*—*scelus* is much less pointed than Sallust's antithesis *ius*—*validiores*. Lucan. 1,175f. *mensuraque iuris vis erat*, and there the Adnot. super Lucanum compare it with Sall. Hist. I 18 *ut omne ius in viribus* (sic) *esset*.

157,16 *Gallicanus*: 'Gallic' (Haines), not a proper name, as A. Stein, RE VII 1 (1910), and Della Corte think. Teuffel 3,221; A. Stein, Gadullius 14, PIR IV 1^2 (1952); and Champlin, Chronology, even identify him with the otherwise unknown Gadullius Gallicanus (Non. p. 291 L.). Squilla Gallicanus (185,13) need not be considered. *Quidam* shows that Gallicanus is an adjective. The wild speculations of Baldwin, The Vita Avidii 102ff., about the relation between Fronto's *Gallicanus declamator* and the biographer Vulcacius Gallicanus had better be forgotten; see Proleg. LXII n. 4. In his first edition Mai thought that our *Gallicanus declamator* was Favorinus of Arles, but Fronto appreciated him (see Testim. 5) and would not have called him *Gallicanus quidam declamator*. The same Baldwin, Studies in Aulus Gellius 30, had previously supported Mai's view, suggesting that a temporary quarrel between the two men might have changed Fronto's sympathy. A real possibility is Sex. Iulius Gabinianus: Suet. Rhet. 15 Roth; Tac. Dial. 26,8 on modern rhetoricians: *quotes enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum?*; Hieron. Chron. ad ann. 76 AD *Gabinianus celeberrimi nominis rhetor in Gallia docuit*; In Esai. 8 praef. Hieronymus recommends Gabinianus to those who *flumen eloquentiae et concinnas declamationes desiderant*. If Gallicanus is not our *declamator*, he was anyhow a writer *Gallicano cothurno*, 'with a bombastic style', cp. Hieron. Epist. 37,3,1 *est sermo (Iosephi) quidem compositus et Gallicano coturno fluens*; 58,10,2 *sanctus Hilarius Gallicano coturno adtollitur*. See H. Bruhn, Specimen vocabularii rhetorici ad inferioris aetatis Latinitatem pertinens, Marburg 1911, 46ff.; P. Antin, Rev. Bénéd. 1947, 82ff. Already in antiquity, Gallicanus

appears to have been a problem, because m^2 gives the explanation *oratoriae magister*, see Proleg. XXXVIII.

Deliberarent: declamatores often used the history of Alexander for such deliberations: Sen. Contr. 7,7,19; Suas. 1,1; 1,8; 4,1; Quint. Decl. 323; Inst. 3,8,16; 5,10,118; and—much like our passage—8,5,24 *suadentis purpuratis, ut Alexandrum Babylonis incendio sepeliant.*

157,17 *an*: see at 138,3.

Quid si: see at 9,8.

Operas: 'as assistants'.

158,1 *hyaenas*: contrary to E. Hauler, Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien 61, 1910, 676, and the editors since then, I prefer *hyaenas* to *leones* because the latter is uncertain and because the hyenas would eat the bodies of the Babylonians; Plin. Nat. 8,106 on hyenas as body eaters.

Inquit: see at 92,21.

Iste: the Gallic orator.

Et: in another passage of his declamation which did not refer to Babylon but to a theme of early Roman history.

158,1–5 E.H. Warmington, Remains of Old Latin I, London 1953, 24, did not take notice of Hauler's publications in Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien 61, 1910, 673–684 and Archiv 13, 1904, 298.

158,1–2 *eodem* ... *Enni* must be a parenthesis. The readings of m^2 try to explain that Ennius' *factum est* is better used than the declamator's. Baldwin, The Vita Avidii 103, erroneously states that the declamator borrowed it from Ennius. *Hoc* is nominative and refers to *factum est.* In his bombastic style the declamator repeats *factum est,* whereas Ennius uses it only once. In Ennius' works, *factum est* occurs in Trag. 19 and 267 Klotz, but Fronto has another passage in mind.

158,2–4 Mai and F. Semi in his edition of Ennius, Venetiis 1964, falsely regard these lines as a quotation from Ennius. Niebuhr and O. Hey, TLL s.v. claudo, suppose that *Tiberis est* ... *claudi* is from an edict of M. Aurelius, cp. Vita Marci 8,4 *Tiberis inundatio, quae sub illis gravissima fuit* (?!).

158,2 *vobis*: dat. auctoris, if we read *quirites.*

Quirites: two of Fronto's MSS had *quirites* or *quiritibus*, see Proleg. XXXVIII; so *lustratis* or *lustrantibus* is less likely.

158,3 *Tiberis*: apparently the declamator is speaking of the pros and cons of an embankment along the Tiber, a canalization. The readings of m^2 try to explain this by the words *canalis, tali mole* and *procax.* Unfortunately, we do not know who *Tuscus* is: the possibilities reach from the two Tarquinii (Liv. 1,38,6 and 1,56,2) to L. Dasumius Tullius Tuscus, who was *curator operum publicorum* in 153–154 AD. Warmington reads *Tiberis est Tusce Tiber: Tiberis* is Tiber in Tuscan dialect, and he thinks that *iubes* refers to Iuppiter.

Cludi: 'sbarrare' (Portalupi), 'to be dammed up' (Warmington). Cp. Verg. Ecl. 3,111 *claudite iam rivos, pueri; sat prata biberunt*; Hor. Carm. 1,2,13ff. *vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis / litore Etrusco violenter undis / ire deiectum monumenta regis / templaque Vestae, / Iliae dum se nimium querenti / iactat ultorem vagus et sinistra / labitur ripa Iove non probante u/xorius amnis.* The form *cludi*, often

found in inscriptions, rarely occurs in older MSS, so m^2 may be right to write *claudi*. My suggestion that we should perhaps write <*amnis*> *quem* is untenable.

158,4 *Tiber*: this nominative is not found elsewhere. Is there any relation to Tibur, as St. Weinstock, Tibur, RE VI A 1 (1936), suggests? Normal is *Tiberinus amnis*.

Dominus: Mart. 10,7,9 *Thybris te (Rhenum) dominus rogat*.

Regnator undarum goes back to Verg. Aen. 8,77 on the Tiber: *Hesperidum fluvius regnator undarum*, and so Colum. 10,200 of Neptunus; Auson. Epigr. 28 P. *Illyricis regnator aquis . . . Danuvius*. Cp. Naev. Bell. Pun. 12 *Neptunum, regnator marum*; Sen. Phaedra 945 *regnator freti*.

Ennius: in contrast to the verbose declamator.

158,5 *postquam* etc.: Amulius has drowned Ilia (Rhea Silvia) and thrown her baby twins Romulus and Remus in a case into the Tiber. The Tiber overflows, but Iuppiter orders it to fall back, and so the case comes to rest on dry land under the *ficus Rumina(lis)*. See Varro, L.L. 5,54; R.R. 2,11,5; Ovid. Fast. 2,412; Liv. 1,4,4ff.; Hor. Carm. 1,2,17ff.; Plin. Nat. 15,77; Tac. Ann. 13,58; Plut. Romul. 4,1; Quaest. Rom. 57; Non. p. 167 M.; Augustin. Civ. 4,11 p. 161,6; Porphyr. Hor. Carm. 1,2,17; Serv. Aen. 1,277; G. Radke, Rumina, Kleine Pauly (1972).

Postquam: Hauler, Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien 61, 1910, 673ff., prefers to keep the original reading of m^1 *pos aquam*: 'after its flood' (Haines, who reads *post aquam*), but *pos* is a late and vulgar form used almost always before consonants; before vowels only a few times in inscriptions.

Constitit: because after *constitit* (or *consistit*) two more letters seem to be extant, I have chosen for Ellis' reading *constitit is*. The readings of Hauler, Haines and Portalupi[1] present metrical problems. If we read *consistit fluvius*, these two letters are not taken into account; yet this reading was accepted by J. Becker, Ephem. Marburg. 1849, 311, and by the editors of Ennius: Lucian Müller (1884); E. Baehrens, Fragm. Poetarum Lat. (1886); L. Valmaggi; Warmington; Ethel M. Steuart; and M. Bandiera. Hauler and Haines read *consistit isti*, where *isti* either means to please him (Iuppiter) or has the same meaning as *istic*. In itself, *postquam* with present is no problem. The readings of m^2 are, as so often, explanations rather than variants (see Proleg. XLf.), and we should not deduce from them three possible readings.

Omnibus: Cic. Orat. 161 states that, in verse, suppression of the last letter of a word—*quod iam subrusticum videtur, olim autem politius*—was not unusual: *ita enim loquebantur*: '*qui est omnibu' princeps*'. Apparently the MS of Ennius used by Fronto was not the same as the one Cicero used. The dative *omnibus* refers to *est princeps*, though *princeps* alone is also used with dative, e.g. Liv. 10,8,6 and Apul. Flor. 19,1.

Qui sub ovilia is a crux philologorum: m^1 leaves the line after *princeps* blank, as it often does to indicate a new paragraph or a quotation. Vahlen, Warmington and Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 380, do not believe that *qui sub ovilia* and what preceeds are parts of the same quotation. But *ait* shows that *qui sub ovilia* must be Ennius' words (*ait* after a long quotation also e.g. Verg. Aen. 3,543 and Fronto 63,26M). Moreover, *qui* can hardly

refer to Ennius: it must refer to *omnibus*. Hauler explains: 'alle Flüsse, die, im Tiberstrome vereint, unter den damaligen Ansiedelungen (den primitiven ersten Behausungen) dahinflossen', but then we should expect *sub ovilibus*, which is why several philologists have opted for an ablative instead of an accusative. *Qui* refers to *omnibus*, but there are two possibilities: the most plausible is that it is *omnibus fluviis*. The missing verb does not seem to be a normal ellipsis: Fronto simply leaves out a word like *feruntur, se effundunt*, and the *ovilia* are the *stabula* (Liv. 1,4,7; Dionys. Ant. Rom. 1,79) or the *saxa*, according to m[2]'s explanation: *urbis Romae saxis* (for *in saxis*) *Palatini inhabitasse feruntur*. The oldest settlement was on the Palatine (Varro, L.L. 5,164; Liv. 1,7,3; Tac. Ann. 12,24,3; Plut. Romul. 3; Gell. 13,14,2) and the first inhabitants were *pastores Palatini* (Varro, L.L. 5,54; Tibull. 2,5,25; Prop. 4,9,49). The second possibility is that *omnibus* stands for *omnibus hominibus*. In that case we should supply a verb like *eunt* or *veniunt* and take *qui sub ovilia* metaphorically as the men who go to the comitia, because in the earliest times the citizens gave their votes in an enclosure called *ovile*, see Liv. 26,22,11; Serv. Ecl. 1,34. This interpretation has the advantage to make the reading or variant *civilia* clear to us: the men who carry out their civic duties. Non liquet.

Hauler has tried to reconstruct Ennius' hexameters as follows:

Factumst:
Retro iam substat fluvius, qui est omnibu' princeps,
qui sub ovilia.

158,7 *vestem*: clothes compared to speech: see at 88,9.

Interpolem: 'patched' (Haines), 'dressed'. Old clothes were touched up by the fuller. Isid. Orig. 19,22,23 *interpola vestis illa vocatur quae, dum sit vetus, ad novam speciem recuratur*; Marc. Dig. 18,1,45 opposes *vestimenta interpola* to *nova*.

Sincera: 'uninjured'.

158,8 *lectionibus*: 'letture' (Portalupi), not 'citations' (Haines). H. Beikircher, TLL s.v., wrongly thinks that Fronto is speaking 'de versibus perperam insertis'. Plin. Epist. 7,21,1 has an *infirmitas oculorum: non stilo modo, verum etiam lectionibus difficulter, sed abstineo solisque auribus studeo*. See at 19,16.

Ad lubrica: Fronto is the first to use this proverb; also Avell. p. 551,12 *non est arduum in sicco secura fixisse vestigia . . ., satis est . . . inter lubrica non labare.*

159,1 *edictum tuum*: it is not clear which edict is meant. It must have been published in the first years of Marcus' reign, see at 153,1f. A.R. Birley, A Nickname 470, assumes that *florere . . . iuventutem* refers to the extension of the alimenta system introduced by Marcus on the occasion of the betrothal of L. Verus and Annia Lucilla in 162; cp. Vita Marci 7,8 *ob hanc coniunctionem pueros et puellas novorum nominum frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt*; Champlin, Fronto 140, shares this view. But they overlooked *in suis actibus* and Fronto's interpretation of Marcus' sentence: *iuventus* is not the same as *pueri et puellae*! Nor is it probable that this edict has anything to do with Vita Marci 23,8 *mores matronarum conposuit diffluentes et iuvenum nobilium*, as has been suggested by Schwendermann, Der historische Wert 51. What Fronto is alluding to are the *collegia iuvenum* or *iuventutis*, military guilds

in the Italic cities often mentioned in inscriptions, see TLL s.v. collegium. Marc. Dig. 47,22,1,2 *non licet autem amplius quam unum collegium licitum habere, ut est constitutum et a divis fratribus.* M. Sordi, Riv. di storia d. Chiesa in Italia 16, 1962, 4 n. 10, and Maria Cristofori, L'oratio di Frontone 138, date our edict 177; by that time, however, Fronto was already dead for ten years. See at 159,12.

Quo: the instrumental ablative instead of *in quo*, as 24,16 *litteris tuis... requisisti*; 88,15 and 23 *epistula tua, qua scripsisti*; 162,11 *Censorius testamento suo... parum verbis temperarit.* See also 3,5 and Kühner I 354. In line 7 m²'s addition of *in* seems necessary.

159,2 *defecto*: 'poor', 'faulty' (Haines).

159,3 *florere*: there would have been nothing wrong with *florere* if Marcus had used it in the usual sense of 'to flourish' (see Fronto himself 87,6 and 88,25), but apparently Marcus had used it as 'to live in great numbers', and it is against this use that Fronto objected. Yet there are a few passages where it means 'to be in the prime of life', and sometimes it is simply 'to live': Nepos, Att. 11,5 *matrem non minus post mortem eius quam florentem coluerit*; Plin. Epist. 1,16,8 *si inter eos, quos numquam vidimus, floruisset*; Tac. Ann. 1,1,5 *florentibus ipsis (imperatoribus)* as opposed to *postquam occiderant*; 11,37,4 *florenti filiae* as opposed to *extremis eius necessitatibus.* So we may assume that Marcus used the word also in this sense.

Actibus: 'plots', 'holdings' (Haines). Plin. Nat. 18,9 *iugum vocabatur quod uno iugo boum in die exarari posset; actus in quo boves agerentur cum aratro uno impetu iusto* (*actus* is indeed a derivation from *agere*); Isid. Orig. 15,15,4 *actus quadratus undique finitur pedibus centum viginti.*

Inlibatam, 'unimpaired' (Haines), is usually said of the body or of health, so 2,16M; 72,20M. Fronto objects to its use of persons, probably in the sense of 'coming in numbers', a meaning not found elsewhere.

159,4 *frequentari*: 'to be peopled with'. Cp. Cic. Off. 2,15 *urbes... sine hominum coetu non potuissent... frequentari*; Suet. Aug. 46 *Italiam... colonarium numero... frequentavit.*

159,5 *primo... primo*: note the alliteration with chiasmus.

Facit: 'what is *florere* doing?' (Haines).

159,6 *sibi*: a reflexive dative, like *mihi* in line 12. It is often used with *volo* and *malo*, e.g. Petron. 50,7 *ego malo mihi vitrea.* See Hofmann-Szantyr 93.

Ambitus et circumitiones: ambitus = ambages, 'roundabouts', not 'inversions' (Haines) or the technical term 'perifrasi' (Portalupi). Rhet. Her. 4,32,43 *circumitio est oratio rem simplicem adsumpta circumscribens elocutione*; Cic. Orat. 38 *circumscripti verborum ambitus*; Div. 2,127 *quid opus est circumitione et anfractu?*; Liv. 27,27,12 *multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim*; Quint. Inst. 8,2,17 *circumeunt omnia copiosa loquacitate.*

159,8 *suo suco*: 'in their natural juice', 'juicy with their own sap' (Haines), not 'senso specifico' (Portalupi). *Sucus* is often used by Cicero to indicate the strong and peculiar quality of speech: De orat. 3,96 *ornatur igitur oratio... quasi colore quodam et suco suo*; 2,88; 2,93; Quint. Inst. 10,1,31. Sometimes it is combined with *sanguis*: Cic. Brut. 36 *sucus ille et sanguis incorruptus*; Orat.

76; cp. Att. 4,16,10; 4,18,2. *Sanguis*: Cic. De orat. 3,199; Brut. 283; Vell. 2,9,3; Quint. Inst. 8,2,6; 10,1,60; 10,1,115; 10,2,12; Tac. Dial. 21,8; 26,4; Fronto 178,2; Gell. 18,4,2.

Scabies porrigo is nowhere else used of style. J.J. Cornelissen, Ad Frontonem 129; Priebe II 10; and Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 62 n. 2, assume that it is a quotation from Lucil. 982 *tristem et corruptum scabie et porriginis plenum*, but Lucilius alludes to something quite different; cp. Iuv. 2,80 *grex totus in agris unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci.*

Eiusmodi: like Seneca's.

159,9 *monetam . . . sectator* is a locus communis: Plaut. Cas. prol. 9f. *nunc novae quae prodeunt comoediae multo sunt nequiores quam nummi novi*; Iuv. 7,55 *qui communi feriat carmen triviale moneta*; Solin. praef. 4,17 (= Testim. 18) *vestigia monetae veteris persecuti opiniones universas eligere maluimus potius quam innovare*; Symm. Epist. 3,11,2 (= Testim. 36) *spectator* ('assay master'; *sectator* Norden) *tibi veteris monetae solus supersum.* There is no reason to assume that Solinus and Symmachus imitated Fronto. The coining of words compared to minting of money also in Hor. Ars 58f.; Iuv. 7,55; Quint. Inst. 1,6,3; Apul. Apol. 38,5. For Greek examples see Norden, Kunstprosa I 365.

Plumbei nummi, 'worthless coins', cp. the German Blechmünze, is proverbial, see Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. plumbeus; Plaut. Cas. 258 *homini hodie peculi nummus non est plumbeus*; Most. 893 *cudere soles plumbeos nummos*; Trin. 962 *nummum numquam credam plumbeum.* With a jar, Mart. 10,74,4 *centum merebor plumbeos die toto*; see also 1,99,15.

159,10 *cuiuscemodi* for *cuiusque modi* has been formed after *huiuscemodi.* It occurs here for the first time; also in Gell. 11,16,8; often in Apuleius; Dictys 2,27; 4,20. As a variant already in Cic. Verr. II 4,7. See Ed. Wölfflin, Archiv 5, 1888, 396; J. van der Vliet, ibid., 10, 1898, 386.

159,11 *quibus . . . Perperna*: 'which are stamped with (the name of) Perperna' (Haines). Cp. Mart. 6,27,3 *quae (filia) patriā signatur imagine vultus*; Plin. Nat. 33,43 *Servius rex primus signavit aes. antea rudi usos Romae Timaeus tradit. signatum est nota pecudum, unde et pecunia appellata.* Portalupi, La presenza di Orazio 99, compares Hor. Ars 59 *signatum praesente nota producere nomen*, but it is not a matter of a quotation, see at 29,5. We do not know a mint-master Perperna. The Perpernas we know are M. Perperna (Liv. 44,27,11; 44,32,1ff.; Val Max. 3,4,5; IG IX 2,258,7) and his son M. Perperna who was consul in 130 BC. Another M. Perperna was consul in 92 BC, whose son, also called Marcus, was a partisan of Sertorius. H.A. Gruber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I, London 1910, has made it clear that in the period 150–50 BC the mint-masters stamped their coins with their full name, not with their initials. See also Suolahti, The Roman Censors 454ff. and Portalupi ad hoc. The consul of 130 or the one of 92 BC might be our Perperna. F. Münzer, Perperna, RE XIX 1 (1937), has unfounded doubts about the existence of a mint-master called Perperna. Perperna is the original name, but already Nepos and Valerius Maximus have Perpenna.

159,12–14 Gercke, Senecastudien 150, has led me astray. He combines the words *polluta . . . pallium* with the gen. plur. *nummum*: Fronto had

criticized the *recentes nummi*; that might sound discourteous to the reigning emperors, so he added: 'of course I would prefer (even) the polluted and contaminated specimens of the coins of Antoninus' etc. But we must—with all editors—put a question mark after *Pii*: 'would I not prefer a recent coin like that of Antoninus?' After *quid igitur?* usually follows another question, see 184,3 and Kühner II 143; 498.

Non = *nonne*, see at 42,20.

Mihi is a reflexive dative, see at 159,6.

The next sentence presents difficulties. Mai[1] (not in his later editions) added *haec sunt verba*, referring to Seneca's style. Haines found a palaeographically better solution by adding *ista* after *polluta*, but his translation 'those old words' cannot be correct, because we can hardly believe that Fronto would call old words polluted. In a note Haines explains: 'of course the older words are worn and discoloured with age and want careful handling to justify their use'. Champlin, Fronto 139, translates: 'Am I not to prefer for myself a coin of Antoninus or Commodus or Pius? They are stained and contaminated' etc. But how can *polluta* refer to *nummum*? The explanation of Whitehorn, Ad amicos 481, is not quite satisfactory either: 'Yes, some new coins are good (just like those of your house, for instance) and so are some new linguistic coinages. But just be careful how to use them.' The sentence *polluta et contaminata* etc. must refer to Seneca's style, and Fronto leaps from one thought to another: would I not prefer modern coins like those of Antoninus? Of course I would. But modern words are polluted (Della Corte correctly: 'queste parole sono guaste'). So we must put a question mark after *Pii* and an exclamation mark after *pallium*. *Nummum* is a representative singular; the gen. plur. can hardly be used with *polluta*: in such a case Fronto would have written *nummorum*, see Neue-Wagener I 169f. Haines' addition of *ista* is plausible, but not in the sense he suggests.

Commodi is problematic: is it Marcus' son or is it L. Verus who was called L. Ceionius Commodus from his birth till his adoption by Hadrian in 138 and L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus from 138 until he became coregent on 7 March 161 and changed his name to L. Aurelius Verus? At 153,1f. we have seen that De orationibus was written not long after Marcus' accession to the throne. Calling Verus Commodus after 7 March 161 'würde ein dem Fronto nicht zuzutrauender Verstoss gegen die Etikette sein', says Mommsen, Chronologie 486. Is this a strong argument? Verus plays no part in the corespondence Ad M. Caesarem; we only hear that, in his early twenties, he delivered a speech which was rather a failure (80,8–15), and there is no correspondence between Fronto and Verus until the latter became emperor. We may say that Fronto was hardly in sympathy with him, see at 80,9 and 103,8f. As to courteousness, Fronto 109,9 writes to Verus: *socrum* (= *socerum*) *et liberos vestros saluta*. That, however, is not correct either: officially Marcus is Verus' *frater*, not *socer*. So if we assume that De orationibus was written soon after 7 March 161, the old Fronto may very well have called Verus by the name of Commodus, a name Lucius had had for over thirty years, especially in private correspondence. 30,12 Marcus calls himself *Verus*, his old name until he was adopted by Pius, and 105,21 Fronto

addresses Marcus as *M. Aureli*, whereas *Antonine* would have been more courteous and more correct; elsewhere Fronto always addresses Marcus as *Antonine* since he was emperor. Though it is not an argument for the thesis that here Commodus is L. Verus, it is worth mentioning that later historians often call him Commodus after he became co-emperor: Vita Ael. 2,9 *L. Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus Antoninus*; Vita Veri 1,3 *L. Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus*; Vita Marci 7,5 *L. Aurelius Verus Commodus*; see also Euseb. Chron. 235 Ol. p. 204 H.; Syncell. 664; Oros. 7,15; Zonaras 12,2. See Proleg. LI n. 4; LX; A. Stein, PIR II^3 no. 606 p. 136 (1936). Our passage is decisive for the date of Fronto's death. Since 165–166 Fronto was in bad health (109,6; 113,2; 237,6; 238,6) and well over seventy years old. The troops returning from Verus' eastern campaign had brought pestilence to Italy and thousands died. The last letters we have are of 166–167, see edition p. 294. The history of Verus' Parthian War which Fronto intended to write in 166 (202,13f.) was never realized. Fronto's son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus plays an important part in the correspondence; yet the last post of his long and significant career mentioned in the letter is that of legatus Augustorum pro praetore in Germania superior in 162–165 (see at 178,7). Afterwards he was e.g. proconsul of Africa between 172 and 175: if Fronto was still alive in the 170s, he could hardly have let the opportunity pass to mention it. As it is one of the most discussed problems of Fronto's life, it seems worthwhile to name those who have taken part against or for Mommsen. The following scholars date Fronto's death c. 166–167 (or at any rate before Verus' death in January 169): the editors Mai, Niebuhr, Naber, Haines, Della Corte, Pepe and Portalupi; A. Peyron, Biblioteca Italiana 5, 1817, 8; Fr. A. Eckstein, Fronto; Fülles, De ... Herodis vita 22; Bähr, Geschichte II^4 624; W. Henzen, Acta fratrum arvalium, Berlin 1874, index; Watson, Marcus Aurelius 163 n. 4; Ed. Wölfflin, Archiv 7, 1892, 482; J. Dartigue-Peyrou, Marc-Aurèle dans ses rapports avec le Christianisme, thèse, Paris 1897, 84; Brakman, De morte Frontonis, Frontoniana II 42 (he was the first to challenge Mommsen's argument); Santi Consoli, Boll. d. Filol. class. 10, 1904, 62; Dorothy Brock, Studies 169; Haines, Chronology 118; Schanz III^3 89; A. Gudeman, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur III, Berlin/Leipzig 1924, 20; J.P. Waltzing, Musée Belge 29, 1925, 218 n. 1; Terzaghi, Storia 487; J.A. de Groot, Mensch en wijsgeer Marcus Aurelius, Hermeneus 18, 1946–47, 53; P.J. Enk, Geschiedenis der Latijnse litteratuur, Groningen 1946, 255; Frassinetti, L'orazione 240; Pflaum, Les correspondants 544; Cawley, The Literary Theory 23; Della Corte, Frontone storiografo 271; André, Le De otio 256; A.R. Birley, A Nickname 471, and Mark Aurel 78; Champlin, Chronology 137f., and The Date of Fronto's Death in his Fronto 139ff.; S. Benko, Criticism of Christianity, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 23,2 p. 1081; Whitehorn, Ad amicos I 5 and 6 and The Date of Fronto's Death 475ff.; Alföldy & Halfmann, Iunius Maximus 211; Portalupi, 2a nota Frontoniana 783, but not in her second edition; Rutherford, The Meditations 123.

If we assume that Commodus is Marcus' son and heir, we must date Fronto's death somewhere between 175 and 180: in 175 Commodus' first

coins appear, see E.S. Bouchier, Class. Rev. 36, 1922, 182; J. Vogt, Die Alexandrinischen Münzen I, Stuttgart 1924, 134; H. Mattingly & L.A. Sydenham, The Roman Imperial Coinage III, London 1930, 262; Astarita, Cronologia 7. n. 3; Champlin, Fronto 139.

Mommsen's argument has had many supporters: J. Klein, Rhein. Mus. 30, 1875, 293 n. 1; Droz 43; Th. Vogel, Philol. Abhandl., M. Hertz dargebracht, 1888, 6; F. Aly, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur, Berlin 1894, 343; Monceaux, Les Africains 212; Schanz, Die Abfassungszeit 132; H. Boenig, Marcus Minucius Felix, Progr., Königsberg 1897, 8; Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur I 58; II 386; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; O. Bardenhewer, Patrologie, Freiburg i.B. ^{3}1910, 57, and Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur I^{2}, Freiburg i.B. 1913, 172; 339; H. Jordan, Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig 1911, 215; Klebs, M. Cornelius Fronto; Teuffel 3,73; G. Wissowa ap. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte IV 288; F. Cayré, Patrologie et histoire de la théologie I^{2}, Paris 1931, 132; J.W. Atkins, Literary Criticism in Antiquity II, Cambridge 1934, 343; Stein, M. Cornelius Fronto; de Labriolle, La réaction 87; A.G. Amatucci, Storia della letteratura latina cristiana, Torino ^{2}1955, 29; K. Rahner, Minucius Felix, Lex. f. Theol. u. Kirche IV (1960); Marta Sordi, Riv. di storia d. Chiesa in Italia 16, 1962, 3f.; Adriana della Casa, Maia 14, 1962, 26ff.; Bowersock, The Date of Fronto's Death, in Greek Sophists 124ff.; Hofmann-Szantyr LXIV; P.L. Schmidt, Fronto; A. Henricks, Kyriakon, Festschrift J. Quasten, Münster 1970, 27 n. 46; C.W. Clarke, ibid. 52; Kennedy, The Art 592; Astarita, Cronologia 7ff., and Orpheus 4, 1983, 468; Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 162; R. Mellor, Amer. Journ. of Philol. 103, 1982, 462; Balty, Un nouveau portrait 61. Especially those authors who have written on the date of the Octavius of Minucius Felix and the speech of Fronto mentioned there prefer a later date, see at 259,8. Some philologists do not venture to decide between c. 167 and 175 or later: Teuffel 3,73; Baldwin, Studies 20; A. Wauters, Latomus 34, 1975, 789; F.R. Goodyear, The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, Cambridge 1982, 905. However, there are learned men who have found a solution by taking the average between 167 and 175: they date Fronto's death c. 170(!): Daunou, Journal des Savans, 1816, 29; H. von Geisau, Minucius Felix, Kleine Pauly (1969); Waszink, Fronto; H. Devijver, Hermeneus 55, 1983, 208. Other arbitrary datings are those by B. Aubé, Histoire des persécutions VII 91: 168–172; Cristofori, L'oratio di Frontone 130f.: shortly before 175; and decidedly wrong is Grimal, Marc Aurèle 73: c. 165. In his edition, Haines believes that De orationibus was written in 163 (in his Chronology 165–166). Yet he thinks that Commodus is Marcus' son, and in his Chronology he suggests that coins with Commodus' name may have been struck on 12 October 166, when Commodus was appointed Caesar. But such coins do not exist. Birley, A Nickname for Commodus, and The Date of Fronto's Death 468ff., is of the opinion that Fronto did not outlive the 160s, and for the sake of those who believe that Commodus is Marcus' son he suggests that the *nummi* mentioned by Fronto might be medallions issued on 12 October 166. *Nummi*, however, are coins, not medallions. Besides, in October 166 not only Commodus was granted

the title of Caesar but also his younger brother M. Annius Verus: why should he not be mentioned?

159,13 *contaminata*: see at 144,21.

Maculosiora: this comparative occurs here for the first time; see at 128,5.

159,14 *nutricis pallium*: 'a nurse's apron' (Haines), not 'mantello' (Portalupi); it is either proverbial or borrowed from Plaut. Bacch. 434 *corium tam maculosum quam est nutricis pallium* (of a person beaten black and blue).

Omnis tibia: 'each pipe of your flute'. The *tibiae* compared to eloquence also 35,22.

Personet: a hortative subjunctive.

Sonora: adjective instead of adverb, like *tacitus, lentus, pavidus* etc.; see Kühner I 236f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 172.

Si possit sc. *fieri*: see Index s.v. ellipsis and Kühner II 308; 554; Hofmann-Szantyr 442.

Hebetatiorem: this comparative occurs only here.

159,15 *fictum*: see at 45,19; 136,9 (marg. b).

159,16–17 *concinnius, congruentius* (alliteration) and *accommodatius* are new comparatives. *Concinnius* also 156,8 (marg. c). See at 41,10.

159,18ff. A digression: *antiquitas* is not a new word, but Sallust uses it in a new sense, 'reverent regard' (Haines), and Fronto is not very pleased with it. This fragment has also been passed on by Serv. Georg. 2,209 *tantum antiquitatis curaeque maioribus pro Italica gente fuit*, and Serv. Aen. 2,635 *antiquitatis curaeque pro Italica gente.* Servius and his sources quote Sallust very often, so there is no reason to suppose with Naber; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; and Cugusi, Evoluzione 264, that Servius borrowed his Sallust quotation from Fronto. The word order in Fronto differs from that in Servius. See at 270,10. *Antiquitas* in this sense is found only in Symm. Epist. 1,79 *conpertum tenes, quanta mihi sit tuae laudis antiquitas*, and 3,7; 6,3; 9,118. Probably Symmachus found it in Sallust himself, see at 269,23.

160,1 *placitum*: 'acceptable', 'correct' (Haines).

160,2 *antiquius*: 'lofty', 'important', 'sublime', as the Greek πρεσβύτερος. *Antiquus* (from *ante*!) has this meaning only in the comparative and sometimes in the superlative since Cato and Accius, e.g. Liv. 6,40,3 *Claudiae genti . . . nihil antiquius . . . patrum maiestate fuisse*; Plin. Pan. 83,5 *quid enim illa (uxore tua) sanctius, quid antiquius!* Marcus has it 27,9 (where it is not 'classical' [Haines] or 'antico' [Portalupi] and has nothing to do with archaism, as Cortassa and Portalupi think), and Fronto 172,17 *antiquissimum locum laudis*, 'the most honoured' (Haines). In the Nachträge zu Otto, Hildesheim 1968, 132, M.C. Sutphen erroneously asssumes that here *antiquius* is somehow related to the proverb *veterrimus homini optimus est amicus.*

160,5 *municipes sacrorum* was used by Marcus in his edict. Just as (*hoc modo*) Sallust used *antiquitas* in an unusual way, Marcus used *municipes* in the sense of 'those who take part in religious obligations' (*munia*; 'ministri delle sacre cose' [Della Corte]), instead of its usual meaning 'citizens of a municipium'. Fronto does not reject it, with good reasons: Varro, L.L. 5,179 *munus . . . a quo etiam municipes*; Festus 127 *municipium id genus hominum dicitur, qui, cum Romam venissent neque cives Romani essent, participes tamen fuerunt omnium*

rerum ad munus fungendum; see also 142; Gell. 16,13,6 *muneris tantum cum populo Romano honorari participes, a quo munere capessendo appellati videntur*; Ulp. Dig. 50,1,1,1 *proprie quidem municipes appellantur muneris participes, recepti in civitatem, ut munera nobiscum facerent, sed nunc abusive municipes dicimus suae cuiusque civitatis cives*; Isid. Orig. 9,3,21 *municeps ab eo quod munia capiat*; 9,4,21 *municipes . . . ab officio munerum dicti, eo quod publica munia accipiunt.*

Sallustius: in the gap Fronto possibly said that Sallust was a *novator verborum* (Quint. Inst. 9,3,12; Gell. 1,15,18; 4,15,1) because he used words in an obsolete sense (such as *tempestas, necessitudo, periculum, supplicium*).

160,6 *puriora*: 'clearer, more transparent words'. This is the only passage where Fronto uses *purus* of style, but 261,31 Gellius lets him speak of a *vir modesti atque puri ac prope cotidiani sermonis.*

Ut: 'so that', but Hauler's *at* is tempting.

160,7 *iterares*: see at 97,4.

Vero in eloquio: 'in an official text'.

Construeres: 'to shape'.

160,8 *voculam*: 'poor joke', cp. Cic. Fam. 2,16,2 *incurrit haec nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed etiam in voculas malevolorum.*

Adhoc usque: our MS always has *adhuc*. Usual is *usque adhuc*, so 49,18. *Adhuc usque* is more or less abundant; it is used during the imperial age; Fronto 95,17; 164,23. The tmesis is very unusual.

Hoc genus verborum: probably words like *municipes* in a double sense. See at 150,22.

160,9 *Plautus*: on the name Maccius Plautus see P.J. Enk, Handboek der Latijnse letterkunde II 1, Zutphen 1937, 90ff. with literature. The combination *Plautus aut Accius* 227,11.

160,10–12 Uncertain and unpublished readings of Hauler.

160,10 *supposta* also Verg. Aen. 6,24; Sil. 3,90; see at 13,9.

160,11 *dextima*: this superlative is found only in Cael. Hist. 22; Sall. Iug. 100,2; and in grammarians.

160,13 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 167,31; 187,10.

161,6 *Secretum servabo*: see at 167,31.

161,12 Chronology: since Niebuhr it is generally accepted that Fronto's *gratiarum actio* is the speech he held on the ides of August 143 to thank Pius for his appointment as consul, and that Ad Pium 2 is the answer to this letter. Together with Ad Pium 1, Fronto sends a copy of his speech. Pius' letter of thanks is forwarded by Marcus, with Ad M. Caes. II 8; see 27,19f. It seems plausible that neither Pius nor Marcus was in Rome when Fronto held his speech, and that they were staying at one of their summer residences. That this speech was Fronto's consul speech is confirmed by *distuleram* 161,14: Fronto took office on 1 July, but 24,16f. and 26,17f. show why he postponed his speech of thanks. Another reason may be that he was simply not yet ready to deliver it until six weeks later, because he would write a speech like that with the intention of having it published so that it would reach a large public (25,11f.). The Anonymus in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung 1817, 171f., and Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, even think that the speech sent to Pius was an elaboration of the original

text, though 27,19f. shows that it concerns the very speech of the ides of August, and that Ad Pium 1 and 2 were written a few days later. Niebuhr's thesis has been adopted by Mai[2]; Mommsen, Chronologie; Naber; Watson; P. von Rohden, RE III 2503 (1896); Brakman; Schanz III 95; Hanslik, Anordnung; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 22 n. 9; Portalupi; Birley, Mark Aurel 151. Mai[1] erroneously thinks that the speech mentioned here is the *oratio* 17,19 (see at 17,16f.) and 10,5ff. Niebuhr dates Ad Pium 2 between 25 February 138 and 10 July 138 (between Pius' adoption and Hadrian's death), because of *Caesar* 161,13 and 17. However, Pius was also called *Caesar* when he was emperor (11,16 and 168,2). In 162,3 *Faustina mea* is mentioned; Dorothy Brock supposes that it is Faustina maior, Pius' wife, and therefore dates the letter before 140 (Faustina died between December 140 and July 141). Lacour-Gayet, Antonin le Pieux 245 n. 1, quotes Cavedoni, Boll. Arch. Napol. 1857, 29, who thinks that the speech mentioned in Ad Pium 1 was held when Faustina maior received the title of Augusta in 138. Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 82, assumes that Fronto delivered his speech when Marcus was appointed tribune on 1 December 147, but such a speech is not a *gratiarum actio.* And there were scholars who supposed that Fronto's *gratiarum actio* was identical with Pius' panegyric mentioned by Eumenius, see at 266,26. Haines correctly dates our letters 143, but in a note he expresses his doubts because 161,17 Pius does not give Fronto the title of consul, an argument adopted by Champlin, Chronology, who dates our letters 138–161. This is a weak argument, however, based on the excessive way the young Marcus bestows titles on his teacher in his letters written during Fronto's consulship (Ad M. Caesar II 2–14). Actually, such titles are rare in private letters, see Roller, Das Formular 443ff.

161,13 *cum* iterativum: 'whenever'. As far as we know, Fronto held only one more *gratiarum actio,* viz. Pro Carthaginiensibus, see 277 III 3.

161,16 *bene vale*: see at 86,19.

161,17 See at 161,12. On the form of address see at 65,7.

161,18 *trita*: cp. e.g. Hieron. Epist. 57,12 and 117,1 *tritum proverbium.*

161,19 *assidua*: 'consueto' (Portalupi) rather than 'threadbare' (Haines) because of *tibi.* The word has no pejorative sense, cp. Sen. Dial. 11,4,2 *larga ubique flendi et adsidua materia est.* Marcus 27,20 calls this letter *benigna,* so it is not a tart letter, as Champlin, Fronto 88, puts it. It is rather condescending, however, because Pius realizes that panegyrics must necessarily be written in that tone. Cp. Pliny's judgement on his own panegyric Epist. 3,13,2 *in hac nota, vulgata dicta sunt omnia,* and Augustin. Conf. 6,9 *egisti, ut sentirem miseriam meam die illo, quo, cum pararem recitare imperatori laudes, quibus plura mentirer et mentienti faveretur ab scientibus.*

Invenire: on the inventio see at 10,10–12.

Et: Ehrenthal's *te* has been adopted by Haines and Borleffs, but *te* may have been in the gap before *optimo.* The meaning may be: '<it is astonishing that you> are even able to find <something new> in such a hackneyed matter so common to you'.

161,19–20 *sed . . . velle*: 'But no doubt the mere wish is an immense help towards what you can do so well' (Haines), where 'you' has the general

meaning of 'one'; cp. Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. tentare and velle, and Sen. Epist. 71,36 *magna pars est profectus velle proficere*. In Fronto the emphasis is on *possis* and *velle*.

Potens with infinitive is originally poetical: Enn. Ann. 333; Manil 5,168; Sen. Troad. 1094; Sil. 11,595; in prose Ulp. Dig. 16,2,10,1; Apul. Met. 1,8,3. The periphrasis of the superlative with *valde* only here in our correspondence.

161,20 *sensibus*: see at 10,10–12.

161,20–21 *nihil* ... *civilius*: 'nothing more complimentary (better "courteous"), yet without any sacrifice of good sense (better "taste"), than your expression of them' (Haines), not 'nulla di più adatto ad un'eloquenza politica, che pure serba intatta la sua purezza' (Portalupi). She compares Cic. Brut. 51 *omnemque illam salubritatem Atticae dictionis et quasi sanitatem perderet*, but there *sanitas* is used quite differently and *civilius* has nothing to do with Fronto's political eloquence, as Cassan and Portalupi suppose.

161,21 *omittam*: Mai's *committam* has been adopted by Cornelissen, Merkel, TLL s.v. committo, and by modern editors since Haines. The two verbs are also mixed up in the MSS of Curt. 6,3,11 and Tac. Ann. 15,24,1. But we must keep *omittam*: 'I will not make this mistake that', 'I will not be so neglectful that'. In approximately the same sense *omittere* is used with *quin* or *quominus* by Tac. Hist. 2,40 *militem* ... *obicere hosti non omissuro, quominus* ... *adgrederetur*; Ann. 3,27,4 *ne bello quidem Italico* ... *omissum, quin multa* ... *sciscerentur*, Fronto 90,11 *non omittam quin te impertiam*. Here Fronto has *ut* because of *hoc*. See at 5,2f.

161,22 *dum*: 'because', as 85,16M; 212,5; 237,25.

Laudes meas laudem: 'praising the praise of myself' (Haines). Pius makes fun of an etymological figure, but it also occurs in Psalm. 105,12 *laudaverunt laudem* and Evang. Thomae 4,2 *laudando laudem dei*. We find *laudibus laudare* in Plaut. Capt. 420–422; Cato frg. 15 Sblendorio; Cic. Leg. 3,2; and in a carmen, Epigraphica 30, 1968, 127,5. For the use of *meas* see Kühner I 599; Hofmann-Szantyr 66.

161,23 *bene accepisti*: 'l'hai ben accolto' (Portalupi), 'you have delt with it well', rather than 'you have done your duty pleasingly' (Haines). Sinko, TLL s.v. bene, puts our passage on a level with 67,26M, but there we find *bene accipere aliquem*.

Et: 'and that'.

Rectissimo opere does not occur elsewhere; see 139,10. The following *cui* shows that *opus* means 'operation', 'effect': 'with a very suitable effect' rather than 'in unexceptionable fashion' (Haines) or 'con elaborazione esattissima' (Portalupi). *Cui* does not refer to 'you', as Birley, Mark Aurel 151, thinks.

Plane refers to *omnis honor debetur*, not *seposita materia*, as Haines, Portalupi and Birley assume.

Seposita materia: 'apart from [all] question of the subject' (Haines), 'vom Thema deiner Rede [ganz] abgesehen' (Birley). Cp. Sen. Ben. 4,9,1 *sepositis commodis nostris*.

162,1 *factorum et dictorum* is not a proverb but a colloquial expression: Cic. Fam. 13,24,2; Quint. fr. 1,1,43; Att. 8,2,2; Philipp. 10,19; Petron. 1,3; Plin. Epist. 1,5,17; Fronto 80,7f.; 112,13f.; 179,1; 189,10; cp. 106,8; 162,16f.; 216,13f.

162,2 *conciliatorem*: 'supporter', not 'mediatore' (Portalupi). Cp. Suet. Aug. 48 *amicitiae conciliator et fautor*; Apul. Apol. 93,2 *quietis et concordiae et pietatis auctor, conciliator, favisor.*

162,3 *illa* is preparative, but it is unusual to connect it with a participle (*adsumpta*), instead of *quae a te adsumpta est* or *quam adsumpsisti.* See at 164,4–6.

Faustina: see at 161,12. Since Mai[1] several scholars have assumed that she is Pius' wife, Faustina maior: Daunou, Journal des Savans 1816, 30; Niebuhr; Cassan; Cte de Champagny, Les Antonins II, Paris 1863, 165; Naber; Boissier, La jeunesse 681; Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 47; Lacourt-Gayet, Antonin le Pieux 245; E.C. Bryant, The Reign of Antoninus Pius, Cambridge Hist. Essays 8, 1895, 48; Brock, Studies 70; Brakman, Korte schets 218; Champlin, Fronto 86; Parain, Marc Aurèle 92. However, in 143 Faustina maior was already dead for two years, whereas Pius is evidently speaking of a living person. In 143 Faustina minor was about thirteen years old, engaged to Marcus but still living with her father Pius, to whom she was very dear because she was the only child he had. In his *gratiarum actio* Fronto not only praised Pius but Marcus as well (27,3; 106,8f.), and it seems obvious that he did not forget Marcus' fiancée. That it was Faustina minor is rightly seen by Mommsen, Chronologie; P. von Rohden, RE III 2503 (1896); Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Haines; Schwendermann, Der historische Wert 115; A. Stein, PIR I[2] no.745 p. 132; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 41 n. 52; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 82f.; R. Hanslik, Faustina 3, Kleine Pauly 2, Nachträge (1967); Birley, Mark Aurel 151; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 55; Portalupi. Undecided are Schanz III 45 and Champlin, Chronology.

162,4 *adsumpta*: 'devoted' (Haines).

Ita . . . habet: see at 87,25.

162,5 *Gyaris*: present-day τὰ Γιοῦρα, one of the Cyclades. At that time it was inhabited but *inmitis et sine cultu hominum* (Tac. Ann. 3,69,8). In the imperial age it was a place of exile: Tac. Ann. 3,68,2; 4,30,2; Plut. Exil. 8; Epictet. 1,25,9f.; 2,6,22; Iuv. 1,73; 10,170; Lucian. Tox. 17f.; Philostr. Apoll. 7,16,2. Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 309, justly remarks that it is not a proverb. In Greek the name is ἡ Γύαρος and τὰ Γύαρα, in Latin *Gyarus*, but here and Iuv. 1,73 *Gyara*, neutrum plur.

Palatio: since 139 Marcus lived there with Pius.

162,6 Chronology: the letters Ad Pium 3, 7 and 4 (on Niger Censorius' will) were written within a few days and in this order, see 164,13. The terminus post quem of these letters is the death of Marcius Turbo and of Erucius Clarus: they were dead when the letters were written (162,21 *fuerunt*). Erucius Clarus died in March 146, see Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 368; E. Groag, Sex. Erucius Clarus, RE Suppl. VII (1940) and PIR III[2] p. 86 no. 96; Pflaum, Les carrières procuratoriennes 199f.; Marshall, The Date of Birth 143f.; Champlin, Chronology; Baldwin, Studies 106; Birley, Mark Aurel 164. Haines, Chonology, dates Erucius Clarus' death wrongly to 145–147. Marcius Turbo's year of death is not known. Since 119 he was praefectus praetorio and during his youth he was a friend of Hadrian. So if he was still alive in 146 he must have been about seventy years old. The

terminus ante quem is the death of Gavius Maximus, c. 158; he was still living: 164,11 and 165,8. See Vita Pii 8,7 and H. Dessau, PIR II[1] p. 112 no. 60; A. Stein, M. Gavius Maximus, RE VII 1 (1910); Hüttl II 132; W. Enszlin, Praefectus praetorio, RE XXII 2 (1954); Pflaum, Les correspondants 551; Champlin, Chronology. In his Chronology, Haines notes that Gavius Maximus died c. 157; nevertheless he dates our letters 145/7–161 and in his edition 154–156. Hanslik, Anordnung, is completely mistaken, see at 162,19. Portalupi dates the letters 156. According to 164,18, Marcus is tied up with state affairs, which does not necessarily point to a period close to 158 because in 147, too, he was overloaded with work: 63.14.

162,7 *ut* depends on *vellem* (Portalupi), not on *evenire* (Haines), as shown by *ut*... *uterentur*. See Kühner I 713.

162,9–10 *suum*... *gubernat* is a γνώμη, perhaps proverbial; cp. Sall. Iug. 1,3 *dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est*; Liv. 22,59,19 *suus cuique animus*; Vitruv. 6 praef. 3 *maxima et necessaria*... *animi mentisque cogitationibus gubernari*; Auson. Grat. act. 3,14 *suus enim cuique animus*; Symm. Epist. 10,3,8 *suus enim cuique mos, suus ritus est*. Cp. Menandr. Epitr. 735 Koerte ἑκάστῳ τὸν τρόπον συνῴκισαν (οἱ θεοὶ) φρούραρχον.

162,10 *quod*: see at 10,9. The will of the irascible (166,6 marg. c) C. Censorius Niger put Fronto in an awkward position. Niger had left him five twelfths of his fortune (164,8), and in that same will he had commented very adversily on Pius' favourite praefectus praetorio Gavius Maximus. Once Niger and Gavius had been on good terms (166,13), but Gavius' successful career may have provoked Niger's jealousy. Moreover, Gavius had also been procurator Augusti and, being a *vir severissimus* (Vita Pii 8,7), he may have criticized with Pius the way his colleague Niger worked, because Niger, who had been in favour with Pius at first (162,21f.), later incurred his displeasure (163,3), and Pius was not the man to make allowances for irregularities of his staff, see at 79,2. From CIL III 5174 and 5181 we know that Censorius Niger had been *procurator Augusti* in Noricum and maybe also in Mauretania Tingitana (CIL XVI 176) and other provinces (162,21f.). See E. Klebs, PIR I[1] 327; A. Stein, C. Censorius Niger, RE III (1910) and PIR II[2] 658 p. 148; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 133; Pflaum, Les carrières 226ff.; R. Hanslik, Censorius, Kleine Pauly (1964); Champlin, Fronto 169 n. 43. For Niger Censorius instead of Censorius Niger see at 108,14.

162,11 *testamento suo*: see at 159,1.

162,12 *temperarit* with dative: 'to command', 'to be master of'. Plaut. Rud. 1254 *linguae tempera*; Tac. Hist. 1,69 *verbis et minis temperabat*. See Kühner I 340; different K. & W. Heraeus, Cornelii Taciti Historiarum libri [6]I, Leipzig 1921 ad Hist. 1,69.

Si with subjunctive present in the protasis and in the apodosis is predominantly used by Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Horace and Livy. In the second century the types *si*... *sit*,... *est* and *si*... *sit*,... *erit* become the fashion and the type *si*... *sit*,... *sit* is less frequent, e.g. in Gellius and Apuleius, not in Fronto: he has the first, classical type nine times against Marcus only once (54,23); with *nisi* five times. The second type with *est*

Fronto has six times against Marcus three, and the last type with *erit* Fronto has seven times against Verus once (114,22). So we cannot say with H. Blase, Der Konjunktiv des Präsens im Bedingungssatze, Archiv 9, 1896, 39, that we have to do here with a reminiscence of Cic. Fam. 11,21,3 *sim enim impudens, si plus postulem.* Hofmann-Szantyr 663 state that in later Latin the type *si . . . sit, . . . sit* is a conscious adoption from classical Latin. See also at 1,10f.; 27,13M; 66,21; 81,22.

162,13 *postulem*: see at 50,1.

Deprecando: 'by making apologies for it', as 242,4.

Fuit: introducing a characteristic also Plin. Epist. 7,22,2 *est.* See also at 124,10.

162,14 *inpos* with genitive: 'without control of'; see at 21,8.

Consideratus: 'tactful'.

162,15 *frugi* with genitive only here, see at 21,8.

162,16–17 *verborum . . . factis*: see at 162,1.

Ponderare aliquid cum aliqua re does not occur elsewhere.

Accessi: accedere ad amicitiam also Nepos, Eum. 1,4; Sen. Epist. 9,12.

162,18 *alii*: at the time of his death, Niger Censorius was a rather insignificant man; nevertheless he was a good friend to men of high moral principles, such as Marcius Turbo and Erucius Clarus.

Strenua opera: 'by their enterprising activity'.

Ut: see at 225,3.

162,19 *Turboni Marcio*: the cognomen in front, see at 108,14. On the career of Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus see Pflaum, Les carrières I 199–216. He is not Marcius Livianus Turbo (so Niebuhr and Portalupi) or T. Flavius Longinus Marcius Turbo (so Hanslik, Anordnung), nor Q. Marcius Turbo Gallonius Fronto Severus, see H. Dessau, Q. Marcius Turbo, PIR II[1] 339 no. 179; A. Stein, Q. Marcius Turbo, RE XIV 2 (1930); Syme, The Wrong Marcius Turbo 87ff.; R. Hanslik, Marcius 6, Kleine Pauly (1968). See also at 266,10f., where he administers justice as praefectus praetorio. According to Cass. Dio 69,18,1, οὔτε τι ἁβρὸν οὔτε τι ὑπερήφανον ἔπραξεν.

Sex. *Erucius Clarus*: Plin. Epist. 2,9,3 calls him *iuvenem probissimum, gravissimum, eruditissimum* and Gell. 13,18,2 *vir morum et litterarum veterum studiosissimus.* He was praefectus urbi under Pius. See E. Groag, Sex. Erucius Clarus, RE VI 1 (1907) and PIR III[2] p. 86 no. 96; Teuffel 3,80; Marshall, The Date 143f.; A.R. Birley, Corolla memoriae E. Swoboda dedicata, Graz 1966, 51, and Mark Aurel 164; R. Hanslik, Erucius 1, Kleine Pauly (1967); Champlin, Chronology; Astarita, Note 423.

162,20 *egregi* is here and 175,11 not the official indication of the ordo equester, though this title became the fashion in Fronto's time. Titles such as *vir eminentissimus* and *vir perfectissimus* do not occur either. In 200,8 we find *plurimi sunt in senatu Cirtenses clarissimi viri*, which proves that *clarissimus* is not meant to be a title, and 164,11 *Gavium Maximum clarissimum* does not imply that he was of senatorial rank. See at 164,11 and Mommsen, Staatsrecht III 471; M. Bang, Der Gebrauch von vir clarissimus als Titel der Senatoren, in Friedländer's Sittengeschichte IV 77ff. Marcius Turbo was *ex equestri*

ordine, Vita Hadr. 4,2, but Erucius Clarus had twice been consul. For the title *amplissimus* see at 25,22.

162,21 *primari*: Cic. Verr. II 2,102 speaks of *viri primarii nostri ordinis*, Suet. Aug. 100,4 of *primores equestris ordinis* and Plin. Nat. 17,245 of *primi equestris ordinis*.

Ex tuis iudiciis: 'in consequence of your decisions', 'from your marks of approbation' (Haines), not 'from your courts', as Haines suggests as an alternative, nor 'a tuo giudizio' (Portalupi). We cannot infer from this passage that Censorius was an amicus Pii in the technical sense of the word, as has been done by J. Cook, Consilium Principis, Cambridge 1955, 68.

Plurimum with partitive genitive in Fronto only here. For *multum* with genitive see at 226,2.

162,22 *haud sciam an*: see at 57,28.

162,23 *qui*: as a substantive, the indefinite pronoun is always *quis* after *si*, except here; but 213,7 *nescio si qui*; 4,1 *si quis* m^1, *si qui* m^2. As an adjective it is *quis* 21,13 and 141,16. The interrogative pronoun as an adjective is *quis* 32,10; 50,15M; 155,12; 156,13; 229,7. See at 236,4. *Haud sciam an quis* 58,18.

Desinere, 'to give up' (Haines), is used with accusative since Terence. *Desinire* is a lapsus of the copyist.

Postquam with pluperfect: see at 114,17.

162,24 *apud*: see at 52,11.

162,24ff. Fronto on friendship: see at 4,2–5,14. The passage seems to refer to his strained relation with Hadrian, see at 25,3–9; 238,11f.

163,1 *increpuisset*: 'arose suddenly', 'a whisper of adversity was audible' (Haines); cp. Liv. 4,43,10 *si quid increpet terroris*.

163,2 *numero*: 'as' (Haines). The expression *(in) numero habere* requires, strictly speaking, a gen. plur., not *hostis*; see at 57,5; 206,2. A gen. sing. goes with *loco*, e.g. Caes. Civ. 3,21,5 *eum hostis loco habendum existimabat*. But Cic. Fam. 10,23,5 *Vestinum . . . numero hostis habueram*; Div. Caec. 62 *cum is tibi parentis numero fuisset*; Nepos, Ep. 7,1 *erat . . . privatus numero militis*.

163,11 *utinam*: see at 55,11.

163,13 *inussisset*: cp. e.g. Cic. Cat. 1,13 *quae nota . . . turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est?*; Liv. 3,58,2 *ne Claudiae genti eam inustam maculam vellent*; Vell. 2,64,3 *aeternas Antoni memoriae inussit notas*; Cod. Theod. 15,14,12 *inustae maculae infamiam*.

163,21 *obterunt*: cp. Varro, R.R. 2,1,19 *ne obterantur (pulli equorum)*; 2,5,5 *ne in stabulo infantes grex boum obtereret*; 2,5,16; Colum. 6,27,12.

163,22–23 A solemn invocation, see at 43,5f., not a quotation from an old source, as Ehrenthal 47f. assumes:

⏑ –́ *dêos superos inferosque <ego> ét fidem*
arcánam humanae amícitiae testór <mihi>.

Di deaeque superi atque inferi is a much used expression since Plaut. Cist. 512.

Fidem: Liv. 38,33,7 *cum illi deos et fidem legatorum testarentur*; 2,10,3 *obtestansque deum et hominum fidem*; 8,33,23; Apul. Met. 7,25,5 *fidem hominum deumque detestabatur*.

Arcanam: not 'the hidden loyalties' (Haines) but 'the sacred, holy fidelity'; cp. Tac. Ann. 12,47,3 *id foedus arcanum habetur quasi mutuo cruore sacratum*; Stat. Theb. 2,739 *longaeva sacerdos... arcanum numquam spretura pudorem*. Strictly speaking, *arcanus* means 'mystical' (not 'misteriosa' [Portalupi]): Tac. Germ. 18,3; 40,5.

163,26 *panegyricus*: see at 207,12.

164,2–3 *tanta... beneficia* seems to refer to 162,21f. Note the alliteration.

164,3 *habeat*: sc. Censorius?

164,4–6 *res... adsequamur*: the relative sentence *quas* should be followed by a second relative sentence: *et quae, si... sunt, verae et congruentes simplicitari nostrae amicitiae sunt, semper adsequamur*. In colloquial Latin, however, such a second relative sentence is sometimes deformed, though Kühner II 325 and Hofmann-Szantyr 566 have no examples of adjectives instead of a relative sentence; but see at 162,3 *adsumpta*. See also at 40,11–20; 87,2f.

Res adsequamur: 'let us attain those things', 'let us strive for those things' (Haines), not 'a questi sentimenti vorrò sempre tener fede' (Portalupi).

Negare credimus, if correct, means 'we do not believe in a denial by them'. For the infinitive instead of a substantive see Kühner I 665f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 643. Though it is not quite certain that only six letters are dubious, Ellis' conjecture *negare e re* does not seem to fit the tenor of this letter. Perhaps we should read *negandas*.

Simplicitati: 'the straightforward nature' (Haines).

164,7 Chronology: see at 162,6.

164,8 *diem suum obiit*: this expression is found since Plaut. Cist. 175.

Quincuncem, 'five twelfths', is also what Plin. Epist. 7,11,1 inherited; the same amount Afric. Dig. 28,5,48,2; Scaev. Dig. 36,1,80,5. Roman wills used to divide the inheritance into twelve parts, *sextans, quadrans, triens* etc.

Nobis: see at 64,4.

164,9 *cetera*: see at 21,9.

Honesto: 'unexceptionable' (Haines)

Inconsiderato: 'ill-advised' (Haines).

164,10 *decori* (of *decor*) *suo consuluit*: 'paid attention to what was seemly to himself', not 'consulted his self-respect' (Haines).

164,11 M. Gavius Maximus was praefectus praetorio c. 138–158, a *vir severissimus* (Vita Pii 8,7). He seems to have died while still in office, when he was nearing eighty. See the literature at 162,6 and Pflaum, Les carrières I 247–251; A.R. Birley, Corolla memoriae E. Swoboda dedicata, Graz 1966, 51f., and Mark Aurel 107; R. Hanslik, Gavius 2, Kleine Pauly (1967); F. Zevi, Rendiconti d. class. d. scienze mor., stor. e filol. d. Accad. d. Lincei 26, 1971, 449–463; Champlin, Fronto 169 n. 43.

Clarissimum: see at 162,20. Probst, TLL s.v. clarus, wrongly assumes that this is the official title; however, Gavius was not a senator, even though Pius gave him the *consularia ornamenta* (Vita Pii 10,6). See O. Hirschfeld, Die Rangtitel in der römischen Kaiserzeit, Sitz. Ber. d. k. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. 1901, 582 n. 4; A. Stein, Gavius 104, PIR IV[2] (1952); Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 69. Fronto does not seem to have been in sympathy with Gavius: in the letter to Pius he does not mention him at all, as far as we

can see, and *clarissimus* and *nobis observandus vir* sound as in duty bound. The letter to Gavius himself is stiff and impersonal. *Observandus* as adjective occurs here for the first time; later it also became a title, e.g. Augustin. Epist. 28 and 40.

164,13 *rationis*: 'tenor' (Haines), not 'purpose' (Oxford Dict.).

164,14 *non . . . nequibam*: litotes.

164,16 *mehercules*: see at 62,11.

164,18 *obtundere*: 'to importune' (Haines).

164,19 Chronology of this letter and Pius' answer: Naber dates these letters, without argument, 145. Haines, Chronology, 147–161, but in his edition he combines these letters with Ad M. Caes. V 35 and 36, dating them 148–149; Portalupi dates them 148. Haines and Portalupi think that Ad Pium 5 refers to Pius' accession ten years ago and to the ninth centenary of the foundation of Rome (see Birley, Mark Aurel 188 n. 53), but there is no indication for such an assumption. So we can only say—with Champlin—that the letters are undatable: 139–160. Two dates are out of the question: 143, when Fronto was consul and not ill, and 161, because Pius died on 7 March of that year.

164,20 *depicisci*, 'to bargain' (Haines), also occurs Ter. Phorm. 166 instead of *depecisci: ut mihi liceat tam diu quod amo frui, iam depicisci morte cupio.* Cp. 81,19 *omni vita mea redemisse cupiam.*

Cupio: C.F.W. Müller and Bücheler want here a perfectum because of the consecutio temporum. However, *ut* does not refer to *cupio* but to *depicisci*; cp. Cic. Inv. 2,72 *depectus est cum iis, ut arma . . . relinqueret*, the only passage where *depeciscor* is also used with *ut*. The subjunctive *complecterer* also indicates an unreal mood.

164,21 *initi imperii*: 10 July 138. Usually this day is called *dies imperii; dies principatus* Plin. Pan. 21,2; Tac. Hist. 2,79; Suet. Vesp. 6. Plin. Nat. 11,190 *primo potestatis suae die*; Tac. Ann. 1,9,1 *dies accepti imperii*; Vita Hadr. 4,7 *dies natalis imperii*. There was an official reception in the Palace. See Schulten, Dies imperii, RE V 1 (1913); Hug, Salutatio, RE I A 2 (1920); Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 91.

Salutis: 'health' (Haines) in the sense of 'welfare': as *dignitatis* and *securitatis* show, Fronto had good reasons not to mourn for Hadrian's death, see at 25,3–9; 257,12.

164,22 *umeri*: see at 265,29. Pain in the neck at 73,22.

164,23 *multo gravissimus*: see at 56,22.

Adhuc usque: see at 160,8.

164,24 *utor*: 'I have to do with'; 'my neck is so stiff that I cannot use it'; cp. Plaut. Epid. 5 *satis recte oculis uteris*; Mil. 1308 *hoc ego oculo utor minus*; Truc. 8 *ut celeri lingua utamini.*

164,24–25 *apud . . . vota*: see at 43,2 and 5,1. For the combination *penates deique familiares* see Plaut. Rud. 1207; Cic. Leg. 2,42; Quinct. 85; Dom. 108; 143; 144; CIL VI 30991; IX 4776. Serv. Aen. 2,514 *Penates sunt omnes dii qui domi coluntur.* See Boehm, Lares, RE XII 1 (1924); M. Leglay, Lares, Kleine Pauly (1968); St. Weinstock, Penates, RE XIX 1 (1937); G. Radke, Penates, Kleine Pauly (1970).

Reddidi et suscepi vota: 'I discharged my vows' (Haines) and 'I undertook

to carry them out' (not 'I renewed my vows' [Haines]). Properly speaking, it is a hysteron proteron, but Fronto seems to regard the two verbs as synonymous. Usually, *suscipere* is put first: Mart. 8,4,2 *suscipit et solvit... vota*; Plin. Epist. 10,35 on a similar occasion: *sollemnia vota... et suscepimus... pariter et solvimus precati deos*; 10,100 *vota... persolvimus novaque... suscepimus precati deos*; Pan. 67,4 *vota quae semper suscipiantur semperque solvantur*; CIL VIII 826,8 *ex voto suscepto, quod diu erat neglectum nec redditum. Apud* is used here as in *iurare apud.*

164,26–27 *pectus et manus*: see at 67,14.

164,27–28 *vicem persequens*: 'fulfilling the office' (Haines), not 'avere il compenso' (Portalupi). See at 40,6.

165,1 Chronology: see at 162,6. *Rescriptum* seems to indicate that this letter was drafted by Pius' secretary. On such occasions the emperor must have received a great many letters like this, which he could only answer by a standard letter. Those of Trajan to Pliny (10,36; 53; 89; 101; 103) are even shorter and less affectionate than Pius' answer here. *Rescriptum* also 70,7M; 75,9M; 75,18M; 78,16; 79,8M; 83,17M: always very short letters, though *rescriptum* may also have been used when the answer was sent by return of post. Thus we can explain 95,21M: it is not a short letter, it is very affectionate and was probably written by immediate return.

165,2 *cúm bĕnĕ pérspēctās hăbēam*: a chance verse, as 30,10M.

Cum... tum: 'as... so' (Haines). See at 55,26f.

Habeam: habeo with part. perf. pass. has its original vigour 104,2M and 187,11, but here and 183,18 *munus hoc... infrequens habui et paene neglectum* it circumscribes the active perfect. *Perspectum habeo aliquid* also Lepid. Cic. Fam. 10,34,4 *si meam vitam, studium... perspecta habes*; Caes. Gall. 7,54,2 *perfidiam*; Civ. 3,84,1 *militum animum*; Liv. 38,1,4 *popularium animos*; Sen. Dial. 4,10,6 *condicionem humanae vitae*; Scaev. Dig. 32,39 pr. *affectationem tuam.* See Ph. Thielemann, Habere mit dem Part. Perf. Pass. II, Archiv 2, 1885, 525.

165,3 *ex animo meo*: 'in honesty of heart'.

Difficile: see at 112,15.

165,3–4 *vel praecipue*: 'just in particular'.

165,4 *hanc*: see at 78,21.

Statione: 'station' (Haines), as 114,24V.

165,5 *religiose*: 'with scrupulous devotion' (Haines); cp. Plin. Epist. 3,7,8 *(Vergilii) natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat*; 10,102 *diem (imperii)... debita religione celebravimus*; Vita Alex. 63,4 *(festivitas) religiosissime celebratur natali eius die.*

165,6 *mente repraesentavi*: 'I have called up before my mind's eye'; cp. Curt. 3,10,7 *urbis... dirutae species repraesentabatur animis*; Quint. Inst. 6,2,29 *imagines rerum absentium.. repraesentantur animo.* See at 109,11.

165,8 Chronology: see at 162,6. It is not clear why this letter has been put here instead of before or after Ad Pium 4. The form of address was not *Gavio Maximo Fronto*, see at 65,7.

165,9 *senes*: like Gavius Maximus, Censorius Niger and Fronto himself.

165,10 *contubernio*: Gavius and Censorius were too old to have been Fronto's pupils; see at 172,5.

165,16–17 *domine imperator* either is a quotation from Fronto's letter to

Pius (see 162,16 and 162,25) or we should read *domine, imperatoris* (or another case). See at 168,24; 176,10.

166,5 (marg. b) *venenum ac pernicies* is a variant of the expression *pestis et pernicies*. It is not really a proverb.

166,11 *tecum quaeso* has a solemn and archaic ring: Plaut. Curc. 432 *tecum oro et quaeso*; Gell. 20,1,21 *quaeso tecum*. See at 43,17 and 114,15.

166,12 *iam*: 'for the rest', 'anyhow'. With *si* also 230,20.

166,13 *ubertim*: see at 66,12.

Flentem with an abl. causae is rare: Nemes. Cyn. 38 *funere*; Paneg. 8(5),9,6 *gaudio*; and a few times in the Vulgate.

166,14 *quod*: see at 84,7. The subjunctive *mitigem* shows that here *quod* is still felt as a relative.

Placem ac mitigem: 'conciliate and propitiate' when used with dative. Cp. Cic. Fam. 1,9,26 *eum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges*; Tac. Hist. 4,52,2 *Vespasianus haud... Domitiano mitigatus*.

166,15 *apud aures tuas* = *apud te*, e.g. Val. Max. 7,2 ext. 11 *apud regias aures*; Tac. Hist. 1,26,2 *apud Galbae aures*; Ann. 1,31,5; 2,39,4; 4,29,4; Gell. 9,15,5; Apul. Flor. 18,37. See at 52,11.

166,19 Chronology: under Pius and Marcus the interval between consulate and proconsulate was usually fourteen or fifteen years, sometimes one or two years less or more; see Mommsen, Staatsrecht II[2] 250ff.; R. Syme, Rev. d. Étud. anc. 61, 1959, 310f.; Journ. of Roman Stud. 52, 1962, 87ff. So most philologists date the letter 157–158: W. Waddington, Fastes des provinces asiatiques 13f.; Schanz III 90; Alföldy, Consuls 295f., and Konsulat 124ff.; Champlin, Fronto 82; Ameling, Herodes Atticus II 8f.; Cortassa, Scritti di Marco Aurelio 196 n. 281. Early datings cannot be considered: Mai[2] 148; Naber 145; Brakman 149; Haines, Chronology, 147–161. Also too early is the dating of 153–154 by Haines in his edition and by Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 312. A bit too early, too, is 155 by J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung V[2], Leipzig 1881, 526f.; G. Lacourt-Gayet, Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist. de l'École franç. 1881, 100; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Klebs, M. Cornelius Fronto 447; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Portalupi. Momssen, Chronologie, dates the letter 155–157, and Birley, Mark Aurel 196f., 155–158. If Lollianus Avitus was Fronto's rival for the province of Africa (see at 167,1), Fronto's appointment as proconsul would then have taken place early in 157. In view of the extensive precautions Fronto took after his appointment (167,4ff.), two or three months must have elapsed between the appointment itself (and Marcus' letter Ad M. Caes. V 51) and this letter. Becoming proconsul of Asia or Africa was the high point in a consul's career. That Fronto became proconsul of Asia is shown by 79,19 and 167,7 (*Graecarum epistularum*). The proconsul entered upon his office in July and was supposed to depart from Rome in mid-April (Cass. Dio 60,17,3). As soon as Marcus had heard of Fronto's appoinment he wrote a letter of recommendation, Ad M. Caes. V 51, but Fronto's ill health—he was well over sixty now—ultimately prevented him from accepting the office: *omnem spem illam frustra fuisse* (167,19). So we cannot agree with Champlin, Fronto 164 n. 13, that this letter of Fronto is merely a

plea for prolonging his stay in Rome in order to get better. *Erit* 79,19 shows that Fronto is not in Asia. Unfortunately, Maria Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 452, supports Champlin's view. Illness was always a valid excuse to refuse an office: Cic. Phil. 8,5; Tac. Ann. 3,35,2; Agr. 42,2; Cass. Dio 77,22,4; Dig. 50,5 *De vacatione et excusatione munerum.* Fragm. Vatic. 130 specifically states that an *arthriticus* must be excused. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht I³ 476; Klingmüller, Excusatio, RE VI 2 (1909); and at 168,6.

166,20 *operam dare* with infinitive only here in Fronto. See Kühner I 674. With *ut* 5,12.

Sanctissime imp.: 209,9 *sanctus imperator* (also of Pius); Plin. Epist. 10,1,1 *imperator sanctissime*; Scaev, Dig. 40,11,3; Paneg. 11(3),12,2; and inscriptions since the second century. See Schoener, Über die Titulaturen 455.

Inpenso studio: see at 25,3f.

166,21 *res ipsa testis est* is an expression (not a proverb) which occurs since Plaut. Aul. 421 (Fronto did not borrow it from him, against Selvatico, Scambio 250 n. 115). Add to the Nachträge zu Otto: Cic. Att. 7,13a,1.

166,21–22 *de iure . . . disceptavi*: 'I took part in the procedure to decide who was entitled to draw lots, as long as it was uncertain who it was'. Della Corte translates: 'Io disputai per il diritto di trarre a sorte', which is better than 'ho discusso sul diritto di sorteggio' (Portalupi) and certainly better than 'I claimed my rights under the lot' (Haines). Cp. Liv. 34,43,6 *dum de provinciis consulum disceptatur, praetores sortiti sunt.* The term *ius sortiendi* does not occur elsewhere. In a procedure like this there were several stages: first a list of three or four candidates at the most was drawn up, in which the origin, career and experience were taken into account, as well as the candidate's relation to the emperor. Only the last criterion was in favour of Fronto, for he had no experience in administrative affairs, see 3,22f. and at 259,3 and 5. Then the lot decided which two (note *prior* 167,1) candidates would get Asia and Africa. In the third phase it was determined who would go to Asia and who to Africa. If the two parties could not reach an agreement between themselves (in the present case they both chose Africa), the *ius liberorum* had to settle the matter. Fronto's description of the procedure is clearer and probably more correct than what Cass. Dio 53,13,2 reports about Augustus: τοὺς μὲν (the senatorial governors) καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι (προσέταξεν), πλὴν εἴ τῳ πολυπαιδίας ἢ γάμου προνομία προσείη. The expression *ius liberorum*, 'the children's privilege', is first found in Sen. ap. Lact. Inst. 1,16,12 *ius trium liberorum.* With *trium* also Mart. 3,95,6; Plin. Epist. 10,94,2 and 10,95; Suet. Galba 14,3; cp. Stat. Silv. 4,8,21 *ius tergeminae prolis.* Without *trium* Plin. Epist. 7,16,2. Suet. Claud. 19 *(constituit) feminis ius IIII liberorum.* Since the lex Papia Poppaea of 9 BC (see the excursus on this lex in the Annals of Tacitus of H. Furneaux I², Oxford 1896, 483ff.), governmental policy strove after an increase in marriages and children. If he had three or more children, a candidate enjoyed several social and financial advantages. Now Fronto had six daughters, five of whom died at an early age (see at 174,23; 235,13), and our passage is the only source of the rule that dead children did not count for the *ius liberorum.* That Fronto and Plin. Epist. 7,16,2 do not mention the *ius trium*

rum seems to be accidental, but it is also possible that Fronto's rival had two children, which was sufficient to get the lead on him. Cp. Gell. 2,15,4 *capite VII. legis Iuliae priori ex consulibus fasces sumendi potestas fit, non qui plures annos natus est, sed qui plures liberos quam collega aut in sua potestate habet aut bello amisit.* See on the *sortitio* and the *ius liberorum* Zipfel, Die Losung der konsularischen Proconsuln, Progr., Königsberg 1883; Mommsen, Staatsrecht I³ 534ff.; II³ 250ff.; 259ff.; Steinwenter, Ius liberorum, RE X 2 (1919); V. Ehrenberg, Losung, RE XIII 2 (1927); B.E. Thomasson, Die Stadthälter der römischen Provinzen Nord Afrikas I, Lund 1960, 14ff.; W. Eck, Beförderungskriterien innerhalb der senatorischen Laufbahn, Aufstief u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 1, Berlin/New York 1974, 220ff.; Alföldy, Consuls 295f., and Konsulat 110ff. These scholars do not always agree with my interpretation. See also at 192,4.

Liberorum: elsewhere Fronto always uses the gen. plur. *liberum*, which is impossible here.

167,1 *alius*: possibly L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus, to whom Fronto wrote Ad amicos I 3 p. 172. He had at least two sons and was proconsul Africae from 1 July 157 to 30 June 158; see J. Guey, Rev. d. Étud. lat. 29, 1951, 307; Pflaum, Les correspondants 546; Alföldy, Consuls 296, and Konsulat 124; 208; Champlin, Chronology. If Lollianus Avitus was Fronto's rival, Fronto was appointed proconsul of Asia fourteen years after his consulate, see at 166,19. Lollianus had been cos. ord. in 144. Incorrect datings of Lollianus' proconsulate: H. Dessau, PIR II¹ p. 293 no. 222; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 38, 1916, 380; F. Miltner, Lollianus Avitus, RE XIII 2 (1927); Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 23f.; Pflaum, La carrière de C. Aufidius Victorinus 200; A. Stein & W. Groag, Hedius 40, PIR IV² 2 (1958). Since it is not quite certain that Fronto's proconsulate fell in 157–158, we must take into account other possibilities: Q. Egrilius Planarius (see Ad amicos I 4 p. 174) was cos. suff. about 143 and proconsul Africae in 159–160. See on him Hanslik, Anordnung, and Egrilius, Kleine Pauly (1967); Merlin, Un proconsul; Pflaum, La carrière 200, and Les correspondants 546; PIR I² 169; F. Zevi, Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist. de l'École franç. de Rome 82, 1970, 309ff.; Mireille Corbier, L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare, Rome 1974, 175; Champlin, Chronology; Alföldy, Konsulat 147f. Moreover there is Claudius Maximus, consul c. 143, who succeeded Lollianus as proconsul Africae 158–159. See on him E. Groag, Claudius 239, RE III (1899), and Claudius 933, PIR II² (1936); Alföldy, Konsulat 124; R. Hanslik, Claudius 37, Kleine Pauly (1964). (Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 24, dates Claudius' proconsulate 160–161.)

167,2 *postilla* seems to be archaistic: after Ennius, Plautus, Terence and Cato it is found only in Catull. 84,9 and then here and 241,12; 242,3.

Instruendam provinciam: 'carrying out my task', as Cic. Phil. 11,23 *instructam ornatamque a senatu provinciam deposui*; not 'the ordening of the province' (Haines). For this task see Dig. 1,16 *De officio proconsulis et legati*; 1,18 *De officio praesidis.*

167,4 *propinquos et amicos*: Fronto does not speak of his *legatus*, because this man was appointed by the senate. The *consilium*, the *comites* and *amici*,

often lawyers, were appointed by the proconsul himself. See Rudorff, Römische Rechtsgeschichte II 526ff.; H.F. Hitzig, Die Assessoren der römischen Magistrate und Richter, München 1893, 26.

167,5 *domo*: Cirta.

Alexandriam: since Niebuhr commentators have concluded from this passage that Fronto had studied there before he came to Rome, and that he had made friends there, among others Appianus; but that is very uncertain, see at 17,8; 135,3f.

167,6 *scripsi ut* also Cic. Att. 11,7,2; 13,45,1.

Athenas: Athens was the meeting place of the Greek-speaking assistants of the proconsul of Asia; from there they sailed together to Ephesus: Ulp. Dig. 1,16,4,5.

Opperirentur: here and 210,19 written with one *p*.

167,7 *Graecarum epistularum*: see W. Snellman, De interpretibus Romanorum deque linguae Latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio, Lipsiae I 1919; II 1914.

167,9 *negotia Cilicum*: unknown; see at 10,14ff.

167,10 *amantissimum*: 'most affectionate', see at 29,7.

167,11 *Iulius Senex* is otherwise unknown, but in the 150s Mauretania was a robbers' den (CIL VIII 2615 = Dessau 5795), so we may assume that he had to fight their gangs in Asia too. See at 34,8 and Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 312; Mickwitz, Strassenraub, RE Suppl. VI (1940); A. Lippold, Mauretania, Kleine Pauly (1969). Ulp. Dig. 1,18,13 pr. *et sacrilegos latrones, plagiarios, fures conquirere debet (proconsul)* . . . *receptoresque eorum coercere.*

167,12 *circa* = *in quaerendis latronibus*. This use of *circa* with gerund(ive) is found since Liv. 29,22,3. See Kühner I 751; Hofmann-Szantyr 377.

167,14 *spe* with acc. cum inf., see at 64,13.

Aqua potanda instead of wine, see at 110,4. Doctors also prescribed it for digestion and purgation, see e.g. Sen. Nat. 3,1,3; Cels. 1,2,10; 3,7,2 C; 3,24,3; 4,18,2; 4,19,4; Plin. Nat. 14,137; 23,107; 31,59; 31,64. Fronto is here speaking of his health in general, not of a specific disease, though arthritis may have played an important part in his decision; cp. 200,2 (a letter of 156), where it is also a question of general indisposition. Haines and Birley, Mark Aurel 198, refer to *cholera* 80,18, and Cels. 4,18,2 says that in the event of cholera *aquae tepidae quam plurimum bibere oportet*, but 80,18 seems to have been written before 156.

167,16 *intervalla et impetus*: Scrib. Larg. 99 *minuitur* . . . *impetus* . . . *intervallaque maiora accipit.*

167,17 *fortis*: Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 375, supports Kiessling's *fortius*, but *fortis* is the counterpart of *bene*, not of *diutius*. Cp. 183,12 *ut fortis ad nos venias*. For the alliteration cp. Cic. Fin. 5,35 *opus est* . . . *valere et vigere.*

167,18 *causas*: unknown. If this letter was written early in 157, both cases came up in 156.

Apud te: 'before your court'; usually the emperor himself was not present, see at 10,16. So, too, 180,4 *apud dominum nostrum.*

167,19–20 *frustra fuisse*: see at 179,14.

167,31 A 330 contains the ninth letter to Pius. Unfortunately, 161,6

the opening words of this letter are illegible. Naber filled the gap with *Secretum servabo,* which is how Ad amicos II 1 begins, see 186,14 and 187,2. But Ad amicos II 1 has nothing to do with Pius. In his first edition Mai reads in the Index 161,6 *Ho<c nego magisve nego>* and in A 330 *<Hoc nego>* . . . *magisve nego, inpudens, qui umquam* etc., which is the beginning of Ad M. Caes. I 6: *ne ego impudens, qui umquam* (10,3)! In his later editions Mai does not mention the beginning of Ad Pium 9; he states that 161,6 is illegible. Naber puts here *Secretum servabo* because at 187,1 the margin has *repe<tita>*, and he could not find another gap to put in Ad amicos II 1, except in A 330. See Hauler, Wien. Stud. 33, 1911, 174f.

168,1 Chronology: if the last sentence of this letter refers to Fronto's excuse in the preceding one for not being able to accept his proconsulate—as I think it does, see at 168,23–27—this letter must have been written shortly after Ad Pium 8: c. 158–160. In his edition Haines is of the same opinion, dating it 157–161 (Portalupi after 155). In his Chronology, however, Haines dates the letter 147–161. Champlin dates it to the 140s (see at 168,7), and according to Pflaum, Les carrières III 1101, Appian's procuratorship must be dated between 158 and 162. It is generally accepted that Appianus is the historian from whom and to whom letters are extant in the Additamentum 242ff.

168,3 *contubernalis*: see at 172,5.

Sexti Calpurnii: Sexti is an emendation of Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen I 267 n. 2, as the combination *Sextius Calpurnius* is impossible. A. Stein, Calpurnius 271, PIR II^2 53, also writes *Sextus.* His cognomen is *Iulianus* (line 10), but he is not the Iulianus of 54,13. Our Calpurnius must have been a generation younger than Fronto, so he was born c. 115. A.R. Birley, Epigraph. Stud. 4, 1967, 73f., suggests that he may be a relative of Sex. Calpurnius Agricola, cos. suff. in 159 or shortly after, and Mai^2 thinks that he is the Calpurnius to whom Pius wrote a rescript, Dig. 40,1,8,2.

168,4 *procurationibus*: the procuratores were equites with various functions in Rome and in the provinces, especially in the field of finance. As a rule they were jurists, cp. 168,16 *causidicorum scatebra.* See Mommsen, Staatsrecht III 561; Pflaum, Procurator.

168,6 *excusationes*: see at 166,19. The permission to decline an appointment was also a *beneficium,* because the excused drew his salary just the same, cp. Tac. Agr. 42,2, where Agricola begs to be excused from the proconsulate of Africa or Asia; Domitianus accepts his excuse: *salarium tamen proconsulare solitum offerri . . . Agricolae non dedit.* Another curious example is that of Fronto's grandson M. Aufidius Fronto: this proud man had drawn Africa as his proconsulship but the Africans rejected him; the emperor Macrinus yielded to their arguments, yet offered τὸ ἱκνούμενον γέρας (Cass. Dio 78,22,5), the due fee of 250,000 drachmas. Aufidius refused.

168,7 *Appiano*: on his career, the only information we have is his own: Prooem. 15 Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἥκων ἐν τῷ πατρίδι καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἠξίωσαν. Like Fronto, he was born in the nineties of the first century AD; he came to Rome under Hadrian. He knew Latin as well as Fronto knew

Greek; see J. Hering, Lateinisches bei Appian, diss. Leipzig, Weida 1935, 9. The words δίκαις etc. are usually interpreted as *advocatus fisci* or *procurator rei privatae* of the emperors in lawsuits: E. Schwartz, Appianos, RE II (1896), though with some hesitation; Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten² 428 n. 1; B. Kübler, RE VI 1,309 (1907); L. Wickert, Appianus, PIR I² p. 192 no. 943 (1933); A. Croiset, Histoire de la littérature grecque V, Paris 1938, 672; Pflaum, Les carrières III 1033; J. Werner, Appianos, Kleine Pauly (1963). He was then one of the first *advocati fisci*, see Vita Hadr. 20,6. As this letter of Fronto was written during the last years of Pius' reign, ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων must mean 'under (or "in behalf of" or "before") Hadrian and Pius', not 'under Marcus and Verus', as Niebuhr, Schwartz, Haines, Werner, Portalupi and Astarita, Roma e l'Oriente 33, suppose. Croiset believes that it means 'under Pius and Marcus'; M. Gelzer, Gnomon 31, 1959, 180, either 'under Pius and Marcus' or 'under Marcus and Verus'; so, too, P.E. Easterling & B.M.W. Knox, The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I, Cambridge 1985, 889. F. Reuss, Arrian und Appian, Rhein. Mus. 54, 1899, 463ff., assumes that δίκαις συναγορεύσας simply means 'I have been barrister under the emperors', and Mai translates 'versatus sum Romae in agendis causis apud Augustorum tribunalia'; likewise H. White in his Loeb edition of Appianus: 'I have been a pleader of causes before the emperors' (for this ἐπί cp. e.g. Diod. Sic. 16,93 τοῦ Ἀττάλου κατηγόρησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως).

Ἠξίωσαν cannot refer to Hadrian and Pius; it must refer to Pius only, and the plural is understandable because Appianus does not call the emperors by name.

Ἐπιτροπεύειν is 'to be a procurator', and Appianus' prooemium shows that Fronto's intervention met with success. If we have correctly dated this letter of Fronto, the last chapter of Appianus' prooemium cannot have been written c. 150, as has been asserted, but must date from some ten years later. Champlin, too, believes that Appianus' prooemium was written c. 150 and therefore dates Fronto's letter 140–150. Viereck & Roos in their edition of Appianus I 537 date Appianus' letter 242,12 correctly 157–161: it was written shortly after his appointment as procurator. Appianus was a native of Alexandria in Egypt, which made Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, think that Appianus' procuratorship might have been some office in Egypt, a suggestion adopted by A. Lesky, Geschichte d. griech. Lit., München ²1963, 302, and by Werner. Astarita l.l. even speaks of 'la procuratela d'Egitto'. As far as I know, *procurator Aegypti* is found only in Ammian. 17,4,5 (see also Suet. Nero 35,5); it indicates the *praefectus Aegypti*, an office so high that Appianus cannot be considered. Even if the *iuridicus Alexandriae* is meant, we cannot believe that Appianus could or would aspire after such a difficult post as has been pointed out by Peter, Die geschichtliche Litteratur I 428 n. 1. During the 150s Appianus was in Rome, very busy writing his history and probably fearing that he would never be able to finish it. What he wanted was a titular rank *dignitatus suae in senectute ornandae causa* (168,10), including the salary, not the office itself; when Pius granted his request, Appianus officially and immediately submitted his *excusatio*, which was

accepted. Note the difference between the specific δίκαις συναγορεύσας and the general present ἐπιτροπεύειν, 'to be a procurator for life'. See K. Nipperdey, Opuscula 590; Mommsen, Staatsrecht III 559ff.; E. Gabba, Storici greci dell'impero romano da Augusto ai Severi, Riv. stor. ital. 71, 1959, 374; Easterling & Knox l.l.; and, in detail, Champlin, Fronto 99f. It was one of the lower procuratorships Appianus asked for: that of a *centenarius* or a *sexagenarius*, see Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 151ff.; Pflaum, Procurator.

168,8 *vetus . . . intercedit*: see at 110,10. This is an important line: it does not prove that Fronto ever studied in Alexandria and met Appianus there, see at 17,8; 135,3f., but it shows that Fronto initiated him into Roman historiography. Both of them were laudatores temporis acti, Fronto as a literator, Appianus as a historian. Fronto had a profound knowledge of Roman history (see e.g. 134,1ff.) and undoubtedly helped his friend with his studies. See e.g. Fronto's judgement on Viriathus (131,1 and 213,6) and Appian. Iber. 60ff.; his remarks on nomads (205,17 marg. h) and App. prooemium 7. For his part, Appianus may have given Fronto information about the Parthian Wars, see at 205,11 (marg. d); 205,17 (marg. h) and Mazzarino, Il pensiero II 193f. Gabba o.c. 374f. points to the fact that in their letters 242f. both men—despite their joking—show an interest in politics. On the sources of Appianus see E. Schwartz l.l.; Reuss l.l.; J. Hahn, Appien et le cercle de Sénèque, Acta ant. Acad. scient. Hungaricae 12, 1964, 198f. (uncritical); E. Gabba, Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili, Firenze 1956, 219f.

168,11 *procuratoris stipendii*: for those who were not rich it was a lucrative office: Tac. Ann. 16,17,3; Hist. 2,86,3; and Mommsen, Staatsrecht III 559, who reads with Orelli *procuratorii*. After his flight from Alexandria, Appianus came to Rome with an empty purse.

168,12 *quom primum*: here, *primum* still has its original vigour; see at 113,8f.

168,13 *petivi*: see at 187,8.

Admittere preces since Petron. 133,3.

168,14 *proximo superiore anno* should not be altered, as did Kessler and Cornelissen (1885), cp. Cic. Fam. 1,9,20 *proximis superioribus diebus*; Orat. 216 *proximum superiorem (pedem)*; Tac. Ann. 1,77,1 *proximo priore anno*; Gell. 15,7,3 *nocte . . . proxima superiore*; 17,2,2 *biduo proximo superiore*; Vita Probi 11,2 *proximo superiore anno*. *Proximo* is not abundant, for *proximo* alone can also mean 'immediately following'. Against Kessler's *proxime* here Novák, Zu Fronto, 242ff.; Krebs & Schmalz, Antibarbarus I s.v. antecedens; Löfstedt, Syntactica II^2 113.

168,15 *futurum (esse) ut*: see at 38,6.

168,16 *causidicorum*: see at 32,7. Appianus was a lawyer.

168,17 *quem de Graecia*: the interrogative pronoun with *de* also e.g. Cic. Cluent. 157 *quis de plebe Romana testimonium dixit?* Cp. Cic. Pis. 1 *nescio quem de grege noviciorum*; Iuv. 14,134 *aliquis de ponte*.

168,18 *orbitas*: 'childlessness' (Haines). Val. Max. 6,2,12 *duae res quae hominibus amarissimae viderentur . . . senectutem et orbitatem.*

Cui leniendae: the dative with *opus est* is rather rare if not used of a person; cp. e.g. Cael. Cic. Fam. 8,5,1 *quantum gloriae triumphoque opus esset*. See Tyrrell & Purser ad loc. and Kühner I 387.

168,22 *simplicitas et veritas*: see at 111,16. *Veritas*: see at 44,24.

168,23 *fiducia*: see at 107,8.

168,23–27 *illum, ille* and *illei* refer to the unnamed Greek, not to Appianus, as Portalupi thinks. Pius could not really pass him over, and he too should get his promotion. The explanation of this badinage was correctly seen by Buttmann, Haines and Easterling & Knox: 'but when he will apply for it as I do now for Appian, you must not forget that I have already petitioned for Appian for two years; so the Greek may also have to wait two years; and he will only be following my example when I begged to be excused from the proconsulate, if he too will get your permission to excuse himself'. Champlin, Chronology, thinks that *meo exemplo* and *exemplo nostro* refer to Calpurnius' case, which seems very unlikely.

168,24 *domine imperator*: 183,5 *a dominis nostris imperatoribus*. See at 165,16f. *Dominus imperator* appears in inscriptions since Trajan, but Fronto is the first author to use it. Cp. Mart. 10,72,8 *non est hic dominus sed imperator*; Suet. Aug. 53,1 *domini appellationem ut maledictum et obprobrium semper exhorruit*; Tib. 27 *dominus appellatus a quodam denuntiavit*; Tert. Apol. 34,1 *Augustus ... ne dominum quidem dici se volebat ... dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi*. See at 86,14.

168,26–27 *fecerit ... impetraverit*: see at 1,10f. *Impetro* with infinitive: see at 121,6.

168,28–29 It is not clear why the letters Ad amicos II 2–4 were also put at the end of the book Ad Pium (see 161,8–10), since they have no connection at all with Pius. E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 33, 1911, 174: 'Zu Anfang der ersten Spalte A 338 habe ich einige neue Zeilen entziffert, die ich aber, weil sie keinen vollständigen Satz bilden, noch zurückstelle.'

168,30 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

170,1–3 The first ten letters are letters of recommendation; the ancient editor put the letter to Claudius Severus first because it deals with the *commendandi mos*. He may have had in mind Cicero's thirteenth book Ad familiares. Letters of recommendation have also been joined together in Ad M. Caes. V 49–52; and see Ad Pium 10 and Ad Verum I 6. The other leters Ad amicos deal with personal matters and literary subjects, or they are letters of consolation. Most of them have been arranged according to the addressees. Niebuhr and Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, think that all the letters Ad amicos were written during the reign of Marcus and Verus, but their dates vary from 139 to 167, so that we cannot date them with Haines, Chronology, between 159 and 165. The letters of the first book have a complete form of address, unlike those of the second book. Remarkably enough, Ad amicos includes only letters of Fronto himself, see Proleg. LXI n. 3 and at 242,11–13. On commendatory letters in general see Cugusi, Evoluzione 40f.

170,4 Chronology: of the Claudii Severi under Pius and Marcus the most likely is Cn. Claudius Severus Arabianus, a man interested in

patetic philosophy and a teacher of Marcus: Medit. 1,14 and Vita Marci 3,3. According to 170,16, he was a presiding judge of great authority, but the nature of this presidency cannot be determined, so there is no reason to suppose that he was praefectus urbi. Arabianus was born c. 113, cos. ord. in 146, which is why most scholars prefer to identify him with our Claudius Severus rather than his son Cn. Claudius Severus, who was born c. 133, cos. suff. in 163, ord. in 173, because the tone of this letter is respectful, not patronizing as might be expected in a letter to a person who was two generations younger than Fronto himself. In favour of Arabianus are Mai; Niebuhr; Philibert-Scoupé 21; E. Groag, Claudius 346, RE III (1899) and PIR II[2] p. 248 no. 1027; Haines; Schanz III 93; A.S.L. Farquharson, The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Oxford 1944. I 274f. and II 457f.; Pflaum, Les correspondants 547; R. Hanslik, Claudius 52, Kleine Pauly (1964); Birley, A Nickname 472. His son, too, had philosophical aspirations. In 173 he married Marcus' daughter Annia Galeria Aurelia (not Fadilla, as Haines and Hanslik, Anordnung, think). It was Hanslik who first ventured to date our letter: not before 165–166, and he identified Claudius Severus with the son (but later changed his mind, see above). Bowersock, Greek Sophists 125, tried in vain to prove that Fronto lived until long after 167 (see at 159,12–14) and he too assumed that Claudius Severus was the son, dating this letter to the 170s. Portalupi follows Hanslik's Anordnung. Champlin, Chronology; Alföldy, Konsulat 228; and Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 449, cannot decide between father and son, but Champlin and Alföldy date the letter before 167. See on this letter de Ste Croix, Suffragium 43f., and Plantera, Osservazioni (which I have not seen).

170,5 *commendandi*: Cic. Off. 2,67 *licet tamen opera prodesse multis beneficia petentem, commendantem iudicibus, magistratibus*; Quint. Inst. 4,3,17; 6,2,11.

170,6 *demonstratum*: 'introduced', see at 79,18.

170,7 *denique*: 'then' (Haines), 'infine' (Portalupi). It is not the same as 'igitur', as Gudeman, TLL s.v., thinks. See at 10,6.

Iste . . . ut: see Kühner II 248.

Qui: 'though they', hence the subjunctive and the following *tamen*. Cp. e.g. Cic. De orat. 1,82 *egomet, qui sero ac leviter Graecas litteras attigissem, tamen* etc. It is a careful formulation required in such a precarious matter; hence also the litotes *non inproba*.

Publico vel privato iudicio: see at 10,14.

170,9 *adessent*: again very carefully formulated: 'such men as possibly might be present', the assessors. Haines follows Schopen but adds conjectures of his own, because—quite rightly—he is not satisfied with his own text.

170,10 *sed*, 'anyway', introduces Fronto's conclusion. It is not necessary to add *ut*, as Schopen and Haines do.

170,11 *laudatores* in court: see Cic. Verr. II 4,19; Cluent. 56; Quint. Inst. 3,7,2.

170,13 *istae*: 'the well-known'.

Fungi: see at 78,6.

170,14 *tam ex alto*: 'going back so far' (Haines), 'from a past so remote'. Cp. Acc. Trag. 160 *cur vetera tam ex alto adpetissis discidia*, where Non. p. 237,19 *altum* is explained as *vetus, anticum*; Cic. Fam. 3,5,1 *quoniam ex alto repetita sint*. In Verg. Aen. 8,395 *quid causas petis ex alto?* it means 'far-fetched'. Besides *ex alto* there is the expression *alte petere*, 'hark back to the remote past': 220,18 *ne nimis vetera alte petam*; cp. Cic. Cluent. 58 *longo et alte petito prooemio*; Tac. Ann. 3,62,4 *altius exponere*, 'to bring forward a claim of a more remote date'. But *alte petere* may also mean 'to go profoundly into the past': Sen. Contr. 1,2,15 *altius petiit*. Quint. Inst. 6,5,3 of a profound reflection: *consilium vero ratio est quaedam alte petita*, as 6,2,2 and Verus 109,1 *paulo altius dicere*, 'to go more deeply into the subject', as Tac. Ann. 3,25,3 *altius disserere*; Hist. 4,12,1 *altius expedire*.

Prohoemium: on difficult letters requiring a long introduction see Cugusi, L'epistolografia 389.

Existimasses is a so-called shifted pluperfect ('verschobenes Plusquamperfectum') instead of an imperfect, see at 37,11. Heindorf's *existimassis* is a sigmatic optative (see at 37,10), justly rejected by Blase, Geschichte des Irrealis 36 and Geschichte des Plusquamperfekts 98. In *existimasses* we sense something like 'already in advance'. Cp. Tac. Agr. 6,5 *(recognitionem) diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis sensisset*; Plin. Pan. 40,3 *effecisti, ne malos principes habuissemus*.

170,15 *Corneliano Sulpicio*: being a contubernalis of Fronto (171,1), he probably was a generation younger (see at 172,5); on the other hand, he was a close friend who had already won his spurs in the field of philosophy (170,25; 171,13ff.). To all appearances, Sulpicius Cornelianus is the Cornelianus to whom Phrynichus dedicated his Ecloge: this Cornelianus was a ῥήτωρ (p. 379 Lobeck), whose παιδεία both Phrynichus (p. 1 L.) and Fronto (171,15f.) admired. In Fronto, Cornelianus is a barrister (170,16 *causam apud vos dicturus*), in Phrynichus he is βασιλικὸς ἐπιστολεύς (p. 225; 379; 418 L.) whom οἱ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἀνεθέσαν τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἅπαντα πράγματα διοικεῖν, a task in which he is ἐξελληνίζων καὶ ἀττικίζων τὸ βασιλικὸν δικαστήριον, an ab epistulis Graecis for legal texts. The Cornelianus of Phrynichus is an Atticist, Fronto's an archaist. They both disliked philosophy (171,17ff.), a fact that Fronto could not mention to Claudius Severus, who was—the father as well as the son—a student of philosophy. If the identification is correct, Cornelianus was first a barrister (under Pius and/or Marcus) and later an ab epistulis (of Marcus and Verus, rather than of Marcus and Commodus), which would mean that this letter is considerably older than 167. The identification has been advocated by Mai; Philibert-Soupé 21; Naber; W. Schmid, Cornelianus, RE IV (1900); A. Stein, Sulpicius 716, PIR III[1], and Cornelianus 1303, PIR II[2]; Teuffel 3,78; Haines; Schanz III 93; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Geschichte d. griech. Lit. II 2, München [6]1924, 875 n. 1; G.B. Towensend, The Post of ab Epistulis in the Second Century, Historia 10, 1964, 378 n. 16. Undecided are M. Bang, Die Beamten, in Friedländer's Sittengeschichte IV 43, and Fluss, Sulpicius Cornelianus, RE IV A 1 (1931). According to Fr. Bücheler, Prosopographica, Rhein.

Mus. 63, 1908, 193, Phrynichus' Cornelianus is the Cornelianus of Stob. Flor. 4,45 p. 230. See at 275,24f. For Cornelianus Sulpicius instead of Sulpicius Cornelianus see at 108,14.

170,16 *causam dicturus*: 'to plead his case' (Haines), i.e. *ad accusationem nostri ordinis virum*, a fellow senator (171,7).

Apud vos: 'before you and your court'.

170,18 *libero ac liberali*: paronomasia, see at 21,2.

170,19 *innocentia* should not be connected with *confidens*, as Haines and Portalupi do; *confidens* is 'self-confident', 'bold'.

170,20 *bonarum artium*: see at 129,17.

(marg.) *Iusso* for *iussu* is rather rare. Non. p. 130,9 *iusso pro iussu*. Before Fronto only in Sisenna, Hist. 119, *populi iusso* and Sil. 6,213 *iusso manus*. Further in Gell. 11,18,4 and a few later authors.

170,23 *intercedit*: the subject is a word like *amicitia*, see at 110,10.

Forte aut temere, 'casually or at random', occurs only here. The usual expression is *forte temere* (since Ter. Phorm. 757; in Fronto 210,15) or *forte ac temere* (since Lucil. 451). It is pleonastic as *clam furtim*.

170,24 *nec ultro*: 'not into the bargain', 'not without more', 'not without reason' seem better than 'non di mia initiativa' (Portalupi). Haines' translation 'that I did not go out of my way to seek the friendship' may have influenced Housman's conjecture.

170,25 *ad aures accidisse*: see at 65,21.

170,26 *his* as *huius* 82,26.

171,1–2 *habitavimus* etc.: Plin. Epist. 2,13,5 *hunc ego, cum simul studeremus, arte familiariterque dilexi; ille meus in urbe, ille in secessu contubernalis, cum hoc seria, cum hoc iocos miscui.* On Fronto's contubernium see at 172,5.

Iocum seriumque: see at 21,10f.

171,2 *fidei . . . fecimus*: 'we put our loyalty and our fidelity to the proof'. For *periculum facere* see at 175,7. *Fidei* corresponds to *voluptati*, and *consilii* to *usui*.

171,4 *quantum . . . possum*: see at 14,6f.; 178,15.

Imploro has been accepted by Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi 356.

171,5 We should expect the traductio *homini hominis*.

171,7 *concilii commentariis*: *commentarii* can be the protocol of a board, a council (see at 190,9) or a court of law. Here it seems to be the dossier of the court. Haines wondered if he might translate *concilium* as if it were *consilium*, and Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten 339f., suggests to read *consilii*, like Heraeus. The members of a lawcourt are called *consilium*, but *consilii commentarii* does not occur elsewhere, nor does *concilii commentarii*. The difficulty increases because *lectis commentariis* is unclear: are these the annotations Sulpicius made for his case? Cp. Sen. Contr. 9,2,2 *paratus erat accusator cum commentariis*. Or are they the dossier of the court which Fronto is going to read after the session? (In this case, *planem facie* might be *planum faciemus*.)

171,10 *respomdet*: earlier editors had *spondet*, but *respondet* seems to have the same meaning: 'it (friendship, hope, the future) ensures your loyal love for me'.

Tamen e is Hauler's unpublished reading; former editors here had a gap,

which A.E. Housman filled in with *spes subventurum*; then *respondere* would have an acc. cum inf., as in Plaut. Capt. 899 and Papin. Dig. 50,1,17,15.

171,11 'One word of mine will seem to you and your court as much as a whole speech.'

171,12 Chronology: this letter was put here because it recommends the same Sulpicius Cornelianus from the preceding letter, see at 170,15. Apparently, Sulpicius is on the threshold of his career, and Appius Apollonides seems to be the least important of all the addressees of the letters Ad amicos: the tone of this letter is quite different from that of the preceding one: it is straightforward and almost imperative. Champlin regards it as undatable: 139–167, but it was probably written in the late 140s, see at 170,15. Mai; P. von Rohden, Apollonides 24, RE II (1896); M. Wellmann, Apollonides 33, ibid.; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Hanslik, Anordnung; Portalupi; and Champlin, Fronto 152 n. 3, suppose that our Apollonides is identical with the surgeon Apollonides (Artemid. 4,2; Galen. 10,53f.; 10,33; 14,684), but that is only a wild guess, rejected by A. Stein, PIR I^2 no. 924 (1933). Pflaum, Les correspondants 558, is probably right in assuming that he was a municipal magistrate somewhere in the East. Our letter shows that he was interested in rhetoric and disliked philosophy.

171,13 Κορνηλιανόν: see at 79,2 and 108,14.

171,14 ἄριστος: I now regret that I altered the MS reading ἄρισαα with Haupt. Πεφυκέναι is often used with an adverb, e.g. Isocr. 9,6 δυσκόλως πεφύκασιν. 'He is a man of a great natural talent for verbal expression.' For πρός cp. e.g. Aristot. Rhet. 1,1,11 οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς πεφύκασιν ἱκανῶς. See at 33,20.

171,15 τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι: 'to carry off the first prize', 'to take the highest place with me' (Haines).

Παιδείας: 'culture' (Haines), as 16,13.

171,17–18 τὰ δυνατά: 'to the best of your ability', an adverbial expression, as τὰ πρῶτα, τὰ μάλιστα, τὰ τελευταῖα.

171,18 λογίῳ: 'eloquent' (Haines).

172,1 Chronology: L. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus, cos. ord. in 144 (not 114, as R. Hanslik, Lollianus 2, Kleine Pauly 1968 says), was proconsul Africae from 1 July 157 to 30 June 158, when this letter was written. See J. Guey, Rev. d. Étud. lat. 29, 1951, 307f.; R. Syme, Rev. d. Étud. anc. 61, 1959, 316; Pflaum, Les correspondants 546; B.E. Thomasson, Africa, RE Suppl. XIII (1973); and Portalupi. Uncorrect datings range from 154 to 161: H. Dessau, PIR II^1 293 no. 222; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 38, 1916, 380; Haines; F. Miltner, L. Lollianus Avitus, RE XIII 2 (1927); Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 23f.; Hanslik, Anordnung, and Lollianus 2, Kleine Pauly (1968); Merlin, Un proconsul 242; Pflaum, La carrière 200; A. Stein & E. Groag, Hedius 40, PIR IV 2 (1958). On his proconsulship in Africa see Apul. Apol. 94ff., who calls him a *vir bonus, dicendi peritus*; see at 272,10. The tone of this letter is not that of an intimate friend, and it is possible that Lollianus got the proconsulate of Africa which Fronto had wished for, see at 166,19.

172,2 *Montanum Licinium*: Licinius Montanus (see at 79,2 and 108,14)

is otherwise unknown. He was a fellow townsman of Fronto (173,21; see at 199,18f.) and belonged to Fronto's contubernium in Rome; see at 172,5.

Ita: see at 51,21.

Reducem: in Rome.

Quo iureiurando: 'and this is an official statement by which'.

172,4 *quiscum* for *quibuscum* is not found elsewhere (Cic. Dom. 61 two MSS have *quiscum*, the others *quibuscum*, and so the editors) but since *qui(s)* has a dative-ablative plur. *quis*, I have not ventured to read *quicum* with Greef. The ablative plur. *quicum* occurs in Plaut. Capt. 1003; see also Aul. 502. Ovid has *cum quis (= quibus)* Met. 6,141; 7,671; 11,384. See at 219,2 *quisnam*.

Hospitii iura: 'the bonds of hospitality'; so *iura* 111,1. Serv. Aen. 9,358 *consuetudo erat apud maiores ut inter se homines hospitii iura mutuis muneribus copularent.* An example of such *munera* 110,10ff.

172,5 *contubernio*: Fronto's palazzo on the Esquiline (see at 20,11 and 240,12) was a sort of boarding-house for young men of the upper class: 177,6 *iuvenes, quos in contubernio mecum adsiduos habeo*; see also 185,16. His students received a higher education in the field of literature, history and politics. We know several of them: Aemilius Pius (176,20), Sex. Calpurnius Iulianus (168,3), perhaps C. Calvisius Faustinianus (174,27), L. Gavius Clarus (110,10), M. Postumius Festus (199,15; 265,5), the two sons of Sardius Saturninus (177,6; 177,11; 184,14), Sulpicius Cornelianus (170,15), M. Gavius Cornelius Cethegus (185,13) and perhaps Ulpius (at 185,11). Fronto's future son-in-law C. Aufidius Victorinus, whose parents lived in Pisaurum, also seems to have been Fronto's contubernalis (17,19; 20,11; 73,11; 82,14; 88,2); see at 175,18. Appianus, the historian, may have taken part in the discussions, see at 168,7. This Frontonian school was one of the reasons for Pius to apprentice Marcus to Fronto, see at 93,12; 272,10.

172,7 *communicatio et societas*: Cic. Fin. 5,65 *nihil est tam illustre . . . quam . . . quasi quaedam societas et communicatio utilitatum.*

172,9 *consiliari*: 'adviser'. *Consiliaris* occurs here for the first time, then only in Schol. Iuv. 3,46, where the assessors in court are called *consiliares.* In Apul. Apol. 2,11 it is a conjecture of Lipsius (*consularium* codd.). Mai and Haines read here in Fronto *consiliari<o>*.

172,10 *artium bonarum*: see at 129,17. With *sectator* also 176,23.

Doctrina: 'learning' (Haines); cp. 174,6f. *tam doctum tamque elegantem*; Cic. Orat. 13 *doctis eloquentia . . . et disertis elegans doctrina defuit.*

172,11 *meo artificio*: 'because of my craft'.

172,17 *antiquissimum*: see at 160,2. Cp. Gell. 5,13,5 *antiquiorem locum hospiti tribuit quam clienti.*

172,24 *ex . . . opibus*: 'from your utmost wealth of kindness'; see at 113,16.

Postulavit may be *postulabit*, see Proleg. XXXV.

172,26 *datu . . . postulatu*: see at 152,5.

172,28 *De amicitia*: see at 3,20–5,18.

173,1 *Terentius Vanus* is unknown and the cognomen *Vanus* occurs only here. Like Fronto, he came from Cirta (173,21). It seems that Fronto recommends two friends in one letter, as he does in Ad Pium 10. If that is the case, the whole page refers to Terentius Vanus, not to Licinius Montanus.

Earlier editors had not the lines 1–14 and—with Hauler, Wien. Stud. 38, 1916, 379ff.—assumed that this page referred to Licinius Montanus.

173,2 *longa . . . vita*: 'his lasting qualities and a long life of men like us'. Fronto and Lollianus are now well over sixty.

Nostrum for *nostra* is not uncommon since Cicero, see Kühner I 598; Hofmann-Szantyr 61.

173,13 *domine*: see at 86,14. *Fili* is not a vocative, as 189,10, because Lollianus Avitus is of the same age as Fronto.

173,15 *philostorgum*: 'affectionate'. The Latin form occurs only here; see at 111,17.

173,17 *is adeo*: 'he indeed' (Haines), not 'perciò' (Portalupi). See at 60,13. *Asylum* is used here metaphorically, as perhaps 188,3: 'a shelter', 'a lodging' or perhaps 'a sanctuary' where Terentius can be treated, because he is suffering from phthisis. Hauler l.l. is thinking of the temple of Aesculapius in Carthage (Tac. Ann. 3,63,3 mentions an asylum of Aesculapius in Pergamum and 4,14,1 one in Cos). Fronto asks for an *asylum* in a coastal district, though not immediately on the coast itself. Against phthisis, doctors prescribe a stay in Africa: Plin. Epist. 5,19,6; Galen. 12,191; cp. Epict. Diss. 3,16,12; or a sea voyage to the South: Cels. 3,22,8; Plin. Nat. 31,63; Cael. Aurel. 2,14,212. See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 388f.

173,18 *denique*: 'after all', 'insomma' (Portalupi), rather than 'lastly' (Haines). See at 10,6.

173,19 (marg. b) *quae*: see at 21,12.

173,19–20 *cavillantes audio*: 'I hear people satirically say', with acc. cum inf.

173,20 *aegre*: 'reluctantly'.

173,20–21 *quod . . . videatur*: 'because seized as he was with an affection in the chest, there seemed a real possibility that the extreme salubrity of the climate would enable him to return from his native city Cirta' (Haines). The *cavillatio* lies in the fact that Terentius, in spite of his phthisis, seriously believes that he will be able to return to Rome. Fronto rejects this *cavillatio* with the words *quod ut fiat optes*, 'pray that it may be so' (Haines). Della Corte's translation of this passage is unfortunate. Haines and P. Frassinetti, Athenaeum 54, 1976, 219, have really understood it. Champlin, Chronology 154, has turned it into a melodrama: he interprets *abstractum* as 'cutting a sick and wretched man out of his society' and continues: 'The evidence is fragmentary but a scandal is clearly indicated . . . the appeal to the compassion of the proconsul, the breakdown in health, the need for an asylum on the coast (with the suspicion of flight by sea), the slander that Fronto has abjured his acquaintance, the need for sound advice from an honourable man: all point to the disgrace of the learned and eloquent Licinius Montanus' (read Terentius Vanus).

173,21 *laetissimo caelo*: 'clima favorevole' (Portalupi); cp. Cic. Arat. 339 *laeti vestigia solis*; Vatin. 6 *quibus ille dies acerbissimus fuit, qui idem tibi laetissimus*; Petron. 122 line 181 *ipse nitor Phoebi vulgato laetior orbe crevit.*

Cirta: Apparently, Terentius first went from Rome to Cirta, his home town, but then, for reasons unknown, he wanted an asylum on the coast.

For *ab* see at 9,11.

173,22 *inter paucissimos*: 'pre-eminently'.

Ultro: 'without ulterior motive', 'unreservedly', not 'for my part' (Haines).

173,22–23 *fac . . . fruaris*: 'see that you enjoy his company as one who is dear to me'. For *fac* with subjunctive see at 60,17; for *fruaris* see at 1,8.

173,23 *praesentem*: 'in person', rather than 'when he comes' (Haines).

Ambias: 'circondalo' (Portalupi), rather than 'win his love' (Haines); cp. Paul. Nol. Carm. 18,192 *cum gratia tanta sepultos ambiat.*

173,24 *salutem corpusque*: hendiadys: 'his physical health'.

173,25 *cupio* with subjunctive: see at 6,1 and 37,11.

173,26 *decuriones* (or *principes*): of Carthage where Lollianus Avitus resides. *Inter Lares* can hardly be correct. There is also a town in Numidia called Lares, see Sall. Iug. 90,2.

173,27 *cenobatus* is corrupt. Is it κενοβατός, 'easygoing', or *schoenobates* (Iuv. 3,77)? Hauler's *xenodator* (ξενοδώτης) is most unlikely (on hybrid forms see at 41,22). *Geniatus*, 'kind', is a possibility, but the word occurs only in Vita Veri 10,6 and a few times in Cassiodorus. For *celebratus* see at 122,19.

174,1–2 Chronology: it is generally accepted that this letter was written to Q. Egrilius Plarianus when he was proconsul Africae, though Africa is not mentioned here. His son was also called Q. Egrilius Plarianus; he was his father's legatus in Africa. E. Groag, Q. Egrilius Plarianus, RE V 2 (1905); E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 33, 1911, 176; and Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 28f., think that the son is meant here. However, since Iulius Aquilinus is probably an African, there is no need to doubt the identification of our Egrilius with the proconsul of Africa. Merlin, Un proconsul 235ff., has proved that Egrilius senior was proconsul either from 1 July 158 to the end of June 159 or from 1 July 159 to the end of June 160 (not 158–159, as R. Hanslik, Egrilius Plarianus, RE Suppl. XII [1970], thinks). Usually, though not quite correctly, our letter is dated 159–160: E. Groag, Egrilius, RE V 2 (1905), and PIR III² p. 76 no. 49; R. Hanslik, Anordnung, and Egrilius 5, Kleine Pauly (1967); Pflaum, Les correspondants 547; F. Zevi, Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist. de l'École franç. de Rome 82, 1970, 309ff.; Mireille de Corbier, L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare, Rome 1974, 175; Champlin, Chronology; and Maria Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 449. Portalupi dates it 157–160. The form *Aegrilius* is also found in inscriptions, see B. Borghesi, Archaeol. Zeit. 3, 1845, 110ff., and Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande 9, 1846, 210ff.; J. Klein, Rhein. Mus. 31, 1876, 639f. As our Egrilius Plarianus was consul in 143 or 144, he may have been Fronto's rival when lots were drawn for the proconsulate of Africa, see at 167,1. The form of address of this letter is very unusual, see at 65,7.

174,3 *Iulium Aquilinum*: see at 79,2. He is probably the C. Iulius Aquilinus, an *eques* and *iudex* of Sicca Veneria in Numidia, CIL VIII 15872 and 27572. So PIR IV² Iulius 169 (1966); M.G. Jarret, An Album of the Equestrians from North Africa in the Emperor's Service, Epigr. Stud. 9, 1972, 186; and Champlin, Chronology, and Fronto 33. This Iulius Aquilinus may be the son of a Iulius Aquilinus who was *legatus pr. pr.* in Pamphylia in 141, see Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 108ff., and Alföldy, Konsulat 378. He is of

course not the Iulius Aquila of the Digesta, as Schrader, Neuentdeckte Quellen 114, thinks.

Si... credis: cp. Curt. 4,14,18 *si quid mihi creditis*. See at 174,8.

174,4 *ad: erudire ad* since Cic. Font. 43 *non litteris homines ad rei militaris scientiam, sed rebus gestis... eruditos.*

Optimas artes: 'the noblest qualities', not 'accomplishments' (Haines) or 'belle arti' (Portalupi); see at 54,1.

174,5–6 *quam possum studiosissime*: also 198,2. See Kühner II 479; Hofmann-Szantyr 590; and at 178,15.

174,7 *elegantem*: 'cultured' (Haines).

Protegi... provehi: pun.

174,8 *si... credes*: 111,15 and 174,3 *si quid mihi credis*. *Credes* is a potential future, see Kuhner I 142; Hofmann-Szantyr 311; and at 155,9.

174,8–9 *tui* and *nostri* are genetivi objectivi; *merito* is adverb. Apoll. Sid. Epist. 4,4,1 perhaps quotes Fronto, see Proleg. LXXV n. 1 and at 272,7.

174,9 *non dubitabis* with acc. cum inf.: see at 26,24.

174,10 *Platonicis disciplinis*: 'the doctrines of Plato' (Haines). Cp. Val. Max. 5,10 ext. 2 *Socratica disciplina*; Gell. 1,2,3 *disciplina Stoica*. Plato is the only philosopher who can rouse Fronto's interest.

174,11 *fueris*: see at 11,24.

Pro tua prudentia: the same complimentary phrase Cic. Fam. 11,12,1; 13,8,2; 13,16,4.

174,12 *apparatum*: 'display', 'magnificence' (Haines) of style, as Cic. De orat. 1,229; 2,333; 2,355; 3,92; 3,124; Brut. 263; Tac. Dial. 32,4.

174,13 *sententiarum*: see at 44,2.

174,14 *deprehenderis*: see at 1,10f.

Scito, scias (150,5; 175,2) and *scire te volo* are formulas which often occur in epistolography; see Cugusi, Evoluzione 79. *Scito* in Fronto only here, but see crit. app. 79,16; 113,3; 166,16. Cp. *existimato* 174,20.

Amplius: 'more' (Haines), not 'further', as Gudeman, TLL s.v., states.

174,18 *hinc*: from Rome to Carthage and Sicca.

174,20 *existimato*: see 174,14 and 233,5.

174,21 Chronology: Ti. Claudius Iulianus was *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Germania Inferior in 160: CIL XIII 8036 = Dessau 2907 and Fronto 174,25 *provinciam cum exercitu*. One of the other letters addressed to him (Ad amicos I 17; 19; and 20) shows that he still held that office under Marcus and Verus, see at 182,13. He may have been appointed immediately after his consulship in 159. So we must date this letter c. 160, not 157–161, as Haines and Portalupi do. In the early 170s Calvisius Faustinianus was idiologus of Egypt; here he is still in the military phase of his career, so this letter cannot have been written long after 160. Fronto is the only one to call Claudius *Naucellius (= Navicellius)*, 'little boatman', a nickname because he was in command of the classis Germanica stationed in Bonn, see at 188,7. Cp. B. Borghesi, Oeuvres complètes III, Paris 1864, 378; J. Klein, Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande 80, 1885, 150ff.; E. Groag, Claudius 87 and 88, RE III (1899), and Claudius 902, PIR II^2 p. 209 (1936); V. Chapot, La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie, Paris

1904, 311; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 94f.; R. Hanslik, Anordnung, and Claudius 30, Kleine Pauly (1964); E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 53, 1935, 167; Ritterling, Fasti 70f.; Lambrechts, La composition 120; Pflaum, Les correspondants 548f.; Whitehorn, Ad amicos 475ff. Our Claudius Iulianus may be the Iulianus with whom Herodes Atticus was in correspondence, Philostr. V.S. p. 60,32 Kayser, but he is not the Iulianus mentioned by Marcus 54,13. See at 182,13. Champlin, Fronto 34 and 151 n. 36, mistakes our Claudius Iulianus for the Claudius Iulianus who was proconsul Asiae under Pius.

174,22 *cuperemus nos praeditos*: see at 182,8f.

174,23 *virilis sexus*: Fronto had six daughters, five of whom were dead when this letter was written, see at 235,13.

Fuissent: see at 37,11.

174,23–24 *aetas . . . adolesceret*: see at 53,24. Caes. Gall. 6,18,3 *cum (liberi) adoleverunt, ut munus militiae sustinere possint.*

Ad munia fungenda: see at 190,14. Note the alliteration.

Hoc tempore . . . quo tempore: see at 40,14; 191,13.

174,26 *quin* after *non longe abest* also Cic. Att. 9,9,3; Caes. Gall. 3,18,4; see at 5,2f.

Uterque cuperemus: for the sake of clearness, *uterque* often has the constructio ad sententiam when *nostrum* or *vestrum* is omitted. So the first person plur. Plaut. Epid. 719; Sen. Dial. 7,26,1; Tac. Ann. 14,54,1; the second person plur. Plaut. Men. 779; 785; Sen. Contr. 4(8),24,4. See Kühner I 22f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 437; 439; Krebs & Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 707.

Evenerit: perf. praesens: 'will be fulfilled' (Haines).

174,27 C. Calvisius Statianus and his son C. Calvisius Faustinianus were natives of Verona (CIL V 3336 = Dessau 1453). The father was *ab epistulis Latinis Augustorum* after 161. Probably he was an eques, but this cannot be concluded from *egregius* 175,11; see at 162,20. In the 170s father and son were, respectively, praefectus Aegypti and idiologus. In 175 they took part in the revolt of Avidius Cassius and disappeared from history; see Astarita, Avidio Cassio. Faustinianus had already served under several commanders (175,5) and Pflaum, Les carrières I 406ff., assumes that this was going to be his last military post, a *praefectura alae.* See A. Stein, C. Calvisius Statianus, RE III (1899); Faustinianus, RE VI 2 (1909); Statianus, RE III A 2 (1929); Statianus 587, PIR III[1]; C. Calvisius Statianus, PIR II[2] p. 86; Calvisius 346, PIR II[2] p. 80; Champlin, Chronology. Whitehorn l.l. justly remarks that Fronto, had he lived until 176 or later, certainly would have removed this letter from his collection; at any rate, he would not have published it, see Proleg. LXII.

175,2 *meliore* etc. (if correct): 'you will augment your years by a situation which is better than before'. Haines reads: *tu studium meliore bono <pensabis>*, 'any attention you shew him will be paid with interest' (Haines). Fronto may have in mind a prayer formula, as in the Acta Arval. CIL VI 2086,17 (= Tert. Apol. 35,7) *de nostris annis augeat tibi Iuppiter annos*; Ovid. Fast. 1,613 *(Iuppiter) augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos.* For *auxeris (= augebis)* see at 1,11.

175,2–3 There is no reason to believe with Cugusi, Evoluzione 268 n. 419, that Apoll. Sid. Epist. 4,21,6 *intellegi datur gaudii plus te, dum tribuis quod rogaris, assecuturum* is an imitation of Fronto.; see at 272,7.

175,5 *peritus* with genitive: see at 21,8.

175,7 *probarit*: see at 1,10f.

Fac periculum: 'put to the test'. *Periculum facere* is used absolutely since Plautus, with genitive since Cic. Phil. 5,14 *periculum fortunae cotidie facit*; Fronto 171,2. With *in* only here and Ter. Eun. 476 *fac periclum in litteris, fac in palaestra, in musicis*. In Terence *in litteris* means 'in the art of writing', in Fronto 'in conducting correspondence'. Note the palillogia *fac periculum*. See at 42,12M.

175,8 *consiliis iudiciaris*: 'sessions of the lawcourt'.

175,8–9 *prudentiae . . . usu*: 'practice of judgement and ability'.

175,9 *serio vel remisso* is not a proverb, see at 21,10f. For *remisso* see at 20,4.

Parem sui = *parem sibi*. *Par* with genitive and with dative is frequent since Plautus; see at 21,4 and 155,16. *Par sui*: Plaut. Rud. 49 *ei erat hospes par sui*; Cic. Cato m. 78 *(cum animus) neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile*; Sen. Epist. 109,10 *virtutes alicuius paris sui amat*; Apul. Plat. 1,6 *sui par ac similis*, but with dative e.g. Sen. Epist. 20,2 *ut ipse ubique par sibi idemque sit*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,71 *non ubique similis, sed ubique par sibi*.

175,11 *tute* only here and 92,23 in this correspondence.

175,12 *quin . . . dixero*: 'I should even say a great deal too little, though I'll say ever so much'. A traductio or polyptoton. See at 1,10f.

175,13–14 *diligerem* and *carum haberem*: the irrealis because predicative *qualemcumque* stands for *qualiscumque esset*.

175,15–16 *uter utri . . . alterum alterius*: traductio. Cic. Mil. 23 *ut nihil . . . quaerere aliud debeatis, nisi uter utri insidias fecerit*; Caes. Gall. 5,44,14 *neque diiudicari posset, uter utri . . . anteferendus videretur*.

Gratiae: 'affection'.

175,17 Chronology: this letter was written either in 165 or in 166; so Haines, Chronology, and Iunius 774, PIR IV^2 (1966). The *laureatae litterae* might refer to the capture of Ctesiphon and Seleucia in 165, the decisive moment in the Parthian War; so P. von Rohden, Avidius Cassius, RE II (1896); Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Piba, Iunius Maximus, RE X 1 (1918); Haines in his edition; Hanslik, Anordnung; Portalupi; Birley, Mark Aurel 255; 257; Aföldy, Konsulat 195. It is more likely, however, that these official *litterae laureatae*, read in de senate, indicate the end of the Parthian War, when Marcus assumed the title of Parthicus, which happened early in 166; so Astarita, Cronologia, and Orpheus 4, 1983, 457f.; Alföldy & Halfman, Iunius Maximus. Pflaum, Les correspondants 549, dates this letter 163–165; Champlin 164–166, and Whitehorn, Fronto's Letter, 164–165. The *laureatae litterae* cannot be the report Verus wrote to the senate in 164, see at 118,3. The tone of this letter is friendly and full of admiration for Cassius, but nothing shows that Cassius belonged to Fronto's circle, as Champlin, Fronto 36, believes. On the other hand, Whitehorn has made a caricature of this letter: according to him, Fronto writes with some pique because Iunius disturbed him in his rest and bored him with his tales.

Whitehorn translates *praedicaret* (176,1) by 'boasting', 'bragging', and *fabulas nectere* (175,23) by 'spinning yarns', thinking that it must have been very unflattering for Cassius to be compared with Plautus' *miles gloriosus*; but see at 132,8.

175,18 *Iunius Maximus*: according to an inscription of Ephesus (see Alföldy & Halfman), he was *tribunus laticlavius legionis III Gallicae* in the Parthian campaign. We have two letters to him, Ad amicos I 23 and 26, which must have been written in the same period, 166–167, for it is more than likely that Fronto died c. 167, see at 159,12–14. See on Iunius at 185,1 and H. Dessau, PIR II[1] p. 240 no. 508, and Iunius 774 PIR IV[2]; Piba, Iunius Maximus 98, and Iunius 100, RE X 1 (1919); Alföldy, Konsulat 195; Whitehorn l.l.; Alföldy & Halfman l.l.; Champlin, Fronto 154 n. 41. Not being a senator, Iunius could not recite the *litterae laureatae* in the senate; so the senate made him, according to the Ephesian inscription, *quaestorem extra sententias designatum suscipientem munus laureatarum victoriae Parthicae.* Ad Verum II 118ff. does not indicate who read Verus' previous report to the senate.

Laureatas litteras: Cic. Pis. 39 *tabellas Romam cum laurea mittere*; Ovid. Am. 1,11,25 *victrices lauro redimire tabellas*; Liv. 5,28,13; Plin. Nat. 15,133 *(laurus) Romanis praecipue laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur litteris*; Plin. Pan. 8,2; Tac. Hist. 3,77,3; Agr. 18,6; Schol. Iuv. 4,149 *si victoriae nuntiabantur, laurus in epistola figebatur.* See von Premerstein, Laureatae litterae, RE XII 1 (1924). Cass. Dio 71,2,4 Λούκιος τούτοις (his victories) ἐπεκυδαίνετο καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνει may refer to these *laureatae litterae.*

175,20 Literature provided Fronto with a number of passages which portrayed the excellent commander, see at 210,9ff. Here he may have in mind Cic. Imp. Pomp. 29, where the *virtutes imperatoriae* are enumerated: *labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo.* Five years earlier, at the beginning of the Parthian War, Fronto had advised Marcus to read the De imperio Pompei: 225,3ff. See Cova, I Principia Historiae 17; Astarita, Roma e l'Oriente 12. See Cic. Font. 43 quoted at 174,4. On Avidius' military qualities see Cass. Dio 71,2; Vita Av. Cass. 4–6.

175,21 *frequentissimus*: 'continual'.

Extitit: perf. praesens.

175,22 *suburbanam villam*: mentioned only here. Champlin, Fronto 23, thinks that it is the villa in Aurelia, which is too far away, however, to be called *suburbana.* According to P. Grimaldi, Les jardins romains, Paris [2]1969, 133, *suburbanae villae* were in Trastevere and on the Mons Pincius, the *collis hortorum.* See at 60,16; 76,4; 111,1; 177,17. Table of Matters s.v. villas.

175,23 *fabulas nectere*: 'telling tale after tale' (Haines). *Fabulam nectere* has a different meaning: 'to spin a yarn' (see at 175,17); this is found in Sen. Benef. 1,4,5 and Min. Fel. 31,4 (11,2 *adnectunt*). Misinterpreting Fronto, Frassinetti, L'orazione 251, thinks that Minucius has read Fronto's letters, see Proleg. LIXff. and at 259,8. According to Ehrenthal 36, Fronto borrowed *nectere fabulas* from an ancient poet, cp. Ovid. Pont. 4,2,30 *numeris nectere verba*; Lucr. 5,1202 *votis nectere vota.* But Quint. Inst. 1,5,2 *omnia per quae sermo nectitur*, and Apul. Met. 8,7,3 *variis exemplis . . . solacia nectere.*

175,23–24 *disciplinae . . . retentae*: J. Schwartz (see Proleg. LXII n. 2) assumes in all seriousness that the author of the Vita Av. Cass. must have read Fronto's letter when he wrote *fuit praeterea disciplinae militaris Avidius Cassius tenax* (3,8).

175,25 *consultissimae opportunitatis*: 'your well-considered presence of mind', 'your unerring instinct for the right moment of the battle' (Haines).

Prorsus ut: 'so that with certainty'. It is used since Cicero, e.g. Tull. 18 *(hominibus arma) comparat, prorsus ut quivis intelligeret non eos ad rem rusticam . . . comparari*; Gell. 2,23,2 *quin (comoediae) . . . venuste scriptae videantur, prorsus ut melius posse fieri nihil censeas*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 644.

175,26 *miles Plautinus*: also used by Apul. Flor. 2,3 to quote Plautus' piece.

Gloriosius praedicare is an expression found only in Cic. Dom. 93; Att. 2,1,6; and here. See at 134,4.

176,2 *dignus . . . diligas*: so it was not Cassius who had sent Iunius to Fronto, but Verus.

176,3 *addideris*: see at 1,10f.

176,4 *tui*: see at 42,20.

176,5 Chronology: the career of C. Aufidius Victorinus (c. 122–186) as reconstructed by Pflaum, La carrière de C. Aufidius Victorinus, shows a great gap before he became *legatus Augustorum pro praetore* of Germania Superior in 162. We only know that in the late 140s and in the 150s he worked as a lawyer (82,14; 199,9; see at 26,23f. and 200,5f.) and that he was cos. suff. in May–June 155 (see CIL VI 2086). From 162 to 183, when he became consul for the second time, his career is well known, and because Fronto died c. 167 (see at 159,12–14) most scholars assume as a matter of course that this letter was written during Victorinus' stay in Germany, 162–165 (see at 178,7): P. von Rohden, Aufidius 41, RE II (1896); E. Groag, Aufidius 1393, PIR I^2; Hanslik, Anordnung; and Portalupi. Haines, Chronology, dates it 161–162, edition 164. But Mommsen, Chronologie 210, has his doubts: he prudently formulates that this letter was written to Aufidius 'als den Statthalter *einer* Provinz', and Champlin, Chronology, wonders 'what position a Greek rhetor would covet in Germany', dating the letter 150s–160s. I think that we should narrow this down to 155–162, the period between Aufidius' consulate and his stadtholdership in Germany. An additional argument against Germany is that the ancient editor does not put Ad amicos I 7 and I 18 together with I 12–14, which were written to Aufidius when he was in Germany. But there is another problem: Aufidius became consul at the age of thirty-three, which is not only very early but also unprecedented for a homo novus who was not married, and at 61,5 we have seen that he did not marry Fronto's daughter Cratia until c. 157. So the question arises whether he may have been married to another woman before. This could explain why Fronto does not send his love to his daughter. If this is the case, we must date the letter between 155 and 157. Ῥητόρων ἄριστος 176,17 indicates that Antonius Aquila was a Greek. Was Aufidius governor in the East? Niebuhr and Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, suggest that the letter should be connected with Testim. 51 (see pp. 201 and 271) and that Aufidius was governor of Gallia Belgica, residing in Durocortoro. Their suggestion has been adopted by Haines II 175 n. 1

and by Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 183, who refers to Strabo 4,181 ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους Ῥωμαίων πέπεικπν (Μασσιλία) ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας (Fronto 201,10f. *illae vestrae Athenae Dorocorthoro*) ἀποδημίας ἐκεῖσε φοιτᾶν, and all Gaul follows the example of Marseille οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. σοφιστὰς γοῦν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ αἱ πόλεις κοινῇ μισθούμεναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἰατρούς. Yet a governorship of Aufidius in Reims remains very hypothetical. See at 201,10ff. Aufidius Victorinus was a friend and fellow student of Marcus: 17,19; 20,18; 67,17; 88,2; Vita Marci 3,8. For a certain period he was a contubernalis of Fronto, see at 172,5. On his character see 67,17–20; 199,10–13; 235,24f.; Cass. Dio 72,11,2 τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ. 72,11,4 ὤμοσε μήτ' εἰληφέναι δῶρά ποτε μήτε λήψεσθαι. His eloquence: 88,2f.; 176,16; 199,13; Cass. Dio 72,11,2 τῇ τῶν λόγων παρασκευῇ οὐδενός ... δεύτερος γενόμενος, 'the exact formulation of his words'.

176,6 *Antonius* in front: see at 79,2. Naber's *Antoninus* is a misprint. It is impossible to identify him: Mai; the Anonymus in the Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung 1817, 189; P. von Rohden, Aquila 8, RE I (1894); Teuffel 3,94; Haines; Schanz III 94; and Portalupi think that he may be the rhetor Ἀκύλας of Galatia of Philostr. V.S. 2,11,1, but this is denied by A. Stein, Antoninus Aquila 792, PIR I² p. 153, and by V. Nutton, Latomus 29, 1970, 726 n. 4. Another possibility has been suggested by the Anonymous quoted above: Ps. Fronto, Diff. Voc. Gramm. Lat. VII 525, 21 Keil, quotes a grammarian Aquila who first used the word *specialitas*, but this idea was rejected by Brzoska l.l. A sample of unbridled fantasy has been presented by Orth, Katalepton II, who thinks that our Aquila, Aquila Romanus, Aquila of Sinope and Aquila of Galatia are all one and the same person. See at 272,10.

Quod tu dicas: see at 36,15; 49,2.

176,7 *me dius Fidius*: see at 67,24.

176,9 *ex animi sententia*: see at 110,11f.

Certo scio is found in old comedy writers and in epistolography, so it seems to be colloquial. After Fronto and Apul. Met. 10,5,6 it disappears. Elsewhere, Fronto always has the adverb *certe*.

176,10 *velim ut*: elsewhere, Fronto always has *volo* with subjunctive without conjunction, see at 37,11. Marcus has *volo ut* once: 13,15. See Kühner I 713; Hofmann-Szantyr 529f.

Domine: Fronto is the first to address close friends as *domine*, see at 86,14. Later, when Aufidius is his son-in-law, he still addresses him as *domine*: 178,8. See at 165,16f.

176,11 *publice instituendis*: since Vespasianus, Roman emperors saw to it that cities had a certain number of grammarians, rhetoricians, philosophers and physicians. They were appointed by the governor of the province, who also determined their salaries to be paid by the city (Ulp. Dig. 50,13,1 *praeses provinciae de mercedibus ius dicere solet, sed praeceptoribus tantum studiorum liberalium*). So it was very important for the rhetor Aquila to have good letters of recommendation. Pius took a keen interest in educational matters: Vita Pii 11,3 *rhetoribus et philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria detulit.* See

also Pius' letter τῷ κοινῷ τῆς 'Ασίας in Dig. 27,1,6,1f. and J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung IV², Leipzig 1884, 106f.; Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 175f.; H.I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, Paris 1948, 401.

176,12 *factum*: Mai in his second and third editions, Naber and Haines adopt Heindorf's *fautum*, but there is nothing against *factum*: 'I wish it to be done on Aquila's behalf as a compliment to those' etc., as Ellis, The Correspondence 27, has rightly seen. See at 182,8f.

176,13 *ei* is dative (Haines), not nominative plur. (Portalupi).

176,15 *postularent* with infinitive: see at 50,1. So there is no need to write *commendari* with Niebuhr or *commendarei* with Schwierczina, Die Bildersprache 44.

176,16, 176,20 and 176,26f. *cum* ... *tum*: see at 55,21f.

176,17 *nomine* ... ἄριστος: 'because of the man's name I wish that he is the best of orators' (of those who compete for the post). Heindorf, Orelli and Haines read *nomini*; m², *faveo illa re*, seems to have misunderstood the passage. For *faveo ut* in this sense see e.g. Sen. Contr. 9,6,19 *favete saeculo, iudices, cum ingentia scelera ferat, ne etiam immatura tulerit; favete ut nullum scelus commissum sit* ... *favete ut potius noverca non desierit parricidium facere quam soror coeperit*; Sen. Benef. 2,17,5 *facimus autem plerumque ingratos et ut sint favemus*; Plin. Nat. 26,13 *faventibus cunctis ut essent vera*. See also at 178,9.

176,18 *Aquila*: a pun. In proverbs the word is not used for the majestic bird, but for its keen eye; see Nachträge zu Otto 52; 233; 261. However, 141,19 we have *aquilarum maiestate*, cp. Verg. Aen. 10,752 *volans alte* ... *aquila*. See at 80,1.

176,19 Chronology: Passienus Rufus may be the man we know as *tribunus militum* from CIL VIII 26580 (Thugga). *Frater* indicates that he and Fronto are of the same age. Haines supposes that he is the Q. Passienus Licinius, cos. suff. in 149, and therefore dates this letter 164, when he was proconsul (in his Chronology, Haines dates it 161–162). It seems more likely that Q. Passienus Licinius was a relative of Passienus Rufus, so we can only date the letter 139–167 or, with Champlin, Chronology, 140s–160s.

176,20 *Aemilius Pius* in front: see at 79,2. He seems to have been a contubernalis of Fronto, see at 172,5, and possibly a descendant of the M. Aemilius Pius of Dessau 9499. See A. Stein, Aemilius 393, PIR I² (1933); Pflaum, Les correspondants 554.

176,21 *frater* is used for a coeval friend since Cic. Verr. II 3,155; Hor. Epist. 1,6,54; Phaedr. 1,29,5; Mart. 9 praef.; etc. In Fronto 177,7; 185,16; 188,7. Vita Marci, 18,1 *cum* ... *ab aliis modo frater, modo pater, modo filius, ut cuiusque aetas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur.*

Nec ignoro: see at 59,6.

Nullum adusque: 'no at all'. As an adverb, *adusque* occurs only here and Apul. Met. 2,28,2, where it means 'completely': *adusque deraso capite*. In Ovid. Met. 4,20 *adusque* ... *qua* is *eo usque* ... *qua*.

176,22 *inter nos mutuo* is pleonastic, see at 270,13. But also Lucr. 2,76 *inter se mortales mutua vivunt*; Lep. Cic. Fam. 10,34a,1 *studia officii mutuo inter nos certatim constituerunt*; Cic. Fam. 13,4,4 *pari* ... *inter nos et mutua benivolentia*;

13,50,1 *summus inter nos amor et mutuus*; 13,65,1 *multa... inter nos officia paria et mutua intercedunt*; Liv. 8,24,7 *cum interclusissent... exercitum a mutuo inter se auxilio*; 36,39,6 *eas inter se gentes mutua... ferre auxilia*; Quint. Inst. 10,2,15 *a doctis inter ipsos etiam mutuo reprehensa*; Fronto 53,22 *ut amicos... amore inter se mutuo copularet*; Gel. 18,12,1 *haec vice inter se mutua verterent*; Apul. Flor. 18,40 *viri... inter se mutuo... amicissimi*; Scaur. Gramm. VII 13,4 *inter se mutuis vicibus*.

Scriptitantium usum: 'correspondence'.

176,23 *bonarum artium*: see at 129,17; with *sectator* also 172,10.

176,24 *aliquid* with genitive: see at 104,11.

176,25 *vinculum... copulandae* is abundant. *Occasionem* does not refer to *vinculum* but to *copulandae*.

177,1 *si... egeris*: 'the more intimate with Pius you become' (Haines). *Nostra*: see at 88,17.

177,2 *quom*: see at 53,17.

177,4 Chronology: in 166–167 P. Caelius Optatus was *legatus Aug. pro praetore legionis III Augustae* in Numidia (CIL VIII 2736 and 18067 = Dessau 2303). E. Groag, P. Caelius Optatus, RE III (1899) identifies him with our Caelius Optatus. He is followed by Haines, who dates this letter 166 (in his Chronology 161–162). Especially for Bowersock it was important that it should be dated 166–167: in his Greek Sophists 124ff. he tries to prove that Fronto died in the late 170s (see at 159,12), one of his arguments being that the next letter I 10 is considerably later than I 9. However, several commentators justly observed that the vocative *frater* (177,7) could not be used for a man who was a generation younger than Fronto (see at 176,21): E. Groag, Caelius 38, PIR II^2 p. 27; Pflaum, Les correspondants 547, and—in flat contradiction with Bowersock—Birley, A Nickname 471f.; Portalupi; and Champlin, Chronology. Our Caelius Optatus, perhaps the father of P. Caelius Optatus, held office in an unknown province. So we must date the letter 139–160 or, with Champlin, in the 140s or 150s. Hanslik, Anordnung, has mixed things up: on the one hand he believes that Caelius Optatus is the legatus of 166–167, on the other he dates our letter before 143.

177,5 *Sardius Saturninus* in front: see at 79,2. We know nothing about him and his two sons. Ad amicos I 22 and 25 are addressed to him.

177,6 *contubernio*: see at 172,5.

177,7 *peto* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Quid negotii: see at 104,11.

177,8 *perduxerit*: the reading *eduxerit* is hardly tenable, in spite of O. Hey, TLL s.v. educo. *Perduxerit* is an unpublished reading by Hauler.

177,10 Chronology: this letter was written not long after Ad amicos I 22. M. (or perhaps Sex.) Petronius Mamertinus was an important man: he was prefect of Egypt 133–137 and praefectus praetorio 139–143. After 143 he is not mentioned any more in inscriptions, which however does not mean that he died that year, as some historians think: we only know that he was no longer alive in 156. If his first name is Sextus, not Marcus, the

cos. suff. of 150 M. Petronius Mamertinus must be a relative of the prefect of Egypt, perhaps a nephew. In any case we must guard against identifying the cos. suff. of 150 with the prefect of Egypt, as has been done recently. For the intricate history of the gens Petronia see the literature in Astarita, Cronologia 9f.; PIR III[1] no. 212 p. 28; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 47, 1929, 178ff.; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 6; 78; 195; A. Lippold, M. Petronius Mamertinus, Kleine Pauly (1970); Champlin, Chronology; and Mireille Corbier, L'aerarium Saturnini et l'aerarium militare, Rome 1974, 283ff. About M. Petronius Mamertinus who was cos. suff. in 150 we know nothing, but the Pretonius who was prefect of Egypt is mentioned in the verses of CIL III 77, which deal with his prefecture: *sacra Mamertino sonuerunt praeside signa*. Were these verses written by Petronius himself? If so, it would very well fit in with the *carmina* Fronto mentions 177,14. Bowersock (see at 177,4) here too tries to find arguments for a late date of Fronto's death, suggesting that our Petronius is not the father but the son, M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus, who married Marcus' daughter Cornificia and was cos. ord. in 182. On this Petronius see Pflaum, Les gendres 36f. In his Chronology, Haines dates our letter 161–162; in his edition he states that it was written to M. Petronius Mamertinus, the cos. suff. of 150, dating it 166. Champlin dates it before c.167, the year of Fronto's death. Apparently this letter was indeed written later than the preceding one—'considerably later', says Bowersock, 'certamente posteriore di alcuni anni', says Astarita. This need not be so: the words *in forum deductum* and the fact that the letter is no more than a general introduction for a starting lawyer seem to refer to Petronius' function of praefectus praetorio in the administration of justice, and it would certainly help a young advocate like Sardius Lupus if someone like Fronto drew Petronius' attention to him. Therefore I date the letter 139–155. Grimal, Marc Aurèle 298, leaves undecided whether Petronius is the father or the son.

177,11 *Sardius*: see at 177,5.

177,12 *contubernio*: see at 172,5.

In forum deducere also Cic. Mur. 44; *traducere* Cic. Verr. 3,26; *in forum descendere* Cic. Sest. 78; Fronto 186,5.

177,13 *bonas artis*: 'the noble arts', see at 129,17. Timpanaro, Contributi 349f., Il nuovo Frontone 373 and Nuovi contributi 354, clings to the improbable reading of m[2] *sanas*, and so does Portalupi[1]: 'arti incorrotte' (*bonas artis* Portalupi[2]). *Ars sana* does not occur elsewhere.

Instituere ad is not the same as the usual *instituere* with ablative.

Aauditorem: cp. Cic. Orat. 15 *quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor.*

177,14 *habuit*: Sardius Lupus, not Sardius Saturninus, as Hauler l.l. thinks. See at 184,13.

177,15 *adtentus*: Hauler prefers the reading *adtentum* of m[1], which distorts the sentence. On the other hand, *adtentus minus solus mersus defunctus* is rather cacophonous, and the repeated *gravissimo* in the next sentence is not elegant either. *Paludis* indicates that it happened in one of Fronto's villas. Hauler assumes that it was Sardius Saturninus who treated Fronto; if

we read *sub Roma* in line 17, it may have happened in Fronto's villa suburbana, see at 175,22. See A. Hermann, Ertrinken, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1966).

177,21 Chronology: Velius Rufus is very likely the same as the Velius Rufus in Marci Medit. 12,27,2, where he is characterized as one of οἱ ἐπί τινι ἀγανακτήσαντες and whose πρὸς ὁτιοῦν μετ' οἰήσεως διαφορά squares with Fronto's *vehemens* and *natura validus* (178,4f.). If he is the father of D. Velius Rufus Iulianus, cos. ord. in 178, he must be about Fronto's age, which seems to be corroborated by *Senex.* So he can hardly be the same as the Velius Rufus who was put to death by Commodus (Vita Comm. 4,10). Apparently Fronto does not like him. Close dating is impossible: 139–167. Champlin dates this letter to the 160s; Haines, Chronology, 161–162, edition 162, as does Portalupi. See Velius Rufus, PIR III[1] p. 392 no. 228; R. Hanslik, Velius Rufus, RE VIII 1 (1955), and Kleine Pauly (1975); Pflaum, Les correspondants 553; and Champlin, Chronology.

177,22–23 Velius Rufus was evidently not familiar with the theory of the *figurae orationis*, σχήματα λέξεως, and the σχήματα διανοίας, the 'verbal figures' and the 'figures of thought'. To the *figurae verborum* belong e.g. the polysyndeton, the ellipsis, the hyperbaton; to the *figurae sententiae* the antithesis, the apostrophe, the rhetorical question. Cicero does not yet call them *figurae* but *formae* or *conformationes*; since Quintilian, however, *figurae verborum* and *figurae sententiae* are the usual terms in rhetoric. See Lausberg, Handbuch 380ff.; H. Hommel & K. Ziegler, Rhetorik, Kleine Pauly (1972); and TLL s.v. figura. There is no reason to assume with A. Mazzarino, Gramm. Rom. Fragm. I 205, that Fronto used the De figuris sententiarum of L. Annaeus Cornutus. See also at 97,15. Fronto uses *figurae* 35,21; 89,5; 90,12f.; 91,11; 96,21; 97,3; 145,1; and *figuratio* 89,2; 149,20; 150,9; the verb *figurare* 89,4 and 150,11. *Schemata* 89,3, σχήματα 96,21.

178,1 *in . . . metaphora*: strictly speaking, the metaphor is not a *figura* but a *tropus*; however, *nec desunt qui tropis figurarum nomen inponant* (Quint. Inst. 9,1,2), and that is what Fronto does here: 'to the verbal figures belongs the trope metaphor'. Rhet. Her. 4,13,18; 31,42; 34,46 speaks in general of *verborum exornatio* and of *sententiarum exornatio.* Since Naber, editors used to put a comma between *tropos* and *metaphora*: 'among the former are trope and metaphor' (Haines), which is incorrect. See Volkmann, Die Rhetorik 416; Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 17; Leeman, Orationis ratio I 33ff. Quintilian uses *tropus* and *metaphora* both in Latin and in Greek form. Fronto has the usual *translatio* 59,12. See at 180,19. The word *multigeneris* ('in a broader sense'?) which m^2 writes above *tropos* may refer to the fact that *tropos* does not really mean the same as *figura.* We find *multigener* in Plaut. Capt. 159; Stich. 382; and Plin. Nat. 11,1. Lucr. 2,335, speaking of the *exordia rerum*, points out *multigenis* (sic!) *quam sint variata figuris.*

178,2 *cloacam* has been adopted by Portalupi; Haines and Anni Schmitt prefer *stagnum.* Possibly Fronto had compared in a speech modern eloquence to a bad physical condition, cp. Cic. Orat. 76 on style: *etsi enim non plurimi sanguinis est, habeat tamen sucum aliquem oportet*; Brut. 36 *sucus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc aetatem oratorum fuit*; 283; Att. 4,18,2; Tac. Dial. 21,8;

Quint. Inst. 8,3,6; 10,1,60; 10,2,12. Or he may have called the intestines a *cloaca*, as Plaut. Curc. 124; Varro, Men. 290; Claud. Max. Anim. 2,9. See at 159,8. Haines supposes that the speech in which Fronto used this figure was the speech Pro Bithynis 180,8.

178,4–5 *cum . . . tum*: see at 55,21f.

Doctrina . . . natura: cp. Cic. De orat. 3,229 *nihil enim isti adulescenti neque a natura neque a doctrina deesse*; Brut. 22; Fin. 3,11; 4,21.

178,7 Chronology: important for the chronology are the dates of birth of Fronto's four grandchildren. Haines translates *sive Victorino nostro sive Frontone* 'our little Victorinus or our little Fronto', while Champlin, Chronology, and Fronto 27, and Birley, Mark Aurel 240, erroneously assume that two grandsons are meant. The same mistake is made by A. Stein, PIR IV^2 p. 42, and Murray, Fronto 28—a monument of confusion. But *sive . . . sive* is not *et . . . et*: the second century had a trick of giving children many names, so C. Aufidius Victorinus himself had more than ten names, see Pflaum, La carrière 189, and Leonhard, RE IV 228 (1901). There was only one grandson who was in Rome when Victorinus and his family were in Germany, see the *nepotem saluta* at the end of Marcus' letters 92,10; 101,24; 102,7; 103,16; and 237,20f. *nepos quem ipse sinu meo educo*. Mai; E. Groag, PIR I^2 p. 280; and Astarita, Cronologia, interpret our passage correctly. 86,16 shows that in October 162 Victorinus and Cratia had already two sons. If Cratia married in 157 (see at 61,5), their eldest son, M. Aufidius Fronto, was born in 158–159, so that in 162 he was about three years old, which tallies with the description given of him here. See also R. Hanslik, Aufidius 4, Kleine Pauly (1963). The second grandson, C. Aufidius Victorinus, was consul one year after his brother, in 200, so he must have been born one year later, in 159–160. He figures only twice in Fronto's letters, 86,16 and here (*qui ex te geniti sunt*). Apparently in 162, when he was about two years old, he was too young to stay with his grandfather and so joined his parents to Germany. In our letter, Cratia expects her third child; his name is not mentioned anywhere, but we know that he died at the age of three (*trimulus*) in Germany: 113,4; 113,21; 240,17. Fronto never saw him (237,24). He is the grandson of the first two letters De nepote amisso (235–239). We may assume that he was born c. 162, which means that at least from 162 to 165 Victorinus was *legatus Augustorum pro praetore Germaniae Superioris*, see the inscription on the altar which he dedicated to Iuppiter in Mainz, CIL XIII 11808. It is possible that he stayed in Mainz until 166, as Alföldy, Konsulat 228, assumes. A fourth grandson also died very young: the new text of De nepote amisso 3 and 4 proves that these letters do not relate to the death of the *trimulus* but to a new bereavement in the family. It is generally accepted that Victorinus set out for Germany in 162 (Mommsen, Chronologie; P. von Rohden, Aufidius 41, RE II [1896]; Hanslik, Anordnung; Pflaum, La carrière): according to our only source, Vita Marci 8,8, it coincided with Verus' departure for the East, spring 162. Lambrechts, La composition 117, states incorrectly that Victorinus was in Mainz from 160 to 162, and Astarita, Cronologia, thinks that he departed for Germany in 163; she dates this letter to that same year. In a letter of 165–166 Victorinus

is back in Rome, see at 238,17; 239,17; 240,2, and it was there that Fronto lost his fourth grandson: *illo amisso vestitatem domus meae odi* 240,12 (which indicates that Victorinus and his family were living with Fronto at the time). So we must date De nepote amisso 3 and 4 to 165–166. The articles on the Aufidii by P. von Rohden in RE II (1896) and E. Groag in PIR I^2 (1933), like Champlin, Chronology 156, and Fronto 28 differ considerably from this exposé. In view of what is said above, we must date this letter 162, not 161–162, as Haines does in his Chronology, nor 164, as Haines and Portalupi do in their editions, or summer 161–late 164/early 165 with Champlin, Chronology 159, and Fronto 135. Here Cratia is about twenty years old, Victorinus forty.

178,8 *domine*: see at 86,14 and 176,10.

178,9 *proveniat*: 'she pulls through', not 'that all may go well' (Haines). Plaut. Truc. 384f. *cum tu es aucta liberis cumque bene provenisti salva*; 516 *cum tu recte provenisti cumque es aucta liberis, gratulor.* We should not alter *favebunt* to *fovebunt* with Lucian Müller, Klussmann and Schenkl: *favere ut* is quite normal, *fovere ut* is not. The subject is *di*, as in Plin. Epist. 6,25,5 *di faveant ut.* See also at 176,17. *Mihi* and *tibi* is not 'my daughter and your wife' (Haines), but the regular dative with *favere.* The accusatives *filiam* and *uxorem* are remarkable: they are proleptic accusatives as often in final sentences, see at 107,13–15: 'favour me with my daughter and you with your wife that she pulls through well'. The future *favebunt* is close to a subjunctive, see at 50,4.

178,10 *augebunt*: see Plautus quoted above and Rud. 1207 *(Lares) auxerunt nostram familiam*; Cic. Att. 1,2,1 *filiolo me auctum*; Sen. Oed. 881 *liberis auctam domum*; Tac. Ann. 2,84,3; Agr. 6,2; Gell. 12,1,1; Paneg. 6,14.

178,11 *tui similes*: see at 35,22.

178,11–12 *iste noster*: see at 1,10.

178,12 *intercedunt*: see at 110,10. Val. Max. 2,1,6 *inter virum et uxorem aliquid iurgii intercesserat.*

178,13 *mercedem*: see at 32,7. Champlin, Fronto 151 n. 27, infers that Fronto did not take fees for his advocacy either. See at 93,11; 238,18f. On the practice of taking fees for pleading see A.S. Wilkins in his edition of Cicero's De oratore, Oxford 1892 (= Amsterdam 1962) at I 202. F. Hauck, Erwerb, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1966): 'die Entlohnung für sie (the artes liberales) heisst nicht *mercedes*, sondern *honorarium*'.

Ullius rei is gen. objectivus, as in Cic. Arch. 28 *mercedem laborum . . . desiderat rei agendae dicendaeve.*

178,14 *congarrit*: 'prattles' (Haines), a new word found nowhere else.

178,15 *hoc*: 'the well-known', as 181,15.

Quod possum: 'as much as I can', see at 1,6; 79,18; and cp. 61,14M *quantum potes*; 171,4 *quantum plurimum possum*; 174,5f. *quam possum studiosissime.*

Chartulas: 'scraps of paper' (Haines). Before Fronto only in Cic. Fam. 7,18,2.

Tabellas: 'little tablets' (Haines).

178,16 *petitorem*: substantives ending in *-tor* are often used as adjectives, see Kühner I 232; Hofmann-Szantyr 157f.

178,17 *denique*: 'consequently', 'so'; see at 10,6.

178,18 *degluttivit*: this verb occurs here for the first time, then in Tert. Nat. 2,12 and a few later authors. *Degluttivit* and *cessavit* are empirical perfects, as *potuere* 213,6 and 224,2; *fuit* 235,26; *maluit* and *usus est* 192,11. See Kühner I 130f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 318.

178,18–19 Note the *l* alliteration.

178,19 *saviari*: see at 21,15. The translation 'succhiarla' (Portalupi) or 'leccar' (Della Corte) does not seem justified.

Lacessere ac ludificari: 'mumbling it with his gums and amusing himself with it' (Haines), 'spremerla giocando con le gingive' (Portalupi). Note the alliteration. *Lacessere*, 'to assail', here seems to be 'to play with'; it has the same meaning as *ludificari* which, in turn, is the same as transitive *ludere*. R. Maltky, TLL s.v. ludificari, presents two solutions: either we should understand it as *ludificari uvā* or *ludificari uvam* is 'ludendo tractare'. The latter interpretation is correct: young Victorinus plays with the grape in his mouth without biting hard.

178,20 *avicularum*: 79,26 Fronto says that, as a boy, he kept partridges.

Columbarum: see at 129,9; 233,10; and W. Richter, Geflügelzucht, Kleine Pauly (1967).

178,22 *eductores*: pedagogues in the ancient sense. One of them was Aridelus, see at 79,25. The verb *educere* is—more often than *educare*—used for the material care of children (see 236,5, but 237,21 *educare*), so *eductor* can be used for the pedagogue, though it does not occur elsewhere and Cic. Planc. 81 speaks of *educatores* and *magistri*. In a different sense the word is used by Cassian. Incarn. dom. c. Nest. 5,9,4 *Christum eductorem ex Aegypto*.

Magistri: 'nurses', as Ter. Phorm. 72 *me filiis relinquont magistrum*.

178,23 *quin*: see at 5,3.

179,1 *enim*: this sentence is rather unexpected, but perhaps Fronto refers to the lost beginning of this letter.

Factum dictumve is not a proverb, see at 162,1.

Clam as predicate since Plautus. With ablative since Lucr. 1,476; Cic. Att. 10,12a,2; Caes. Civ. 2,32,8. Gellius and Apuleius have the accusative.

179,2 *conscius*: the usual construction is *facinoris mihi conscius* (Ter. Phorm. 156), but since Cicero *conscius facinori* (Cael. 52). Two datives are exceptional: Lucr. 3,1018 *mens sibi conscia factis*, but in the sense of 'to be conscious of'; here it means 'whatever I think by myself', 'whatever I feel', 'whatever there be in my heart of hearts' (Haines), not 'quando so una cosa' (Portalupi). There is no reason to change, with Klussmann, *cui* into *cuius*, nor does it seem likely that this is a case of *cui* as a genitive, like in *cuimodi (= cuiusmodi)*, *illimodi (= illius modi)*, *istimodi (= istius modi)*, as has been suggested by R. Kühner – F. Holzweissig, Ausführliche Grammatik I^2, Elementar-, Formen- und Wortlehre, Hannover 1912, 610. Klussmann 1881 retracts his conjecture of 1874. See at 238,8.

179,3 *iuxta mecum*: Vogel, Quaestionum Sallustianarum 407, and Selvatico, Scambio 245 n. 92, assume that Fronto here quotes Sall. Cat. 58,5 *iuxta mecum omnes intellegitis*, but it is rather a Plautine expression: Aul. 682 *iuxta rem mecum tenes*; Mil. 234 *ut scias iuxta mecum mea consilia*; Persa 249 *iuxta*

tecum . . . nescio; 545 *iuxta tecum aeque nescio*; Pseud. 1161 *iuxta cum ignarissumis.* For Sallust and Fronto (93,23 *iuxta cum eo carere balneo*) and for Paul. Pell. 319 it is an archaism.

179,4 Chronology: Aufidius Victorinus is here a man of some importance but there is no indication that he was legatus in Germany, so we could date this letter 155–167 (155 according to the chronology of Ad amicos I 7, see at 176,5, and 167 being the year of Fronto's death), or, with Champlin, before 167. However, the fact that this letter comes between two letters which were written when Victorinus was in Mainz (162–165, see at 178,7) seems to justify the dating 162–165, with P. von Rohden, Aufidius 41, RE II (1891). Haines, Chronology, dates it 161–162, because we know that in this period Fronto was suffering from ophthalmia, see at 226,7. In his edition Haines dates the letter, quite arbitrarily, 164; he is followed by Portalupi. The dating 162–165 implies that Ad amicos I 18 was not written during that period, see at 182,1.

179,5 *oculos dolui*: acc. respectus or Graecus, see at 74,23. *Oculos dolere* also Vita Car. 12,1 and Rufin. Greg. Naz. Orat. 1,42,2, but Plaut. Cist. 60 *doleo ab oculis.* Kühner I 286 and Hofmann-Szantyr 37 regard it as a real acc. Graecus: ἀλγεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

Qui with genitive: cp. Nepos 17,8,6 *in portum qui Menelai vocatur.*

179,6 *internatium* is found only here, but in the Medicus anonymus 159 (edited by J. Piechotta, Ein Anecdotum latinum, Progr. Leobschütz 1887, p.XI) we read *ad ani dolorem et* | | | *natium* (| | | indicates an erasure). It seems to be a purism in order to avoid the Greek term and its Latin translation *spina sacra.* Fronto was—to a certain extent—a purist, see Testim. 5 p. 260. *Internatium* (*inter* and *natis*) is a form like *intercilium, interdigitia, interfeminium* etc.

Hieron oston is used only here in its Latin form, but we do find *hiera nosemata.* Reifferscheid, Suetonii . . . reliquiae 273, attributes the fragment to Suetonius' De vitiis corporalibus, quoting Hieron. In Eccl. 12 p. 1166 Migne *florem amygdali, quem nos pro canis posuimus, quidam sacram interpretantur, quod decrescentibus natium carnibus spina succrescat et floreat*, and Isid. Orig. 11,1,96 *sacra spina est ima perpetuae spinae, quam Graeci* ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν *vocant.* Isidorus does not necessarily refer to Suetonius, nor, for that matter, to Fronto. Both Reifferscheid and Haupt, Analecta 23f., read in Fronto ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν. Haupt and J. Tolkiehn, Berl. philol. Wochenschr. 27, 1917, 215, believe that Fronto does not quote the Liber de vitiis corporalibus but the Liber de viris illustribus frg. 62 Reifferscheid: *Messala Corvinus . . . ad extremum ulcere sibi circa sacram spinam nato inedia se confecit.* Schanz III 49 n. 1 opposes their view; he believes that Isidorus quotes De vitiis. Non liquet: Fronto may as well quote Suetonius' Prata.

179,10 Chronology: Victorinus is not in Rome: *scribis* 180,8. The letter was written immediately after Ad Antonin. II 1 p. 95, which we have dated 162–163. This means that Victorinus is in Germany (see at 178,7). Niebuhr dates the letter 161 or later; Brakman c. 162; Haines, Chronology, 161–162, edition 162, as do Portalupi and W. Eck, Matidia, RE Suppl.

XV (1978); Champlin 162–165; Astarita, Cronologia, and Orpheus 4, 1983, 456, dates it 163; R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire, Cambridge [2]1977, 171, dates Matidia's fund 161–170(!). On Matidia's last will see at 95,4ff. As a member of the Consilium principis, Victorinus was interested in the public repercussion of Marcus' attitude in the case.

179,11 *obrussae*: 'the assay of gold'. There are several Latin variants of the late Greek word ὄβρυζα: *obrussa, obrusa, obryza, obrixa; oprusa* is found only here. Plin. Nat. 33,59 *aurique experimentum ignis est, ut simili colore rubeat ignescatque et ipsum; obrussam vocant*; Petron. 67,6 *reticulum aureum, quem ex obrussa esse dicebat* ('pure gold'); Suet. Nero 44,2 *exegit... nummum asperum, argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam*; cp. Cic. Brut. 258 (eloquens declines) *quo magis expurgandus est sermo et adhibenda tamquam obrussa ratio*; Sen. Epist. 13,1 *verus ille animus et in alienum non venturus arbitrium probatur: haec eius obrussa est*; Nat. Quaest. 4,5,1 *si omnia argumenta ad obrussam coeperimus exigere, silentium indicetur.* See F. Vittinghof, Obryza, RE XVII 2 (1937). *Ad obrussae tempora* is a metaphor referring to the difficulties in Marcus' family: 'when the time of truth will come'; cp. e.g. Paroemiographi Graeci II 487 κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρός, ὡς χρυσὸν τὸ πῦρ. Cic. Fam. 9,16,2 *non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus, nisi aliquod incidit eiusmodi tempus, ut quasi aurum igni sic benivolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspici possit*; Ovid. Trist. 1,5,25 *ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum, tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides*; Sen. Dial. 1,5,10 *ignis aurum probat, miseria fortes viros.* See Otto, Sprichwörter (with Nachträge), fides 2 and tempus 5, with e.g. Phaedr. Fab. app. I 4,24 *tempore ipso tamen apparet veritas.*

179,12 *Varianis alumnis*: in her will, Matidia had requested her heiress, Marcus' wife Faustina, to reserve a legacy for a fund of foster-children. Since Nerva, emperors and private persons had started funds for orphans and abandoned or poor children at the age of three to fifteen, in Greek θρεπτοί, e.g. Vita Pii 8,1 *puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustinae Faustinianas constituit* (see at 95,5; *pueri et puellae alimentarii* erect CIL IX 5700 for Pius); Vita Marci 7,8 *pueros et puellas novorum nominum frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt* (Marcus and Lucius); 11,2 *de alimentis publicis multa prudenter invenit*; 26,6 *novas puellas Faustinianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae.* For private alimentary funds see Bruns, Fontes[7] 346f. and Plin. Epist. 1,8,10; 7,18,2; but *Variani alumni* are not mentioned elsewhere. Two senators may be considered: T. Vibius Varus, consul in 134 (not Ti. Clodius Vibius Varus, consul in 160), a relative of Matidia's father L. Vibius Sabinus, and L. Varius Ambibulus, a rich man and consul in an unknown year of the first quarter of the second century. The first possibility was suggested by J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung IV[2], Leipzig 1884, 142ff., and by Kübler, Das Perlenhalsband 353ff.; the second possibility by R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire, Cambridge [2]1977, 228. Dirksen, Beitrag 249 n. 3, reads *Vivianis*, referring to Ulp. Dig. 29,2,12 *est in semenstribus Vibiis Soteri et Victorino rescriptum.* But if we read *Vivianis*, we had better refer to Matidia's father L. Vibius Sabinus. Cp. T. Mayer-Maly, Vivianus, RE IX A 2 (1961). There is no reason to assume with Dirksen that Matidia added her legacy to the fund of the elder Faustina.

Feminis: cp. Liv. 31,12,6 *incertus infans... masculus an femina esset.*

Sestertium deciens = *deciens centena milia sestertium*, a million sestertii. The same ellipsis e.g. Liv. 45,4,1.

179,13 *usurarium*: 'being a usufruct', 'as a life interest' (Haines). *Usurarius* is an adjective, in conformity with *sestertium* which is sometimes understood as a neutral substantive, e.g. Cic. Off. 3,93 *cum ei testamento sestertium milies RELINQUATUR*; Caes. Civ. 1,23,4 *sestertium sexagies, QUOD advexerat*; Tac. Ann. 15,18,4 *ANNUUM sexcenties sestertium... largiri.* So, too, in other cases, e.g. Cic. Phil. 2,95 *syngrapha sestertii centies*; Suet. Iul. 50 *sexagies sestertio margaritam mercatus est.* See also 263,41.

Propius: 'rather', 'più' (Portalupi). Note the alliteration. Klussmann and Haines adopt Buttmann's *potius.*

Quinquagena (sc. *milia sestertium*) is a large sum to be given yearly to each foster-child, compared with Pliny's fund of *quingenta milia nummum quae in alimenta ingenuorum ingenuarumque promiseram* (Epist. 7,18,2), but Matidia was a wealthy woman and the money had to be spent on housing, nourishment and education. See at 263,41. The sum of 50,000 sestertii proves that the capital was *sestertium deciens*, not *viciens*, as Klussmann thinks: five per cent is the usual interest in this period for a cautious investment: Pers. 5,149 *ut nummos, quos hic quincunce modesto nutrieras, peragant avido sudore deunces* (11%); Vita Pii 2,8 *fenus trientarium* (4%), *hoc est minimis usuris exercuit*; Scaev. Dig. 34,1,15 pr. *Maevio infanti alumno meo quadraginta dari volo, quae peto a te, Seia, suscipias et usuras ei quincunces in annum usque vicesimum aetatis praestes*; see also 46,3,102,3; Cod. Iust. 4,32,5; and Klingmüller, Fenus, RE VI (1907); H. Chantraine, Zins, Kleine Pauly (1975). According to Kübler, we should understand *annua* as a substantive, 'annuity', which would mean that every foster-child only received the very small sum of 50 sestertii per annum. Therefore Kübler must assume that we have to do here with denarii: in that case the annuity would be 200 sestertii, but even so the sum is too small to be of any effect on the education of a foster-child.

179,14 *Augusta*: Faustina minor.

Plerique omnes: 'almost all those' (Haines). Ebert, Synt. 42, explains it as a disjunctive asyndeton = *plerique vel omnes.* Don. Ter. Andr. 55,3 calls it an archaism, quoting Naev. Bell. Pun. frg. 54. *Plerique omnes (pleraque omnia)* also occurs in Plaut. Trin. 29; Ter. Andr. 55; Haut. 830; Phorm. 172; and several times in Gellius: 1,3,2; 1,7,4; 1,21,1; 4,17,14; 14,3,1; 15,7,1; 17,5,4; 8,12 tit.: *quid significet in veterum libris scriptum 'plerique omnes' et quod ea verba accepta a Graecis videntur*; Macrob. Sat. 1,5,11; 1,24,12; 5,19,6. Cp. *omnes universi* 131,2.

Curaverant: 'curarono' (Portalupi), rather than 'paid her court' (Haines).

179,14f. *frustra fuerunt*: 'their hopes were deceived', an archaic expression: several times in Plautus, Enn. Sat. 60; Sall. Iug. 85,6; then Fronto, Gellius, Apuleius and some late authors. In 167,19 and 203,10 it means 'to be in vain', 'illusory', as often in Sallust and other writers. See Ed. Wölfflin, Frustra, nequiquam and Synonyma, Archiv 2, 1885,3f.

180,1 *ne... sunt*: 'in the balance they were not appraised at a single pound each'; it has a proverbial ring: 'weighed and found wanting'. Here

it means that they did not get a blessed farthing, but *libra* indicates the weight, not the price, cp. Cic. Leg. 1,39 *omnia... voluptatibus et doloribus ponderantes*; Phaedr. 3,10,55 *opinione alterius ne quid ponderent*; Liv. 38,38,13 *talentum ne minus pondo octoginta Romanis ponderibus pendat.* Naber and Haines follow Mai: 'not a pound apiece was weighed out to them'.

180,2 *codicillos* are informal documents used for legacies, and added to the will: Marc. Dig. 29,7,6,1 *codicillos et plures quis facere potest et ipsius manu neque scribi neque signari necesse est*; Isid. Orig. 5,24,14 *est... scriptura nullam indigens sollemnitatem verborum, sed solam testatoris voluntatem qualicumque scripturae significatione expressam.* In this case Matidia had mentioned the codicils in her will (179,14 *iussit*), so we have here *codicilli testamento confirmati.* There may have been several codicils, but it is also possible that among the *navi et strenui viri* there were witnesses. A considerable time before her death Matidia regretted these legacies and cut the thread that tied up the tablets (see at 20,19). *Incidere (linum)* is the technical term for nullifying a will or a codicil, see Scaev. Dig. 34,3,28,1; Ulp. Dig. 37,11,1,10; Marcell. Dig. 28,4,3; and elsewhere in the Digesta. Fronto assumes fraud: the legatees had tied up the codicils anew and sealed them with Matidia's ring. But these legatees may have argued that it was Matidia herself who had sealed them anew, and, according to Iulian. Dig. 29,1,20,1, a will is valid *si tabulas inciderit* (the testator) *et legerit testamentum ac rursus suo signo signaverit.* Or they may have stated that Matidia was not compos mentis when she annulled the codicils: Scaev. Dig. 28,3,20 *Lucius Titius integra mente et valetudine testamentum fecit uti oportet; postea cum in valetudinem adversam incidisset, mente captus tabulas easdem incidit. quaero, an heredes his tabulis instituti adire possint hereditatem. respondit secundum ea quae proponerentur, non ideo minus adiri posse.* For *incidere linum* see also the disputed passage in Gaius, Inst. 2,151.

180,4 *apud dominum nostrum*: before the court of Marcus, in casu the praetor, see at 167,18.

180,4–5 *tueri ac defendere* is a popular combination: Cic. De orat. 1,172; Leg. 2,13; Fam. 13,64,1; Bell. Alex. 65,4; Tac. Dial. 7,1; Germ. 14,1.

180,5 *philosophia*: in a pseudograph of Verus, Vita Av. Cass. 1,8 Avidius called Marcus *philosopham aniculam* and 3,5 a *dialogistam.* See Proleg. LX. There is no reason to believe with Baldwin, The Vita Avidii 111 n. 85, that the author of this Vita had read Fronto's letters, see Proleg. LXII n. 4.

180,6 *exemplum*: 'a copy' (Haines), see at 104,11.

180,7 *oratione Bithyna* or *Pro Bithynis* 180,16, where m^2 seems to note that this is the same speech as *De Asianis testamentis.* This can hardly be true, see at 10,14ff., but there may be a connection: after his speeches in Catilinam, Cicero defended, about a year later, the adventurer P. Cornelius Sulla, an alleged partisan of Catilina. First Fronto defended a Roman tax farmer in Asia, here he accuses a Roman magistrate on behalf of the Bithynians. These Bithynians were a litigious people, which does not preclude that they were in their right; more than once they accused the proconsul or other Roman magistrates of *repetundae*: Tac. Ann. 12,22,4; 14,46,1; Cass. Dio 60,33,5; cp. Plin. Epist. 4,9; 5,20; 6,5; 6,13; 7,6; 7,10. As Champlin, Fronto 67f., has pointed out, it was probably the provincial counsel of

Bithynia who had lodged a complaint against the ex-governor. The case came up in the senate during the reign of Pius (this letter is of 162–163 and mentions the second edition of Fronto's speech; before Marcus, Pontus and Bithynia were a senatorial province), but it is not clear whether it was a case *repetundarum*. The only fact we hear of is a *crimen mandatae caedis* (180,21), which Fronto managed to refute. Apparently, Fronto's opponent in the senate had accused the Bithynians of this crime, not Fronto the proconsul, as Champlin assumes: both advocates must have brought forward a lot of accusations. The date of this speech Pro Bithynis is unknown, so is the name of the proconsul; it may have been M. Roscius Murena (see at 10,19f.) or L. Coelius Festus, who was cos. suff. in 148 and later proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia, or Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus, who was proconsul there in 142–143. If there is a connection between *De Asianis testamentis* and *Pro Bithynis*, the date must be 143–144.

180,9 *non inornate*: see at 125,6. A litotes of modesty, as Rhet. Her. 4,31,42. *Acta vita* is more than 'my past life' (Haines): it is 'the way I used to live', 'my way of living'; cp. Cic. Q. Rosc. 17 *dabit... nobis... vita acta... grave testimonium*; Inv. 2,34 *vita ante acta ignorabitur*. This does not refer to Cic. Pro Sulla 69–79, as I have noted in my edition, but to 21–19, where Torquatus reproaches Cicero for playing the king: *Tarquinium et Numam et me tertium peregrinum regem esse dixisti*, whereas he is a simple *municipalis* (22), and Cicero responds *non possunt omnes esse patricii* (23). Fronto's opponent had made similar remarks (*in simili re*) about the homo novus from Cirta who plays the grand seigneur (see 266,10ff.), and Fronto himself was well aware that he was not a patrician (see at 17,16f. at the end; 111,17; 188,14). This passage proves that in his time Fronto was regarded as the *alterum decus Romanae eloquentiae* (267,1f.). See at 178,2.

180,11 *par pari*: neutrum. See at 21,4. Note the etymological figure *par pari compares*.

180,12 *nostrum*: see at 88,17.

180,13 *viro*: brachylogy for *ab ingenio illius viri*. *Abfuat* (= *absit*) should be kept, though accidentally it does not occur elsewhere; however, cp. *abfui, abforem, abfore, abfuturus*. See Neue-Wagener III 601f. In the MS, Mai[1] read *abluat* and proposed *abludat*; in his later editions he reads *abfuat*. *Abludat* was again proposed by M. Haupt (1867) and Eckstein, and it was adopted by Haines. The word is found only in Hor. Sat. 2,3,320. For *fuat* see at 139,7.

180,14 Chronology: Brakman and Haines have rightly seen that this letter comes prior to the preceding one: in Ad amicos I 14 the second edition of Fronto's speech Pro Bithynis appears to be ready, here he has been working on it, then he has fallen ill and no longer puts his mind to publishing it. He even withdraws his text from the publisher's (181,8 [marg. a]). The rest of the letter is lost, but Fronto seems to have informed Praecilius Pompeianus of a new attempt to finish that second edition. I date this letter, like Ad amicos I 14, 162–163; Haines, Chronology, 163–166, edition 162; Champlin c. 162–165; Astarita, Cronologia, and Orpheus 4, 1983, 456, assumes that I 15 is later than I 14, dating it 164. Naber dates it

143, which may be true for the speech itself but evidently not for this letter. Praecilius is a younger acquaintance of Fronto, apparently a provincial (180,17 *Romae tunc agenti*). Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, suggests that he was a fellow townsman of Fronto (cp. the Cirtan banker L. Praecilius Fortunatus of CIL VIII 7156), which is not unlikely, see at 200,13. Others identify him with the Praecilius Pompeianus of CIL XII 701, a decurio and patronus of Arles: O. Hirschfeld at CIL; L.A. Constans, Arles antique, Paris 1921, 82f.; Pflaum, Les correspondants 555f.; Portalupi; and Champlin, Fronto 39. R. Hanslik, Praecilius Pompeianus, RE XXII (1953), misunderstands *Venetus* 181,12 (marg. d), thinking that he was a Venetian. H.O. Kröner, Precilius, RE Suppl. X (1965), does not believe that he is the decurio of Arles, who seems to have been a judge. The interest of our Praecilius in Fronto's speech seems to be of a literary rather than a juridical nature (180,19 *sermo de partitionibus orationum*). Three more letters are also addressed to him, Ad amicos I 16, I 24 and II 12; they were probably written in 160–167.

180,15 *verum*: the Pro Bithynis had landed Fronto in a difficult situation: several senators resented his attack on a fellow senator, and again the comparison with Cicero's Pro Sulla suggests itself: how could Cicero defend Sulla after his trenchant speeches against Catilina?

Uti res est: apposition to *verum*; hence the indicative.

180,17 *etiam*: 'also' (Haines), not a tmesis of *etiamtunc*.

180,18 *agenti*: 'staying'.

180,19 *partitionibus orationum*: 'the rhetorical heads of a speech' (Haines), the διαίρεσις, the *divisio argumentorum*. Apparently, Fronto was an oracle on rhetorical theory, see also 177,21ff. In the sermones reproduced by Gellius, such subjects do not come up for discussion.

180,19–20 *dixeram . . . tuleram*: 'I claimed, and with some pride' (Haines).

180,20 *coniecturam*: the problem whether someone had done wrong or not, and the use of circumstantial evidence, στοχασμός. Such problems have naturally an effect in the *partitio oratoria*. See Philodem. Rhet. 1,167; Hermog. Stat. 2,3; 2,11; Cic. Inv. 1,10 *eam . . . quaestionem, ex qua causa nascitur, constitutionem appellamus . . . cum facti controversia est, quoniam coniecturis causa firmatur, constitutio coniecturalis appellatur.* Quint. Inst. 3,6,5 speaks of a *quaestio coniecturalis*. See Lausberg, Handbuch 65.

180,21 *crimine mandatae caedis* is not a legal term. Suet. Galba 19,2 *quibus mandata caedes erat.*

Divisisse argumentis: 'to analyse on the basis of arguments', see at 77,5.

180,23 *nervorum dolor*: 'muscular rheumatism'.

180,24 *cruciantibus*: 'aching', 'when my limbs were racked with pain' (Haines), not 'quando le membra mi tormentano' (Portalupi); cp. 223,13 *ei crucianti somnium expeditum* (not 'in his crucifixion' [Haines], as also O. Hey, TLL s.v. expedio). The same passive meaning of *crucians* in Plaut. Capt. 814 *advehuntur quadrupedanti crucianti cantherio* (imitated by Auson. Epist. 25 p. 272,39 Peiper), where some scholars interpret 'torturing the rider'. Cp. *amantissimus* at 29,7; Kühner I 110; Hofmann-Szantyr 290.

180,25 *scribendis*: see at 38,4 and 63,14.

180,26 *mirificis*: 'wondrous creatures' (Haines), see at 134,10.

181,1 Perhaps we should keep the reading of m[1] *in Phalaridi tauro*. For this genitive see Neue-Wagener I 509ff., as *Herculi, Ulixi, Socrati, Archonidi, Timarchidi*. The broiling of men in a brass bull by the tyrant of Agrigentum is already mentioned by Pindar. Pyth. 1,95 (185). According to Cic. Tusc. 2,17 and others, Epicurus stated: *in Phalaridis tauro si erit, dicet: quam suave est, quam hoc non curo!*

181,2 *crediderim*: see at 1,10f.

181,3 *tantisper*: 'the while' (Haines).

Amburenti in aheno: 'in scorching brass'.

Meditari: cp. Quint. Inst. 2,11,5 *ea (prooemia)... diu secum ipsi meditati.*

Epichiremata: see at 6,2. Modern editors and Georgina Burckhardt, TLL s.v. epigramma, have not adopted Niebuhr's conjecture, but Fronto is not concerned about writing epigrams.

181,6 *alias*: see at 236,14.

Alienato animo fui: 'I took a dislike' (Haines). As the Pro Sulla got Cicero into trouble, so we may assume that Fronto's attack on an ex-proconsul and a fellow senator raised indignation in the senate. Moreover, Fronto may have regretted that he put his own career so much in the forefront. Cp. Tac. Hist. 4,49,1 *militem alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse.*

181,7 After *simultatem* we might add something like <*me commovisse*>.

181,8 (marg. a) *redit*: from the publisher's. See at 62,19.

Repudium renuntiatum: at 180,14 we assumed that Fronto did publish a second edition of his speech, so it cannot mean 'after I had publicly disowned it' (Haines). It must be: 'after they (the senators) had publicly disowned me', 'after they had introduced a motion of no-confidence'. Fronto maintained strained relations with aristocratic senators, see at 111,17. *Repudium renuntiare* (or *remittere*) is here used metaphorically. The proper meaning is 'to denounce an engagement to be married', e.g. Plaut. Aul. 784; Ter. Phorm. 677; cp. Fronto 192,16.

(marg. b) *anucella* does not occur elsewhere, but cp. *matercella* 62,21 (marg. e) and *aucella, muscella, porcella. Anucella* is a proper name in CIL VIII 7694; 2890. The usual diminutive is *anicula*, but we also find *anul(l)a, anucula, anucla, anuncula, anicula, anicilla.* See G.K. Strodach, Latin Diminutives in -ello/a and -illo/a. A Study in Diminutive Formation, Philadelphia 1933, 52.

181,10 Chronology: probably 160–167, see at 180,14. Haines, Chronology, dates this letter 161–162, edition 162; Champlin dates it before 167. The text has only partly been deciphered.

181,11 (marg. c) *Eratus*: the muse Erato.

181,12 (marg. d) *Venetus*: a collective singular. Since it is not a proper name, either the inhabitants of the Po region are meant (so Della Corte; cp. Lucan. 4,134) or the Blues of the circus. Venality was not a quality of the Po region; on the contrary, see Plin. Epist. 1,14,6. I do not see why Ehrenthal 30 assumes that here *Venetus* stands for *Venetus ager*. I think we must assume with Mai and Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 38f., that it concerns the drivers dressed in blue who were proverbially open to bribery. There were four clubs of drivers: the *veneti*, the *russati*, the *albati* and the

prasini. Each club had its supporters, *factiones*, whose importance in public life can be compared with those of modern football clubs. In Fronto's time the *factio veneta* and the *factio prasina* predominated. Verus was a supporter of the *prasini* (Vita Veri 4,8) and he had been abused by the *veneti* (ibid. 6,2). Our passage seems to indicate that Fronto, too, belonged to the *factio prasina*; at any rate, unlike Marcus he loved the circus, see at 66,17. On the *factio veneta* see Mart. 6,46,1 *vapulat adsidue veneti quadriga flagello nec currit*; 10,48,23; 14,131,1; Suet. Vit. 7,2; 14,3; Cass. Dio 65,5,1; CIL VI 2051 II 15; 10074 (= Dessau 53,14); 37835; Anthol. Graeca XI 344. The supporters of the Blues were called *venetiani*: Marcus, Medit. 1,5; Vita Veri 6,2; CIL VI 10074; IG XIV 1503. See J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung VI[2], Leipzig 1885, 517f., and Friedländer l.l. Of the two verbs *venierit* and *veniat* one must be corrupt, and because *veneo* sometimes has forms with *i*, as *venio* (see Georges, Wortformen), I prefer to read with Mai, Haines and Portalupi *veneat*: 'di non essere mai stato venduto, ma essere sempre vendibile' (Portalupi), rather than 'to be always going, never gone' (Haines). Friedländer reads *venerit* and *veniat*: 'dass er im Kommen, nie angekommen ist', cp. *nec currit* in Martialis quoted above. Another possibility is *venerit* and *veneat*, a pun: that he has never arrived (at the *calx*) and yet always is for sale. See Hofmann-Szantyr 709.

Fatum est ut also Cic. Sest. 72; Balb. 58; Verg. Aen. 2,433; Sen. Nat. 2,38,2; CIL VIII 21564; Carm. Epigr. 1187,3. Cicero and others also have *fatum est* with infinitive.

181,14 *amicitiam*: see at 259,8 at the end.

181,15 *officia vulgata*: 'conventional services' (Haines). See Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

181,16 *amore vero*: see at 3,20–5,18.

181,18 Chronology: probably c. 160, see at 54,13 and 174,21.

182,1 Chronology: at 176,5 we have seen that we do not know much about Victorinus' career before 162, and it is hard to believe that Fronto would write such a short note to him when he was governor of a province, let alone when Victorinus was married to his daughter Cratia. The text is very uncertain, but *ad naves sarciendas* could refer to Victorinus' quaestorship which, according to Pflaum, La carrière 198, came to an end in 147. If that is true, Victorinus is staying in Misenum or Ravenna. Victorinus was Fronto's gener only since 157, see at 61,5.

182,4 Chronology: on Ti. Claudius Iulianus see at 174,21. Fronto is old and weary of life, so we must date this letter 160–167, closer to 167 than 160. It shows the same mentality of Ad amicos I 21 and 96,13ff. (For the year of Fronto's death see at 159,12.) Champlin dates the letter to the early 160s. That in all probability the person concerned is Aulus Gellius is maintained by E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 46, 1928, 244ff., and Astarita, Note 431. I cannot agree with Marshall, The Date 143f., or Baldwin, Aulus Gellius 105f. and his Studies 5, that it concerns L. Gellius Menander, the man to whom Arrianus dedicated his edition of Epictetus: this Gellius probably was older than Arrianus himself, who was born c. 95; in the 160s he was an old man like Fronto. Of the Gellii enumerated by A. Stein, PIR

IV^2 (1952), only no.136, L. Gellius Severus, quaestor in 138, might be considered, but both Gellius Menander and Gellius Severus are only shadowy figures of whose literary aspirations, if they had any, we know nothing. It seems beyond doubt that Fronto refers to the edition of Gellius' Attic Nights, for we can hardly expect Gellius to consider publishing Fronto's letters or speeches. Fronto had no intention whatever to publish his letters, see Proleg. LIXf., and we cannot suppose that the honest Gellius would ever dare to publish letters and speeches of Fronto or other literati without their consent. However, conversations held in literary circles are a different matter: young Gellius was allowed to attend them and make notes (Gell. praef. 1,3). Yet Fronto appears to be unpleasantly surprised; we must realize that Gellius was not—as is often assumed—a pupil of Fronto, and this letter makes clear that in the 160s he had no close relationship with him. What Fronto fears is that Gellius' report of the learned conversations would do no justice to his linguistic expositions (see e.g. the difficulties with *fulvus* at 260,26). Moreover, Gellius mixed in Fronto's literary circle since the second half of the 140s (see at 262,19), that is, twenty years before Fronto wrote this letter: how could he, by means of his meagre notes, render exactly what every participant in the conversation had said? And it is not unlikely that Fronto had a low opinion of Gellius' literary ambitions. Hauler, l.l. 244, comments rather cryptically that Gellius 'seines Lehrers sprachliche Erörterungen zum Gegenstand der Untersuchung mache'; so does Marache, La critique littéraire 206: 'Aulu-Gelle aurait publié des inédits de Fronton sans son autorisation'. Champlin, Chronology 152, is not sure: 'the conversations of Fronto and his friends recorded in the Noctes Atticae', but adds: 'a different work may be involved'. In his Fronto 36 he states: 'any connection with the Attic Nights is hazardous'. Unfortunately, the exact date of this letter is uncertain, but 160–167 or even 165–167 as date of publication of the Noctes Atticae is far more probable than 146–156, which is proposed by Marache in his edition of Gellius, Paris I 1967, XII, or 158–159, as Astarita assumes l.l. 432. It is now evident that Fronto was still alive when Gellius prepared his edition of the Nights, and the fact that Gellius does not mention any of Fronto's speeches or other works does not mean that Fronto had already died, as assumed by Th. Vogel, Philol. Abhandl. M. Hertz dargebracht, Berlin 1888, 8, and Friedländer, Sittengeschichte IV 288, and justly contested by Schanz, Die Abfassungszeit 132 n. 4.

182,5 *ista mea*: see at 1,10.

Ab: see at 9,11.

Pessime: 'very badly', in the sense of 'very much'. See at 96,14. The second hand has misunderstood this *pessime*, as did Hauler and Kappelmacher (see Proleg. LX), Portalupi ('tanto malamente') and Astarita, Note 431 n. 59. On this use of *male* see TLL and Hofmann, Umgangssprache 74. In Fronto 21,8 *male . . . nos perturbes*; 37,10 *me di . . . male adflixint*; 96,13f. *male me paenitet*; 183,10 *male mulcavit*; 212,6 *male mulcatus est*. For the superlative cp. Petron. 56,2 *illos odi pessime*; Claudian. 18,190 has the comparative: *peius in aurum aestuat*. See also at 67,26 and 80,20.

Credideris: see at 1,10f.

Admonuisse sc. *eum*; see at 55,28. Unauthorized publications were not uncommon, see Hauler l.l. and Kappelmacher, Nicht gewollte Veröffentlichungen.

182,6 *ego . . . et*: Gellius did not write to me and I saw no point in writing to him, and for that matter. Cp. 183,18f. *nec quisquam . . . qui rarius quam ego scripserit ad amicos aut rescripserit.*

Invitissime: the superlative of the adverb occurs only here.

182,6–7 *inter . . . amo*: at the end of his life, Fronto had lost all interest in the philological trifles he used to indulge in, as reported by Gellius: 'with all that learned and petty rhetoric I now prefer something that is really substantial'. *Ampullae* and ληκύθοι ('flasks' for cosmetics) are metaphorically used for rhetorical bombast: Cic. Att. 1,14,3 *nosti illas* ληκύθους; Verg. Catal. 5,1 *ite hinc, inanes, ite rhetorum ampullae*; Hor. Ars. 97 *(tragicus) proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba* (Porphyr. ad loc. *hoc a Callimacho sustulit*); Plin. Epist. 1,2,4 *non tamen omnino Marci nostri* (i.e. Ciceronis) ληκύθους *fugimus.* And so *ampullari* (ληκυθίζειν): Hor. Epist. 1,3,14 *an tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?* See also Aristoph. Ran. 1208.

Panem: Petron. 46,7 on a studious boy who receives law books: *habet haec res panem, nam litteris satis inquinatus est.* Otto gives no other example of this proverbial expression, explaining: 'verhilft zum Brot, lässt nicht verderben'. Better E. Ernout in his Budé edition: 'c'est une chose qui nourrit son homme', and M. Hesseltine in the Loeb edition: 'law has bread and butter in it'.

182,7 *saepe sileo*: another difference from former times when he, *etiam cum periculo capitis*, used to help friends; see at 238,11f. *Sileo* with the interrogative sentence *qua in re* and *quid* ('how'), and a comma between *possim* and the second *quid.* Brachylogy for *quid caro amico prodesse possim.*

182,8 *quom*: 'though', 'whereas'. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 77f., reads *quicum omnia* instead of *quom humana*, translating: 'I cast about how I may help my dear sweet friend, with whom I would share all things bad or good', but *sileo* is not 'cast about'.

Humana . . . amara: 'all that is human, both the sweet and the bitter things in life'. *Dulcia et amara*: this antitheton occurs several times in Plautus, e.g. Pseud. 63 *dulce amarumque una nunc misces*, and in other authors, e.g. Mart. 12,34,3 *dulcia mixta sunt cum amaris*; Hieron. Epist. 31,2 *dulcibus amara sociata sunt.*

Communicata velim: on *volo, malo, cupio* with (accusative and) a part. perf. pass. see Kühner I 713, e.g. Phaedr. 3 prol. 48 *excusatum me velim.* In Fronto 5,3 *malim amorem . . . genitum*; 87,8 *quod . . . impetratum cupiam*; 110,21f. *clausum aut obsignatum aut curatum aut confectum quid vellem*; 112,25 *petita atque impetrata omnia malui*; 170,6 *cum . . . amicum . . . demonstratum conciliatumque vellet*; 176,12 *factum . . . volo*; 189,14 *famae . . . consultum cupiam*; 197,10f. *quid . . . impetratum velint*; 199,7 *malim . . . tutelam auctam.* An adjective instead of a participle 25,6f. *Hadrianum . . . propitium et placatum . . . volui*; 67,8 *te . . . superstitem cupiam*; 174,22 *cuperemus . . . eo nos fato praeditos*; 238,18 *pauperem me quam . . . adiutum . . . malui.* There is no question of an ellipsis of *esse.*

182,9 *aetas aspera* occurs only here; usually it is *aetas mala.* It is not 'dolorose' (Portalupi).

Mea senis: cp. e.g. Cic. Fam. 15,13,1 *tuum studium adulescentis*. See at 124,8.

182,9–10 *cupere . . . est*: 'it is only possible to wish', 'desiderare è già molto' (Portalupi). *Est* = ἔστι, *licet*. Usually it is connected with an infinitive such as *videre, coniectare, considerare*, e.g. Val. Max. 2,6,8 *quantum dinoscere erat*; with *negare* Liv. 42,41,2. See Kühner I 669; Hofmann-Szantyr 349.

182,11 *ita . . . fato*: 'so, struck by fate, you have as a friend a solitary man'. Cp. Sen. Epist. 72,5 *incommodo adflatur*.

Artem . . . erat: 'he (Fronto) had acquired his art for a mortal man (Fronto)', and for a mortal man nothing lasts: *homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto*.

182,13 Chronology: 161–167 because of 183,5; so Niebuhr and Brakman. The legatus Claudius (see at 174,21) is about to return from his province (183,12). If that province is Germania Inferior, the letter may be dated 162 with Haines, edition (c. 162 Champlin); Haines, Chronology, dates it 163–166; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 53, 1935, 167, dates it 160. Astarita, Cronologia, thinks that governing a province does not yet come easy to Claudius, and she dates the letter 161–162. Anyhow, this letter is later than the one to Claudius Ad amicos I 5, which was written when Claudius assumed his new post. 183,12 shows that Fronto is not very well: if his state of health is that of Antonin. I 1 and 2 (90,9f.), we might even conclude that this letter dates from late 161. The *plagae* 183,13 do not refer to the deaths of Fronto's wife and grandson in 165, see at 113,4.

182,14 *fit*: there are two possibilities: either a line is lost after *fit* or there is no gap, in which case we have *fit* with an acc. cum inf. I am afraid that I have made the wrong choice (*fit* with acc. cum inf.): O. Hey, TLL s.v. facio, repudiates such a construction, in spite of Kühner II 240, who quotes Plaut. Capt. 171 *hoc (captivo) illum me mutare confido fore*, a reading defended by Löfstedt, Philologischer Kommentar 122f., and Hofmann-Szantyr 359, but rejected by most critics. Cic. Quint. fr. 1,3,6 is of no help because of *illud: illud quidem nec faciendum est nec fieri potest me diutius . . . commorari*. Lucr. 6,416 *saepest numero factum fierique necesse est . . . fulmina . . . fieri*, but here *fulmina fieri* depends on *necesse est*. So we must assume that after *fit* a line is lost, something like <*ut hic rumor dissipetur*> with acc. cum inf., not *referunt* or *audio*, as Hauler l.l. assumes.

Provinciales: Fronto's source may have been Aufidius Victorinus, who was governor of Germania Superior since 162, see at 178,7.

182,15 *acta cognitionum*: 'court documents'. The term is often used in the Digesta.

182,16 *denique*: 'indeed' rather than 'lastly' (Haines) or 'infine' (Portalupi); see at 10,6.

Te iuvabunt: among others perhaps Faustinianus, who had been recommended by Fronto 174,27.

182,16–17 *consiliis obsequentur*: 'support your decisions'. In his inedita, Hauler punctuates *obsequentur; adsidue, propere*, but Wien. Stud. 53, 1935, 168 he has my reading.

182,17 *propere*: 'without hesitation'. Note the *p* alliteration *proponere . . . provinciales*.

Permittes: fut. pro imperativo, see at 19,7. For *permitto* with infinitive see at 68,8.

182,17–18 *pro honore*: 'in accordance with their status'. It seems that Claudius has not taken the *provinciales* seriously (local magistrates, as in CIL VIII 587,3).

182,18 *Attici*: Butmann's conjecture has only been adopted by Klussmann, though it seems better than *antiqui veteres*, 'the classic ancients' (Haines). Passages without asyndeton are different: Plaut. Persa 53 *veterem atque antiquom quaestum*; Trin. 381 *historiam veterem atque antiquam*; Iuv. 15,33 *vetus atque antiqua simultas*; Cic. Phil. 5,47 does not support the reading *antiqui* either: *maiores nostri, veteres illi admodum antiqui*. See at 20,8.

Dixerunt: Naber; H. Blase, Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache III 1, Leipzig 1894, 212; and Portalupi[1] keep *dixerant*: 'had already said', cp. *debuerat* 11,12. See at 37,11.

182,19 The Greek proverb resembles the Latin *qua ioco qua serio*, see at 21,10f. Quint. Inst. 6,3,110 (= Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. hora 2) *ut de Pollione Asinio seriis iocisque pariter accommodato dictum est: esse eum omnium horarum*.

Valeriani magistri: magister indicates all sorts of functions, see A. Boak, The Roman Magistri in the Civil and Military Service of the Empire, Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol. 26, 1915, 73ff. Was he a *magister epistularum* or *cognitionum*? He was a subordinate to Claudius, and his and Fronto's friend (*noster* 183,13; see at 90,2). He visited Rome, but did not see Fronto (183,3). Before they could meet, he had set off again for Cologne (*rettulit* 183,13), but somehow Fronto learned that Claudius' high-handed proceedings gave reason for concern. I do not believe Champlin, Fronto 36, who assumes that Fronto sent Valerianus to Cologne in order to interfere in a special lawsuit. Mai; Philibert-Soupé 20; Haines; Hauler l.l.; R. Hanslik, Valerianus, RE VII A 2 (1948); Portalupi; and Champlin l.l. think that our Valerianus is the same as the one in Vita Pert. 12,7 *cum sine amicis cenaret, adhibebat uxorem suam et Valerianum, qui cum eodem docuerat, ut fabulas litteratas haberet*. Such an identificatio is more than hazardous: the Valerianus of the Vita is a grammarian, our Valerianus probably a lawyer. PIR III[1] p. 350 nos.13 and 14 rightly distinguishes between the two. (186,14 = 199,2 *Valerianus Clitianus* is a misprint by Naber: the MS has *Valerius*.)

182,21 *Saviata . . . humanis* appears to be an addition of the m², crediting Claudius with those qualities he seems to be lacking in the next letter. *Saviata arte*: 'because of your charming way'; see at 8,19.

Viribus humanis: 'according to your human abilities'? The first three letters of *viribus* are not quite certain; perhaps we should read *moribus*.

183,1 *dicto*: Valerianus used to quote the proverb. A man who cannot distinguish between humour and earnest *offendit bonos, defendit malos*.

Offenderis: see at 1,10f. Note the homoioteleuton.

Iterum: 'on the other hand' or 'in verità' (Portalupi²), 'ancora' (Portalupi¹).

183,2–3 In the gap before *qui* there must have been something like *arcana non amo ut*. Hauler's supplement is impossible.

Exercent sacerdotium: 'those who are professional priests' (with their

pocus). It is not the same as *fungi sacerdotio*, and it is not found anywhere else. Again, Hauler has missed the point: he thinks that it is an allusion to Apuleius, who was—according to Florida 16,38—a priest.

Neque... conclusus: 'I have not secluded myself, nor was I out for secrecies'. Apparently, Claudius was disappointed with the results of Valerianus' visit to Rome. It has nothing to do with the official mysteries or the interpretatio mystica, as Hauler supposes. On *studere* with accusative see at 153,16.

183,5 *dominis imperatoribus*: Marcus and Verus, see at 86,14 and 168,24. Claudius fears that Fronto kept aloof from him and his problems and that this could make an unfavourable impression on the emperors.

183,6 *participem*: 'the partner of my body and mind' (Haines), a rather unfortunate expression. *Corpus et animus* is a very common combination, e.g. Ter. Ad. 957 *tu germanus 's pariter animo et corpore.*

183,7 *bonitatem*: sc. *eorum*, not *tuam*. The *bonitas* of emperors: 238,13 of Pius; Vita Aurel. 14,3.

Fueris: a potentialis, see at 1,10f.; not dependent on *ut*.

183,8 *scriberem, valebam* and *eram*: epistolary imperfects. Cp. e.g. Cic. Fam. 12,6,2 *res, cum haec scribebam, erat* etc. See Kühner I 156f.

183,9 *ex: aeger ex* is 'miserable in consequence of', not 'after' (Haines) or 'sofferente dallà' (Portalupi). Cp. Cic. Tusc. 3,21 *invidentia aegritudo est ex alterius rebus secundis*; 4,79 *res ex qua animus aegrotat.*

183,10 *male mulcavit*: see at 212,6.

Recitavi: an unknown speech, probably the one in which *gravius eum tractavi* (line 14).

183,11 *fac*: see at 60,17. In his letters Ad amicos, Fronto never has such a kind vale formula (but the end of some of the letters is lost). Here he has to relieve the pain inflicted by this rather unpleasant letter. Cp. Cic. Fam. 16,8,2 *effice... ut valeas et ut ad nos firmus et valens... venias*; Pap. Petrii II 1 ἐπιμέλου δὲ καὶ σαυτοῦ, ὅπως ὑγιαίνῃς καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐρρώμενος ἔλθῃς. See Cugusi, Evoluzione 59f., and at 69,41.

183,12 *venias... invenias*: a similar pun Cic. Verr. II 4,108 *convenit... invenisse.*

Praestabunt: see at 50,4.

183,13 *plagas*: these blows were inflicted among others by the person who *male mulcavit.*

183,14 *eum*: unknown.

Stratonabian must be corrupt; this name does not occur elsewhere. A *Paralius* was put to death by Commodus, Vita Comm. 4,4. Pyrallus, Pyralius and Pylades are real names, but not one of them can be connected with this passage. See H. Dessau & P. von Rohden, PIR III s.v.; A. Stein, Pyrallus, RE XXII 2 (1959).

183,14–15 *stragula linea*: 'a linen cover'. *Sculpta* cannot belong to *stragula*; Haines regards it as corrupt.

Germani is not a name.

183,16 Chronology: it is very unlikely that this Fulvianus is Verus' secretary during the Parthian War (see at 108,9); yet this has been maintained

by Mai; A. Stein, Fulvianus, RE VII 1 (1910), and Fulvianus 528, PIR III[2]; Pflaum, Les procurateurs 69ff.; and Champlin, Chronology. In his Les correspondants 556f., Pflaum revokes this identification with good reason: in 165–166 Verus' secretary is a young man, not a *nostrae mensurae homo* (184,6). These last words and *aetatis nostrae mediocritas* (184,8) show that Fronto and Fulvianus are old. So we must date this letter 160–167, closer to 167 than to 160 because here, as in Ad amicos I 19 and 96,13ff., Fronto is dejected and lonely. Haines, Chronology, dates it 163–166, edition 165; Champlin 165–166; Portalupi 165. However, all these datings have been influenced by the assumption that the two Fulviani are one and the same person.

183,17 *integer*: 'in the matter of letters when I was vigorous' (Haines) is misleading: *integer* is used with genitive only in expressions like *integer aevi, vitae, mentis, animi.*

Munus: 'compliment'.

Ab ineunte aetate: 'dalla prima giovinezza' (Portalupi) is better than 'from my earliest days' (Haines). Cp. Cic. Fam. 4,3,3 *ab initio aetatis... omnium doctrinarum studiosum fuisse*; Plin. Epist. 1,19,1 *condiscipulus et ab ineunte aetate contubernalis.*

183,18 *habui: habere* with predicative adjective or part. perf. pass. is very frequent but nowhere with *infrequens*. 'I have paid but fitful attention to this duty and almost neglected it' (Haines). Cp. Ovid. Epist. 21,234 *neglectam... habere fidem.* See at 165,2.

183,18–19 *me fallo* instead of *fallor* is comparatively rare, e.g. Cic. Phil. 12,21 *nisi me forte fallo.* Fronto has 5,2 *non fallor quin* and 20,8 *nisi me opinio fallit.*

183,19 *rarius... scripserit*: see Proleg. LXI and at 182,6.

183,20 *ultro citro*: 'on both sides'; usually *ultro citroque*, as 191,1, but the asyndeton becomes quite frequent since Cic. Nat. deor. 2,84. In spite of Otto, it is not a proverb.

184,1 *amicis et comitibus*: for the technical sense of these words see at 46,19 and 96,3.

184,2 *non* = *nonne*, see at 42,20.

184,3–5 Cp. Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. amicitia 3; e.g. Hieron. Epist. 3,6 *amicitia quae desinere potest, vera numquam fuit*; Augustin. Amic. 3 *si autem desierit (amicitia), numquam vera fuit.*

184,5 *perperam*: the reading *saepe* would effect an abundance with *usuvenire.*

184,8 *aetatis mediocritas*: 'the limited time we still have to live'. Cp. Fulg. Virg. cont. p. 84,17 *doctrinam mediocritatem temporis excedentem*; Apul. Apol. 92,5 *mulier... mediocri forma, at non aetate mediocri.*

Retinet: 'holds out'. For this intransitive use of *retinere*, cp. Lucr. 6,519 *retinere diu pluviae longumque morari consuerunt* (A. Ernout in his Budé edition: 'les pluies persistent'). *Tenere* and *continere* are often used intransitively.

184,9 Chronology: probably 139–155, see at 177,5 and 177,10. Haines, Chronology, 163–166, edition 166; Hanslik, Anordnung, before 143; Champlin before 167. The letters on the Sardii were written in this order: I 9, I 22, I 10.

184,10 *recenti malo*: 'when the wound was still fresh' (Haines), see at 1,10.

184,11 *et*: 'even' (Haines).

Conflictatus: see at 96,7.

Cum quidem: a loose connection with the principal sentence: 'and at this very moment'; see at 57,15; 67,3; and Hofmann-Szantyr 486 and 629.

184,12 *cumulus* is no more than a guess: 'as the culminating point of misery'. For *aegritudo* see at 78,22.

Nostri: see at 90,2.

184,13 *fors iniqua* occurs only here. Usual is *sors iniqua*: Verg. Aen. 6,332; 12,243; Liv. frg. 60 (with the variant *fors*). *Fortuna iniqua* CIL I^2 12,17,11.

184,14 *contubernalem*: see at 172,5.

184,15 *inhaeret*: Frassinetti, L'orazione 251, erroneously thinks that Min. Fel. 1,1 *cum animo meo Octavi... memoriam recensenti tanta dulcedo et adfectio hominis inhaesit* borrowed this from Fronto. See Proleg. LXII n. 3 and at 259,8.

184,16 *Lupi*: see at 177,11.

Misere: 'dreadfully' (Haines), not 'miseramente' (Portalupi). It is colloquial, cp. Ter. Andr. 520 *scimus quam misere hanc amarit*, where Donatus notes: *misere: valde, nimis*; Catull. 64,94 *misere exagitans... furores*; Gell. 19,12,9 *homo misere inperitus*.

184,16–17 *praesentem ac loquentem*: a man who is 'present and who can talk with me'. *Loquentem* is the opposite of *per litteras*.

185,1 Chronology: this letter and the following one are also *consolatoriae*. Early in 166 Iunius had recited Verus' *litterae laureatae* in the senate, after having served several years in the Parthian campaign, see at 175,18. So this letter, as well as Ad amicos I 26, must be later than Ad amicos I 6. According to the inscription of Ephesus, he took up his post as *quaestor pro praetore provinciae Asiae* early in 167, so we must date this letter and Ad amicos I 26 to 166–167 (Fronto died c. 167, see at 159,12–14). If Iunius is still in Italy because of a death in the family, 166 is more likely. Only Alföldy & Halfmann, Iunius Maximus, have dated the letter correctly; other datings are wrong: Haines, Chronology, 163–166; Champlin, Chronology, 164–167. After his quaestorship Iunius disappears from history: did he die of the plague or did he take part in the rebellion of Avidius Cassius in 173? Ritterling, Fasti 75, and Portalupi assume that he was governor of Germania Inferior c. 180, but in CIL XIII 1521 his name is uncertain and Pflaum, Les correspondants 552, is doubtful about such an identification.

185,3 Chronology: 160–167, see at 180,14. It seems to be a letter of condolence. See at 67,14.

185,4 *labris... labra*: polyptoton. Cp. Plaut. Bacch. 480 *labra a labris nusquam auferat?*; Matius ap. Gell. 20,9,2 *columbatim labra conserens labris*.

185,5 Chronology: undatable: 139–167, perhaps 150–167, see at 177,5 and 10; 184,9. Champlin, too, dates this letter before 167.

185,7 Chronology: 166–167, see at 185,1. Haines, Chronology, 163–166, edition 166; Champlin 164–167; Astarita, Cronologia, and Orpheus 4, 1983, 458, dates this letter 178, which is very unlikely, see at 159,12–14.

185,8 *Ulpium*: we do not know how much is lost after *Ulpium nostrum*, but it is generally accepted that the last lines of this letter are still about

him. It does not seem to be a letter of recommendation, as Pflaum l.l. and Astarita l.l. assume. *Nostrum* indicates a mutual friend, see at 90,2. *Remittas* (185,10) and the last line of the letter indicate that Iunius Maximus is abroad, though not necessarily in Asia. We do not know who this Ulpius was, and it is hazardous to believe that he is the jurist Ulpius Marcellus, as has been suggested by Mai; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; and Haines. H. Dessau, Ulpius 535, PIR III[1] p. 458, rejects such an identification.

185,9 *cupio* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

185,11 *usus studiorum*: so he was a contubernalis of Fronto, see at 172,5. *Bonarum artium*: see at 129,17.

Communicandi: Fronto avoids the inharmonious *bonarumque artium communicandarum*. Hofmann-Szantyr 374 regard it as archaistic, but it is also found in Cicero, e.g. Inv. 2,5 *exemplorum eligendi potestas*; Tusc. 5,70 *studium ... illius aeternitatis imitandi* (not *aeternitatem* with Seyffert); Phil. 5,6 *facultas ... agrorum ... condonandi*. In Fronto 204,5 (marg. c) *in navium arte extruendi*. See also Kühner I 745f. and at 32,11; 90,4.

185,12 *sermones* about Iunius' heroic deeds in the Parthian War, the honours he received (see the inscription of Ephesus at 175,18) and his grand appearance in the senate. All of this is very much the same as what Iunius talked about with Fronto regarding Avidius Cassius: 175,23ff. *Recolemus ac recensebimus*: alliteration.

185,13 Chronology: M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus was cos. ord. in 150 and proconsul of Asia c. 165. Here he is in Rome (*forum* 186,5), so we may assume that this letter was written before 165. R. Heberdey, Zum Verzeichnis der proconsules Asiae, Festschr. O. Hirschfeld, Berlin 1903, 444ff., and Pflaum, Les correspondants 552f., think that Squilla is in Ephesus where his son acted for the first time as a lawyer, but *quoad ... nuntiatum est* proves that this is impossible. They date this letter c.165. The son who was in Ephesus with his father was M. Gavius Cornelius Cethegus, cp. the inscription in Heverdey's article: Κορνήλιον Κέθηγον, πρεσβευτὴν Ἀσίας, υἱὸν Σ[κυίλ]λα Γαλλικα[νοῦ τοῦ] ἀνθυπάτο[υ] and according to Lucian. Demon. 30 he was the dregs of the gutter, κάθαρμα, another reason to believe that he was not the son mentioned by Fronto. In view of his name Cethegus, he may have been an adopted son of Squilla Gallicanus. According to Champlin, Chronology, a more suitable son is M. Gavius Orfitus; he was cos. ord. in 165, so he was born c. 125 and held his maiden speech c. 145–150. Anyway, the vivid tone of his letter and Fronto's keen interest in his former contubernalis (see at 172,5) show that Fronto is not at the end of his days. Even if the son is not M. Gavius Orfitus, this seems to be a rather early letter: 145–150. Haines, Chronology, dates it 163–165, edition 166; Champlin 150s. On Squilla and his son see E. Groag, M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus, RE VII (1910); H. Dessau, Gavius 67, PIR II[1] p. 114; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 41 and 185; A. Stein, Gavius 114, PIR IV[2] (1952); R. Hanslik, Gavius 2, Kleine Pauly (1967). See at 6,2.

185,14 *domine frater*: see at 86,14 and 176,21. It occurs here for the first time, then in Apollinaris Sidonius and other epistolographers. *Domine fili* 189,10. The use of *domine frater* was ridiculed by Pallades, Anthol. Graeca X 44.

Commodius evenit: 'yours has been a happier lot' (Haines), cp. Ter. Haut. 685 *cui aeque audisti commode quicquam evenisse?*; Hec. 838 *incommode mihi nuptiis evenit*.

Filio nostro: see at 90,2.

185,14–15 *praesens . . . absens*: note the chiasmus.

185,16 *actionis*: at the bar; cp. *forum* 186,5.

185,17 *egisset*: see at 82,14.

185,19 *domi*: because he was ill.

185,20 *ut qui*: see at 35,21.

185,20–21 *actoris . . . actionis*: paronomasia.

185,21 *tum praeterea*: see at 59,9,

Fructus: 'advantages' (Haines), see at 46,18.

186,1 *vultu et gestu*: see at 14,11f. Elsewhere Fronto always has *voltus*. See at 16,1f.; 128,10; 143,2 (marg. a); 181,15; 220,7; Proleg. XXXIII; and Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

186,1–2 *tametsi . . . tamen*: see at 212,15f.

186,3 *Callistus*: probably a freedman. He is not the son of Squilla, as Mai and Philibert-Soupé 20 think.

186,5–6 Note the antithesis, parallelism, alliteration and paronomasia. For *forum* see at 93,10.

Descendit: see at 177,12.

Natalibus: 'birth' (Haines), used in this sense since Sen. Dial. 12,16,6.

186,7 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

186,10–11 For no apparent reason the ancient editor divided the letters Ad amicos in two books. Apart from 188,6 (and 189,1?), the term of address lacks both Fronto's name and *salutem*. The letters of book II were written under Pius and under Marcus and Verus, between 146 and 167.

187,1 Chronology: Niebuhr, Mai[2] and Philibert-Soupé 20 suppose that Volumnius Quadratus is the man who in the vita Marci 7,4 is called Mummius Quadratus, the son of Marcus' sister Annia Cornificia Faustina, but since Borghesi it is generally accepted that we should read (M.) Ummidius Quadratus. Volumnius is a generation younger than Fronto (*fili* 187,14). It has been assumed that he was a contubernalis of Fronto (see at 172,5): Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; F. Vollmer, TLL s.v. filius; R. Hanslik, Volumnius Quadratus, RE Suppl. IX (1962); Pflaum, Les correspondants 556; but the tone of this letter is rather cold; Volumnius may just have been a literary amateur. We know nothing about him. H. Dessau, Volumnius 642, PIR III[1], sees in him the son or grandson of Volumnius Serenus (see at 189,1 and 189,9); E. Groag, Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diocletian I, Wien 1939, 150, n. 623, and Hanslik l.l. suppose that he is identical with the Quadratus who was procurator of Achaia 179–180. The Volumnius of 189,5 is not Volumnius Quadratus, see at 189,1. We have no clue for the date of the letters to Volumnius Quadratus, so we must date them, with Champlin, before 167, or rather 148–161, see at 187,13. Haines, Chronology, dates them 161–162, edition 161, and so does Portalupi. The three letters to Volumnius are found twice in the collection: *repetita* 187,19; see at 167,31.

187,2 *secretum servabo*: 'I will keep it a (or your) secret'.
Itaque = *et ita*, as 139,20.
187,3 *manus*: rheumatism. See Table of Matters s.v. Fronto.
Ex voto: 'according to your wish' (Haines), as Sen. Suas. 1,3,3; Sen. Dial. 1,3,3; Phaedr. 1272; Scaev. Dig. 17,1,60,1. Apparently, Volumnius had his doubts about his literary abilities.
187,5 *exercendo studio*: 'in practising your talents' (Haines).
Occupare is not an inf. pro imperativo: the imperative *teneto* has its effect on the infinitive: 'you must utilize'. Cp. e.g. Cato, Agr. 156,7 *infervefacito* . . ., *postea* . . . *iusculum* . . . *sorbere*; Cels. 3,7,1 *parcius in his agendum est: non facile sanguinem demittere*; CIL VI 10876,5f. *(dolus) abesto nec aditum in portione dimidia fiscum habere*. See Kühner II 636; Hofmann-Szantyr 366f.
187,6 Chronology: see at 187,1.
187,7 *Castricius noster* does not seem to be a servant or a secretary of Fronto, as *ut mane ad me veniret* and *detinui* might imply. He is rather a (mutual) friend, see at 90,2 and 185,8; since Mai, it has been generally accepted that he is the T. Castricius who was, according to Gell. 13,22,1, *rhetoricae disciplinae doctor, qui habuit Romae locum principem declamandi ac docendi, summa vir auctoritate gravitateque et a divo Hadriano in mores atque litteras spectatus*. This means that he was a contemporary of Fronto, sharing his literary interests, see Gell. 1,6,4–6; 2,27; 11,13; 13,22; and at 272,10. We may assume that Volumnius, like Gellius, was a studious young man who frequented literary circles.
Libellum: 'letter' (Haines), see at 50,15.
De: Fronto is the first to say *de balneo egredi*; others have *e*: Plin. Nat. 31,71; 32,115.
187,8 *peti* instead of *petii*; *petisti* 228,17; *petii* 76,2M; 238,21; *petivi* 168,13 means 'to present a petition'.
187,9 *vigiliis*: in 139 Fronto also complains of insomnia: 42,5.
187,10 *Ciceronianos* sc. *libros*. The ellipsis is easy to explain because in his letter Volumnius had asked for books by Cicero. Comparable ellipses: Cic. Nat. deor. 1,84 *in pontificiis quidem nostris* (so too Ammian. 17,7,10); Acad. 1,13 *contra Philonis*; Att. 12,23,2 *ex Apollodori*; 13,32,3 *in Libonis*; Fest. p. 242,5 *in epistularum*. In Greek e.g. Appianus' Βασιλικῄ, Ἰταλικῄ. The ellipsis of *oratio* we find in Cic. Orat. 165; 225; Att. 13,12,2; Gell. 1,22,17. In our passage, Höhne, Die Geschichte 53, supplies *codices*. Champlin, Fronto 40, erroneously assumes that *Ciceroniani* are compositions by Volumnius in Ciceronian style; however, Fronto is here speaking of critical editions of Cicero, not of excerpts, as Schanz III 99 thinks; cp. 104,10. Fronto was especially interested in textual criticism, see at 15,12–17. It was M. Valerius Probus who introduced such criticism in Rome: Suet. Gramm. 24 *multa exemplaria* . . . *emendare ac distinguere et adnotare curavit*, to emend and to punctuate, but Cicero had already set an example: *(libros Lucretii) postea Cicero emendavit* (Hieron. ad ann. 1923). *Emendare* in this sense Mart. 6,64,6; 7,11,2; Plin. Epist. 1,2,1 *et legas* (see Proleg. XXXVII and at 234,14) *et emendes*; 4,26,1 *ut libellos meos* . . . *recognoscendos* (see 96,10) *emendandosque curem*; 5,12,3; 7,12,2; Rufin. Orig. Princ. praef. p. 114 B. *inemendatum vel non distinctum*

codicem non habebat. See Zetzel, Latin Textual Criticism, and his articles Emendavi ad Tironem, Statilius Maximus and The Subscriptions.

187,11 *habebis* with part. perf. pass.: see at 165,2.

Adnotatos ... ipse: 'my own annotations you must go through yourself'. These annotations were of a critical nature rather than exegetic, cp. Plin. Epist. 3,13,5 *adnota quae putaveris corrigenda*; 5,12,2 *quaedam emendanda adnotavi*; Porphyr. Hor. Ars 450 *(Aristarchus) Homeri carmina adnotavit*; Gloss. II 422,58 προσσημειοῦμαι· *adnoto* (a σημεῖον is a critical mark). See also Suet. Gramm. quoted above and at 225,16.

Leges: fut. pro imperativo, see at 19,7.

In volgus exire: 'siano divulgati in pubblico' (Portalupi), cp. Cic. S. Rosc. 3 *oratio mea exire atque in volgus emanare poterit*; Gell. 14,3,3 *qui (libri) primi in volgus exierant.*

187,12 *scribam*: in a lost letter.

187,13 Chronology: see at 187,1. In 148 Fronto avoided theatres and banquets, see 66,18. Here he is again a votary of circus games and, in spite of his rheumatism, not yet crippled with age. Hence the dating 148–161, though 148 may be too early and 161 too late.

187,14 *fili* is rather cold compared with *domine fili carissime* 189,10 and *mi fili* 190,14. See at 176,21.

187,15 *librari*: see at 28,20; 38,4.

187,16 *non mediocribus*: see at 47,9.

187,17 *circensium*: see at 18,6–8; 66,17; 181,12 (marg. d).

187,18f. Here Fronto perhaps expresses his predilection for the circus, which was more respectable than beastfights.

188,2 *promeridie*: see at 31,12.

188,3 *asylo*: see at 173,17.

188,4 *epistolicotata*: adverb or neutrum plur., 'in the typical manner of epistolary style' or 'type examples of epistolary style'. In Latin, the word occurs only as the title of a work of Varro: Quaestiones epistolicae, and in Hieron. Epist. 26,5 *nisi et modum epistolici characteris excederem* (ἐπιστολικὸς χαρακτήρ also Demetr. Eloc. 223 and Apoll. Tyan. Epist. 10); 32,1,1 *quidnam ... tam necessarium, quo epistolicae confabulationis munus exclusum sit.* Neither in Greek nor in Latin we find the comparative and the superlative.

188,5 *rhetoricotata: rhetoricus* is found in Latin since Ennius. The comparative only in Lucil. 86 Marx; Cic. De orat. 3,171 as a metaphor: *Crassum habeo generum, ne rhetoricoterus tu sis.* Ῥητορικώτερος also in Dionys. Hal. Is. 8.

188,6 Chronology: Sex. Cornelius Repentinus was praefectus praetorio during the last years of Pius and the first years of Marcus and Verus: Vita Pii 8,8 *in cuius (Tatii Maximi) demortui locum duos praefectos substituit Fabium Repentinum et Cornelium Victorinum.* Since Borghesi we know that we must read *Cornelium Repentinum et Furium Victorinum.* The exact years of his prefecture are unknown: Haines and Portalupi give 159; A. Stein, Cornelius 1428, PIR II^2: 158–163; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 196: 160 till at least 163; W. Enszlin, Praefectus praetorio, RE XXII 2 (1954): 160–167; Pflaum, Les carrières I 445f.: 160–163; Birley, A Nickname 471 n. 27: 158–161, and in his Mark Aurel 203 and 240: 159/60–163/4. As the praefectus

rio played an important part in the administration of justice, we may assume that this letter was addressed to Cornelius in his capacity of prefect, and the remains of the first five lines make it clear that Fabianus had been in trouble and that Cornelius saved his reputation. In the second half of the letter Fronto puts a new but similar case before him. We must date this letter 159–164. Haines, Chronology, dates it 161–162, edition 157–161, and so does Portalupi; Champlin 150s–160s. In the Antonine age, the praefecti praetorio were usually over fifty, so Cornelius was Fronto's coeval: hence *frater*, see at 176,21; 177,7. The form of address is problematic: we cannot read with Mai and Stein *pr(aefecto) pr(aetorio) salutem*: such an opening without Fronto's name is found nowhere in Ad amicos. Nor can we read *Fr(onto)* with O. Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der roemischen Verwaltungsbeamten I, Berlin 1877, 226, for such an abbreviation is unprecedented. Therefore I have opted for Brakman's reading, though his readings are often unreliable and in Ad amicos Fronto nearly always puts his own name first. On the other hand, Hauler's reading *frpio* might be *frpto*, which approximates the name Fronto.

188,7 *Contucci*: this surname does not occur elsewhere. It seems a nickname, like Naucellius, see at 174,21 and 240,18. According to Gloss. VII 372, *tucca* means κατάλυμα σωμοῦ, so Contuccius may mean 'Quartermaster', well chosen for a praefectus praetorio.

Consuetudine et benignitate: hendiadys.

188,8 *quod*: see at 40,3.

Fabianum: a (pettifogging?) solicitor. He is hardly the Masticius Fabianus of Vita Sev. 13,3, as has been suggested by Mai; Philibert-Soupé 23; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; and Teuffel 3,94. Nor can he be M. Servilius Fabianus, as Birley, Mark Aurel 240, thinks, because—after his consulate in 158—he held several high offices in the provinces during the period in which this letter was written.

Officiis civilibus: 'civil duties' (Haines) or 'public offices', see at 200,7.

Frequentem in forum: 'continually on his way to the court'. *Frequens in* with accusative does not occur anywhere else. *In* with accusative is quite normal with adiectiva verbalia such as *redux*, *refugus*, *refluus*, but there are some striking exceptions: Tac. Hist. 5,14,2 *addiderat Civilis obliquam in Rhenum molem*; Ann. 14,4,1 *venientem . . . obvius in litora . . . excepit*, 'Assidue del foro' (Portalupi) cannot be correct. Haines reads with Niebuhr *in foro*. For *forum* see at 93,10.

188,9 *existimationem*: 'the good name' (Haines), as 189,13. Cp. Cod. Iust. 2,11,18 *integram existimationem illibatamque conservat*. A complaint had been lodged against Fabianus, which Cornelius had repelled.

188,10 *meritissimo*: a rare adverb used by Plaut. Asin. 737; Cic. De orat. 1,234; Plin. Epist. 8,6,6; Apul. Flor. 9,7.

Tibi belongs to *prosperent* and *mihi* to *gratian referendo*. See at 9,14.

Parem gratiam: 'a similar service', cp. *similitudo* in line 13.

188,11 *prosperent*: see at 9,14.

188,12 *actione*: of the *nobiles*.

188,14 *habebis . . . nobiles*: 'you'll have the nobles on your back', rather

than 'nor will you soon find (such among) the nobles' (Haines). Fronto and Cornelius were no patricians, and sometimes they collided with the noble senators, see at 111,17; 180,9.

Teneto: 'hold' (Haines), with acc. cum inf., as e.g. Plaut. Mil. 780; Cic. De orat. 1,65.

188,16 *adoris*: 'successes', as 118,20 and 220,16.

189,1 Chronology of II 6 and 7: these two letters are closely connected: Fronto writes two letters to Arrius at the same time, which are delivered by the same letter-carrier. II 6 is a personal letter to recommend the case of Volumnius Serenus; II 7 is more or less a *causidicatio* (189,19), meant to be added to other papers on the case and to be used also by others. In line 9 *Arrio Antonino* is not original and merely a later addition by m^2: II 7 is an appendix to II 6, just as Ad M. Caes. III 4 is an appendix to III 3. See at 42,4. Champlin, Chronology, failed to see this, thinking that the Volumnius of 189,5 is the Volumnius Quadratus of 187,1. C. Arrius Antoninus (not a relative of Pius) was a man with a great career and a man of character; he was put to death by Commodus c. 189. Like Fronto he was an adversary of the Christians (Tert. Scap. 5,1). His consulate is usually dated c. 170: E. Groag, Arrius 1088, PIR I^2 p. 212; H.G. Gundel, Arrius 8, Kleine Pauly (1963), but it was probably later: Mireille Corbier, L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare, Rome 1974, 253ff., dates it 170–173 and Alföldy, Konsulat 367ff., c. 173. Champlin, Chronology 153, dates Arrius Antoninus' consulate c. 167. So he must have been born c. 135–140, perhaps closer to 135, since—according to Alföldy—he was praetor c. 163. We have two inscriptions with his cursus honorum, from his quaestorship to the praetorship of the aerarium Saturni: CIL V 1874 (= Dessau 1118), set up for him as *patronus* by the *ordo Concordiensium*, and CIL VIII 7030 (= Dessau 1119: see also J. Klein, Rhein. Mus. 30, 1875, 288ff.), which was dedicated to Arrius as *patronus IIII Coloniarum Cirtensium*. So we may safely assume that he was a fellow-countryman of Fronto (they were both of the tribus Quirina). He had been Fronto's contubernalis, see at 172,5 and 189,10. According to the two inscriptions, Arrius was appointed as the first *iuridicus per Italiam regionis Transpadanae*. In this function he was involved in the difficulties between Volumnius Serenus and the colonial council of Concordia on the Adriatic Sea. For the legal administration in the municipia and coloniae Hadrian had divided Italy (apart from Rome) in four regions: Vita Hadr. 22,13 *quattuor consulares per omnem Italiam iudices constituit*. This office was abolished by Pius (Appian. B.C. 1,38) but renewed by Marcus: Vita Marci 11,6 *datis iuridicis Italiae consuluit ad id exemplum, quo Hadrianus consulares viros reddere iura praeceperat*; Cass. Dio 78,22 οἵ τε δικαιονόμοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν διοικοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο (in 217) ὑπὲρ τὰ νομισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου δικάζοντες. In 167 Arrius became praefectus aerarii Saturni (see Corbier), before which he was *iuridicus*. So it is safe to conclude that he administered the regio Padana in 165–167 and that these letters were written during that period. G. Henzen, Acta fratrum arvalium, Berlin 1874, index s.v., dates Arrius' function as iuridicus 161–166; J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung V^2, Lepizig 1881, 224f.: 161–169; P. von Rohden,

C. Arrius Antoninus, RE II (1896): before 169; Rosenberg, Iuridicus, RE X (1918): 163–164; R. Thomsen, The Italic Regions from Augustus to the Lombard Invasion, København 1947: 162–164; Pflaum, Les correspondants 546: 163 or later; W. Eck, Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Italiens unter Mark Aurel, Zeitschr. f. Papyrol. u. Epigraphik 8, 1971, 76f.: 166–167; Alföldy, Konsulat 367ff.: 165/6–168. Champlin dates Ad amicos II 6 to the 160s and II 7 163–167. Haines, Chronology, dates the two letters 163–166, in his edition 164; he is followed by Portalupi. Volumnius Serenus and his family have left no traces, see R. Hanslik, Volumnius Serenus, RE Suppl. IX (1962).

189,2 *demonstrati*: 'recommended' or 'brought to my notice' (Haines). The plural may refer to Volumnius and his family (191,13f.) or to other similar cases.

189,3 *multum familiaribus*: see at 49,16. *Multum familiaris* is stronger than *familiarissimus* (66,15; 162,19; 170,16). Cic. Fam. 13,12,1, Liv. 40,21,11 and Quint. Decl. 323 have *maxime familiaris.*

189,4 *si me amas*: see at 86,22.

Tantum: 'a little bit', not 'so much' (Haines).

189,5 *facultatis . . . complectendae*: 'opportunity of gaining your friendship' (Haines). *Amicitiam complecti* also Liv. 34,58,3; 35,46,7; *amplecti* Tac. Ann. 6,8,1.

189,6 ἄνδρες: Hom. Il. IX 204 οἱ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες ἐμῷ ὑπέασι μελάθρῳ. Fronto did not know Volumnius personally, see at 189,15.

189,7 *accipias*: not 'to welcome' (Haines) or 'accogliessi' (Portalupi), but 'to treat', as e.g. Cic. Verr. II 4,86 *leniter hominem clementerque accepit*; Att. 10,7,3 *Quintum puerum accepi vehementer* ('I have given him a rough reception' [Tyrrell & Purser]).

Velim with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

Ille seems to be temporal: 'he at the time', rather than 'the great Achilles' (Haines).

Menoetiadi: see at 7,7 and 138,13.

189,7–8 Homerus has ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, δέπας δ' ἔντυνον ἑκάστῳ. Aristot. Poet. 25,1461 a quotes ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε as an example of something which has to be done quickly. Plut. Quaest. conv. V 677 c has a chapter περὶ τοῦ ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε (var. lect. κέραιρε), where also IX 204 is quoted. Athen. I 10 c on diverse mixtures τὸ ζωρότερον κέραιρειν. Because of δέ (see at 87,22), Fronto changed the syntactic order: *quam ille volebat quom Menoetiadi* ζωρότερον κέραιρε *imperabat.* For *imperare* with direct speech cp. Anthol. Lat. I 882,7 *Solon 'ne quid nimis' induperavit.*

Quom narrativum often has the indicative imperfect, especially when preceded by an indication of the past, here *ille*; see Kühner II 331; Hofmann-Szantyr 622.

189,9 Chronology: see at 189,1. Friends had drawn Fronto's attention to the case of Volumnius (189,6), who for many years had been seeking rehabilitation after having been banished from Concordia or the regio Transpadana. He was guilty of a crime which Fronto does not mention or dispute, possibly embezzlement, see 189,22. At the same time Volumnius had been expelled from the ordo decurionum, and now that his

ment is lifted he does his utmost to regain his former position in the administration of Concordia. At first, the ordo itself decided that Volumnius could not resume his seat (191,3–5). Then Volumnius appealed to the competent magistrate, the praefectus urbi Lollius Urbicus (191,6). Pending the case, Lollius died and Rome decided that such cases should no longer be dealt with by the praefectus urbi but by a new official, the iuridicus; consequently, it came into the hands of Arrius. See Niebuhr ad loc.; Dirksen, Beitrag 246f.; J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung V^2, Leipzig 1881, 186f.; 227; P. Jörs, Untersuchungen zur Gerichtsverfassung der römischen Kaiserzeit, Leipzig 1892, 51ff.; Th. Kipp, Appellationsrichter, RE II (1896); B. Kübler, Decurio, RE IV (1901); Rosenberg, Iuridicus, RE X 2 (1910); F.F. Abbot & A.C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire, Princeton 1926, 57ff.; R. Hanslik, Volumnius Serenus, RE Suppl. IX (1962); E. Bund, Iuridicus, Kleine Pauly (1967); Garnsey, Social Status 117f. In general, the rule was that a man dismissed from the senate by the censors could recover his seat (Cic. Cluent. 119). For the decuriones, however, special measures had already been taken two hundred years before the Volumnius case: Lex col. Gen. Iul. 105 *decurio qui iudicio condemnatus erit, postea decurio ne esto*, and the Lex Iul. mun. 108ff. regulates in detail for which non-capital crimes a condemned member has to be expelled from the curia: fraud, swindle etc. See also Paul. Sent. 5,15,5 and Dig. 3,2 *De his qui notantur infamia.* Relegation could be *ad tempus* or *in perpetuum*; Volumnius had been relegated *ad tempus.* Ulp. Dig. 48,22,7,20 *solet decurionibus ordine interdici vel ad tempus vel in perpetuum*; Papin. Dig. 50,2,5 *ad tempus ordine motos ex crimine, quod ignominiam importat, in perpetuum moveri placuit. ad tempus autem exulare iussos ex crimine leviore velut transacto negotio non esse inter infames habendos.* It is not even certain that the ordo had passed the verdict of *infamia* on Volumnius: 194,11 does not necessarily refer to the verdict; 191,13 refers to the future; 192,5 calls Volumnius *dedecoratus.* Perhaps it was also the Volumnius case which caused Marcus to give new instructions on decuriones: Papin. Dig. 50,2,13 *imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augusti rescripserunt in tempus relegatos et reversos in ordinem allegi sine permissione principis non posse.* 1. *item rescripserunt relegatos non posse tempore finito in ordinem decurionum allegi*; Ulp. Dig. 48,22,7,18 *relegatum plane libellum dare principi posse divi fratres rescripserunt.* It is clear that these rescripts must be dated after Fronto's letter (165–167). Whether Fronto's intervention in the case of Arrius met with success is not known. If Marcus' rescripts were given as a result of the case of Volumnius, we may suppose that Arrius had reinstated Volumnius in his old rank. The rehabilitation of a relegated decurio remained a tricky affair: Papin. Dig. 50,1,15 pr. *ordine decurionum ad tempus motus et in ordinem regressus ad honorem* (the duovirate and other magistracies), *exemplo relegati, tanto tempore non admittitur, quanto dignitate caruit, sed in utroque placuit examinari, quo crimine damnati sententiam eiusmodi meruerunt; durioribus etenim poenis affectos ignominia velut transacto negotio postea liberari, minoribus vero quam leges permittunt subiectos nihilominus inter infames haberi, cum facti quidem quaestio sit in potestate iudicantium, iuris autem auctoritas non sit*; Ulp. Dig. 48,22,7,21 *potest alicui poena iniungi, ne honores adipiscatur, nec ea res facit, ut decurio esse desinat, cum fieri possit, ut quis decurio quidem sit, ad honores*

autem non admittatur; Ulp. Dig. 50,2,2 pr. *qui ad tempus relegatus est, si decurio sit, desinet esse decurio. reversus plane locum suum quidem non obtinebit, sed non semper prohibetur decurio fieri . . . alia causa est eius, qui ad tempus ordine movetur: hic enim impleto tempore decurio est*; Ulp. Dig. 50,2,3 pr. *generaliter id erit defendendum, ut qui clementiorem sententiam passus est ab hoc, quod ad tempus relegatur, boni consulere debeat humanitatis sententiae nec decurionatum accipiat.* 1. *sed si quis ob falsam causam vel aliam de gravioribus non ad tempus sit relegatus, sed ad tempus ordine motus, in ea est causa, ut possit in ordinem redire. imperator enim Antoninus edicto proposito statuit, ut cuicumque aut quacumque causa ad tempus ordine . . . fuisset interdictum, completo tempore nihilominus fungi honore vel officio possit*; Marc. Dig. 50,4,7 pr. *reus delatus etiam ante sententiam honores petere principalibus constitutionibus prohibetur nec interest plebeius an decurio fuerit, sed post annum quam reus delatus est, petere non prohibetur.* Volumnius was not only *ordine motus* but also *relegatus*, possibly with *infamia*. Wisely, Fronto does not question the legality of the verdict (see at 191,2), nor does he go into the matter of the *ius introeundae curiae* (191,3); he limits the problem to the fact that Volumnius failed to pay his decurio fee (190,13; 191,4). It is a pity that we do not know what arguments he brought forward in the lost pages 191,8. At the time this letter was written (165–167), Volumnius was well over seventy years old (194,8); therefore, like Fronto, he was born c. 95. He was a scriba-decurio for forty-five years (190,12), and if he became scriba at the age of twenty and scriba-decurio at the legal age of twenty-five, it must have been 159–160 when he partly paid his fee (191,4). At that time, or shortly afterwards, he was relegated but allowed to return to Concordia during the same lustrum (c.160–164); then the quarrel started between him and the city council, which refused his admission to the curia (191,2f.). This corresponds to the date of this letter.

189,10 *have mi*: see at 2,13 and 42,4.

Domine fili: see at 86,14; 173,13; 176,21; 185,14; 187,14. *Domine fili* occurs here for the first time, later in epistolographers such as Ausonius, Apollinaris Sidonius, Ennodius and others. 197,8 Fronto is Arrius' *parens*, and if we compare 65,23 where Athenodotus is called *meus magister et parens*, we may assume that Arrius was Fronto's pupil, contubernalis; see at 172,5.

Dicta factaque: see at 162,1.

In, according to Heindorf, is superfluous, but we can hardly compare this passage with those given at 51,10, and it is quite different from 102,5.

189,11 *provincia*: the regio Transpadana; cp. Frag. Vatic. 241 *in ea regione, quam iuridicus administrat.*

Ferunt: aliquem (aliquid) laudibus ferre also Cic. Orat. 174; Rep. 1,67; Verg. Aen. 1,625; Liv. 7,36,5.

Laetus ac libens is a frequent alliteration, see at 21,2 and Ed. Wölfflin, Über die allitterierenden Verbindungen 63. It is not an archaism, as J. Süss, Catulliana, Acta semin. philol. Erlangensis I 1878, 34, supposes.

189,12 *remurmurat*: 'grumbles at something'. Fronto is the only one to use the word metaphorically. Verg. Aen. 10,291 *nec fracta remurmurat unda*; Stat. Silv. 5,1,153 *(pinus) nulli spoliata remurmurat aurae.* Transitive in Calp. Buc. 4,28 *mea carmina . . . remurmurat echo.*

Deprecatur: 'expresses his disapproval of', as Brut. Cic. Brut. 1,17,2; Tac. Ann. 2,50,4; Gell. 2,23,12.

Ausculto is found several times in Plautus, Terence and Cato. Later it becomes very rare: not in Caesar, only once in Cicero and other writers, but Apuleius has it eleven times and Fronto also 241,12. So it seems to be an archaism. The form *autsculto* does not occur elsewhere.

189,13 *ut qui*: see at 35,21.

Existimationi: 'reputation' (Haines), cp. Cic. Quinct. 50 *huius omnis fama et existimatio.*

189,14 *iuxta quam* occurs only here and Liv. 10,6,9 *iuxta eam rem aegre passi patres quam cum consulatum volgari viderent.* See at 43,3 and 179,3.

Consultum cupiam: cp. Cic. Fin. 3,57 *liberis consultum velimus*; Quint. Decl. 306 p. 200,12 *pudori . . . cupio consultum.* See at 182,8f.

189,15 *commemoravit*: I now regret not to have kept *commemorarunt*: the subject of this verb are the φίλτατοι ἄνδρες of line 6.

Dempsit, addidit and *exposuit* 189,20 do not imply that Fronto has actually spoken to Volumnius. During his exile, Volumnius was not allowed to stay in Rome, see Callist. Dig. 48,22,18.

189,16 *verae rei*: 'the precise situation'; it is not the same as *veritas*; cp. *re vera.*

Iure meritoque is frequent since Plaut. Most. 713 *iure optimo merito. Iure meritoque* is used since Sen. Clem. 1,12,1.

189,17 *patrono vel precatore*: the same alliteration Plaut. Pseud. 606 *ego precator et patronus. Precator*, 'intercessor' (Haines), is found in Plautus and Terence, then—after Fronto—in Ambrosius, Ammianus and a few later authors.

Ultra epistulae modum: see at 59,25f.

189,18 *eveniet*: see at 115,8.

189,19 *causidicatio*, 'a counsel's speech', occurs only here and in the Glossaria; *causidicare* only in Dosith. Gramm. Lat. VII 430,12. See at 34,8 and 61,22f.

189,21ff. As to its structure, this *causidicatio* bears some resemblance to Fronto's speech De testamentis Asianis: the first part (189,21–190,24) is written in a concise, pungent style, whereas the second part (191,1ff.) has all the characteristics of a speech in the grand manner. See at 10,14ff. and 272,4.

189,21 *lege coloniae*: every colonia and municipium had its own law regulating the city's administration, see Colum. R.R. 7,8. The Lex coloniae Concordiensium, a *lex data*, was undoubtedly similar to the Lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae, which was in force for Gallia Cisalpina since 49 BC, and the Lex Iulia municipalis of 44 BC. These laws are in the Fontes Iuris Romani I ed. Riccoboni, Florentiae [2]1941. Those who ruled over the colony, the *IIviri* (193,9 *utrumque*), had to draw up the *album decurionum* every five years and could expel unworthy members from the city council.

189,22 *scribam*: there is a snake in the grass here. In other cities, the scriba was a paid official without right to vote. Each magistrate had his own secretaries (Lex col. Gen. I 1,52) who were merely *apparitores* (Lex Iul.

mun. 80). In Concordia, things seem to have been different: Volumnius was not a decurio, though he was not a simple secretary either: he was at the head of the city administration and may also have been treasurer; as such, he may have embezzled money. In Concordia such a scriba had the same duties and privileges of the decuriones (190,1–10); this is why Fronto does his very best to demonstrate that in Concordia the positions of a scriba and a decurio are on the same level, which indeed they were.

Faxit is legal language since the Lex XII tabularum and may have been used in the Lex Concordiensium itself. See at 37,10 and 153,4.

190,1 *ad hoc locorum*: see at 3,4.

Scriptus: 'the post of notary' (Haines). Suet. Vita Hor. p. 44,8 Reifferscheid *scriptus quaestorius*; Schol. Iuv. 5,3 *scriptus censorius*.

190,2 *datus*: in view of Hauler's reading, Mai's *latus* is unlikely, though it is retained by Naber and Portalupi[1]. Haines has Klussmann's *delatus; deferre alicui consulatum, praeturam* and the like are quite common.

Factus: 193,9 we find *creatus*; Lex col. Gen. 91 *factus creatusve.*

190,3 *ordinis* sc. *decurionum*: co-optation by a (simple?) majority of votes. In other coloniae and municipia the decuriones were appointed by the IIviri.

Pensiones: 'payments'. Here, too, the rules of Concordia were different from those of other cities; according to Plin. Epist. 10,112, in some cities there was no payment at all, while in others it could be up to *bina milia denariorum.* In his answer to Pliny, Trajan calls this pensio *honorarium decurionatus*; CIL VIII 24003 *honoraria summa decurionatus*; III 12038 *summa quam intulit pro decurionatu.* Where payments were required, it was only an entrance fee and the decurionatus was for life. Isid. Orig. 9,4,23 *non est decurio qui summam non intulit.* From Fronto we learn that Volumnius *quater intulit* (193,11) and that he should have paid a fifth and a sixth time (191,4f.). Volumnius had been a scriba-decurio for forty-five years (190,12); if he had to pay every lustrum he should have paid nine times. Perhaps this payment was linked up with the fulfilment of the *munia* (190,14 and 24; 193,10f. *postquam (honores) usurpavit, pensionibus inferre pecuniam debuit*).

Pensiones dependit: etymological figure, cp. Varro, L.L. 5,183 *ab eodem aere pendendo dispensator . . . et prima pensio et sic secunda.*

190,5 *in* is perhaps superfluous; we find the abl. loci or temporis Plin. Nat. 8,210 *ne tota quidem cena*; 14,97 *triumphi sui ena*; Vita Heliog. 30,2 *una cena.*

190,5–6 *cenis . . . spectaculis*: the same *commoda* are mentioned in the Lex col. Gen. 122; 125f.; Lex Iul. mun. 134; 138; CIL XI 3805 for Veii.

190,6 *censuitne*: 'has voted' (Haines). The same term Decret. decur. Tergest. CIL V 532,38 and CIL V Suppl. Ital. 176.

Quo: 'somewhere', not 'qualche volta' (Portalupi).

190,7 *usus est* and *opus est* often have the ablative with a predicative part. perf. pass., e.g. Plaut. Men. 955 *ut parentur, quibus paratis opus est*; see at 63,19, but our grammars and lexica give no example of the ablative of a gerund.

On the regulations for legations see Dig. 50,7 *De legationibus*; Lex Iul. mun. 149ff.; Lex col. Gen. 92.

190,8 *viaticum*: the word *perviaticum* does not exist. *Legato* is at the end of a line, so *sem* could easily have dropped out. Fronto is here speaking of

the *munera personalia*, see Dig. 50,4,1 and 18. For such *munera* the person in question was entitled to an indemnification, among other things the *viaticum* or *legativum* (ἐφόδιον), see e.g. Arc. Char. Dig. 50,4,18,12; Ulp. 50,7,3 *his, qui non gratuitam legationem susceperunt, legativum ex forma restituatur*, Paul. Dig. 50,7,11,1.

190,9 *re frumentaria*: the ambassadors were sent out by the *curator annonae (frumenti)* of the city, see Herm. Dig. 50,4,1,2; see at 192,5f.

Gratis: 'without indemnification', 'at his own charges' (Haines), cp. Paul. Dig. 50,7,12 pr. *si . . . iniuncta est legatio eamque gratuitam suscepit*. In the second century the decurionatus gradually became a financial burden.

Commentariis publicis: 'the official documents', the acta ordinis decurionum. Augustin. Epist. 113 and 115 speaks of the *acta municipalia*; so does CIL VIII 15497. According to the Lex. col. Gen. 80, an ambassador *rationem decurionibus reddito*.

190,10 *scripta*: 'put down in black and white'.

190,11 *ita decreta*: see at 106,2f.

190,14 *functus sit* with accusative: Diomed. Gramm. I 316,19 *fungor officio, fungor munere, sed veteres fungor hanc rem dixerunt*. But this is only correct when the object is *munus* or *munia*. Authors before Cicero always have *fungor munus*, later also Nep. Dat. 1,2; Fest. p. 142; Val. Max. 2,7,4; Tac. Ann. 3,2,1; Suet. Aug. 35,3; Tert. Apol. 9,2. Terence and other writers before Cicero have extended this use of the accusative to *officium*; Suet. Aug. 36 *quaesturam*; Fronto 111,10 *onera quaestoria . . . perfunctus est* (but *perfungor* is often used with accusative since Lucr. 3,956). Cicero only allows the accusative in the gerundive: Rep. 1,27 *muneris fungendi gratia*; Tusc. 3,15; Att. 1,1,2; cp. Fronto 174,24 *ad munia militiae fungenda*. So we must conclude that *fungor munus* is not an archaism, as Löfstedt, Syntactica II 24 n. 1, and Hofmann-Szantyr 122 state, but a legal expression. By writing *fungor munere*, Cicero tried to normalize the expression. In Apuleius and Tertullian, however, *fungor* with accusative could be called an archaism since they use all sorts of substantives in the accusative. Fronto has *officio fungi* 3,24; 25,1; 78,6M; 175,20; *munere fungi* 166,21 and 170,13.

For the epanaphora of *quid* see at 97,4.

Mi fili occurs here for the first time; usual are *fili* and *fili mi*, see at 176,21; 187,14.

190,15 *probari*: 193,7 Fronto returns to his subject. 194,8–12 shows that Arrius had asked for further information on the case.

Plenius is correct, see 193,2f.

Exemplaria: 'copies', see at 104,11.

190,17 *censoribus*: like in Rome, they set up the album decurionum. Plin. Epist. 10,112,1 *qui in bulen a censoribus leguntur*.

190,21 *qui . . . insitus*: 'come possa raggiungerlo uno non inserito nel novero' (Portalupi). For metaphorical *insitus*, 'inocculated', cp. Tac. Ann. 13,14,3 *quod (imperium) insitus et adoptivus . . . exerceret*. Volumnius is not an intruder, nor a suppositious member of the ordo.

190,22 *Isidori Lysiae*: 'Isidoro figlio di Lisia' (Portalupi); cp. Cic. Cluent. 94 *Fausto Sullae*; Verg. Aen. 1,41 *Aiacis Oilei* etc. This Isidorus seems to have been a bouleuta in a Greek city who had comparable problems. For the

rescripta of the divi fratres concerning decuriones see Scritti di Marco Aurelio a cura di G. Cortassa 508ff.

190,23 *Ulpiam* sc. *Nicopolim?*

Exempla: 'precedents'; see at 10,16.

191,1 *utro citroque*: 'alternately', see at 183,20.

191,2 *praeiudicium legationis: praeiudicium* is a legal term: the prejudice caused by the fact that Volumnius had been exiled. Fronto does not go into the reasons for this exile (see at 189,9): here he only occupies himself with the rehabilitation, protesting against the charge (*delatus est*) that Volumnius tried to resume his seat in the city council by force.

Quasi, 'as if', is often used with verba accusandi: Sen. Contr. 2,4,7 *infamaverunt adulescentem, quasi illius criminationibus factum sit ut* etc.; Fronto 67,10 *ne delator existas . . . quasi vero ego te . . . magis diligam*; Apul. Met. 8,28,1 *criminari, quasi contra fas . . . dissignasset aliquid.* See Kühner II 456. Not 'he has been accused of forcing his way into the senate' (Haines). Cp. *quasi quia* 199,19. See Ch.E. Bennet, Die mit Tamquam und Quasi eingeleiteten Substantivsätze, Archiv 11, 1900, 415. Fronto has *tamquam* only once: 128,16.

191,3 *relegato: relegatio* is a less severe punishment than *exilium*: Paul. Dig. 48,1,2.

191,4 *omnem*: apparently the fee was so high that it could be paid in instalments.

191,5 *quae . . . perorata*: 'when all this has been argued out in the lengthiest of proceedings' (Haines) between the ordo decurionum, Volumnius and Lollius Urbicus. In the Lex col. Gen. Iul. 94 the IIviri or their substitutes administer justice.

191,6 *Q. Lollius Urbicus*: before Arrius Antoninus became iuridicus, legal quarrels in the municipalities came within the jurisdiction of the praefectus urbi: Stat. Silv. 1,4,11f. *urbesque ubicumque togatae, qua tua* (sc. Rutilii Gallici praefecti urbi) *longinquis implorant iura querellis*; see at 189,9. The prefecture of Lollius is usually dated c. 150–c. 160 (Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II 191f.; see also I 329 n. 12; 370; Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 68f.; A.R. Birley, Corolla E. Swoboda, Graz/Köln 1966, 47f.; PIR V^2 Lollius 327 [1970]; R. Hanslik, Lollius 2, Kleine Pauly 1968, erroneously states that Lollius was iuridicus). According to Hüttl and Birley, Mark Aurel 222, his successor Q. Iunius Rusticus held that office already in 162, so we must assume that Lollius died in 160 or 161. Fronto's *sed* at the end of the line probably indicates 'but his death prevented him from coming to a final decision'. This means that Volumnius' case had been dragging on for at least five years, maybe even ten. As an urban prefect, Lollius had also been involved in lawsuits in other cities, see Apul. Apol. 2–3; Iustin. Mart. Apol. 2,1–2. Before his prefecture he had made a splendid career as a military man, see at 267,2. He was a fellow-countryman of Fronto, born in Tiddis near Cirta (CIL VIII 6705 and 6706 = Dessau 1065), a few years before Fronto. He was consul in 138 or shortly before. See Münzer, Q. Lollius Urbicus, RE XIII 2 (1927); Garnsey, Social Status 97; H. Devijver, Hermeneus 55, 1983, 212f.

191,9 *graviter*: 'con difficoltà' (Portalupi).

Acquirant: the object is 'reputazione' (Portalupi[1]) or 'their own fortune'.

191,10 *respuerunt* sc. *Volumnium*.

Vel e comitibus: 'even of his fellow decuriones'.

191,11 *arte usi pari*: 'men who put to effect a similar method', with a comma after *pari*.

191,11–12 *perlata . . . ignominia*: 'after having brought shame upon those who have been called to account'.

191,12 *morituris*: 'men who are at the point of dying'.

Sementare seems to be an incorrect reading; it means 'to generate seed' and occurs only Plin. Nat. 18,259.

191,12–13 *idem dedecus . . . quantum dedecus: idem . . . quantus* is a contamination of *idem qui* and *tantus quantus*, cp. Vell. 2,39,2 *paene idem . . . quantum pater . . . contulit*; Tert. Fug. 12,3 *pretio . . . nisi eodem quanto*; Cod. Iust. 5,3,19,1 *eiusdem quantitatis . . . quantum . . . dignoscitur*. *Dedecus* repeated in the relative sentence is a peculiarity of legal Latin; also in the next sentence *infamiae . . . cuius infamiae*. A similar repetition, for the sake of clarity in general, we find 153,9 *causam . . . qua causa*; 156,14 *verbum . . . quod . . . verbum*; 174,23f. *hoc . . . tempore . . . quo tempore*. See at 40,14.

191,13–14 *ignominia* and *infamia*: this passage does not refer to the official *nota censoria* of the *quinquennales*; see 196,6f. For the *ignominia* of the father had no effect on his children: Ulp. Dig. 50,4,3,9 *quod pater in reatu criminis alicuius est, filiis impedimento ad honores esse non debet*, and *ignominia feriri* does not occur elsewhere. When Fronto nonetheless speaks of *infamia notari*, he deliberately uses the wrong term.

191,14 *aspergo*: cp. Cic. Cael. 23 *infamia aspersus*; Nepos, Alc. 3,6 *aspergebatur . . . infamia*; Min. Fel. 31,1 *infamiae aspersio*. The note of m^2 is misleading: the plural is found only once in Pliny's Historia Naturalis, once in Apuleius, but several times in late authors such as Ammianus and Caelius Aurelius.

191,15 *clades est* with acc. cum inf.: see at 64,13.

191,16 *et*: since Plin. Nat. 11,268 *idem et* is used for *idem ac*, but here the original meaning of *et* is clearly perceptible, as in e.g. Cic. Mur. 18 *non eundem esse ordinem dignitatis et renuntiationis*, and Fronto 128,23. The same holds good for *par et* 138,11f. See Kühner II 6; Hofmann-Szantyr 478.

Frangi: 'to be shipwrecked', not 'rammed' (Haines).

Turris: a naval turret provided with ballistae. The forms *vallista* and *balista* are not unusual in ancient MSS; see at 130,10.

Satis: 'well'.

191,17 *remis denis*: a bireme with two rows of ten oarsmen on both sides. Fronto means that even a large ship is easily lost when the cordage is not well plaited.

For the ablative *rudente rudi* see at 1,10. Note the alliteration.

191,18 *perierit*: 'is lost', not 'andrà a fondo' (Portalupi); cp. Plaut. Amph. 320 *perii, si me aspexerit*; Capt. 749; Ter. Hec. 318; Eun. 1064.

191,19 *leges*: Plin. Nat. 17,7 *fuit et arborum cura legibus priscis cautumque est XII tabulis ut, qui iniuria cecidisset alienas (arbores), lueret in singulas aeris XXV*. The XII tabulae seem to have mentioned fruit-trees and to have used the verb *succidere*: Gaius, Inst. 4,11 *eum qui de vitibus succisis ita egisset, ut in actione vites nominaret, responsum est rem perdidisse, cum debuisset arbores nominare eo, quod*

lex XII tabularum, ex qua de vitibus succisis actio conpeteret, generaliter de arboribus succisis loqueretur. Paul. Dig. 12,2,28,6 *colonus, cum quo propter succisas forte arbores agebatur ex locato, si iuraverit se non succidisse, sive e lege duodecim tabularum de arboribus succisis sive e lege Aquilia damni iniuria . . . per exceptionem iurisiurandi defendi poterit*; Dig. 47,7,2 *Gaius libro primo ad legem duodecim tabularum: sciendum est autem eos, qui arbores et maxime vites ceciderint, etiam tamquam latrones puniri*; Paul. Dig. 47,7,11 *si de arboribus caesis ex lege Aquilia actum sit, interdicto quod vi aut clam reddito absolvetur, si satis prima condemnatione gravaverit reum manente nihilominus actione ex lege duodecim tabularum.* The *lex Aquilia* (see Taubenschlag, Lex Aquilia, RE XII [1925]) is first mentioned by Cic. Brut. 131; it dealt with unlawful damage of property, see Gaius, Inst. 3,210–219; Ulp. Dig. 7,1,13,2; Paul. Sent. 5,20,6 *qui noctu frugiferas arbores manu facta ceciderint, ad tempus plerumque in opus publicum damnantur*; Ulp. Dig. 7,1,13,4 *fructuarius . . . non debet . . . arbores frugiferas excidere.*

Felicem: Paul. Fest. p. 29 M. quotes from Cato: *felices arbores Cato dixit quae fructum ferunt, infelices quae non ferunt.* Cp. Lucr. 5,1378 *omnia . . . arbustis . . . felicibus obsita*; Verg. Georg. 2,81 *ramis felicibus arbor*; Ovid. Pont. 3,1,19 *rara, neque haec felix . . . eminet arvis arbor*; Liv. 5,24,2 *nulla felix arbor, nihil frugiferum in agro relictum*; Colum. 3,3,2 *veterem illam felicitatem arvorum*; Plin. Nat. 12,82 *felix appellatur Arabia*; Pallad. 2,15,1 *arbores . . . et in crescendo et in ferendo extitisse felices*; etc. So it is not certain that Fronto is quoting Cato.

Succidisset instead of *succideret*: see at 37,11.

191,20 *arbos* is mostly found in poetry, especially in Vergil; see Neue-Wagener I[3] 267. Cp. 200,9 *honos.*

Arbor: Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi 352, prefers here, too, the reading *arbos* of m[2].

191,20–21 *fecunda et frugifera*: alliteration.

192,1 There is nothing wrong with the word order: *cannam* put in front with emphasis, see at 21,8.

192,2 *dixerit*: see at 1,10f.

Atque may be superfluous but reinforces the argument.

Aequiusne: for *-ne* see at 48,7.

192,4 *liberos*: the *ius liberorum* (see at 166,21f.) plays a part in the position of the decuriones: Papin. Dig. 50,2,6,5 *qui plures liberos habet, in suo collegio primus sententiam rogatur ceterosque honoris ordine praecellit.*

192,5 In my first edition I followed Hauler's second reading <*Volumnius macula*> *quod*, but *macula* seems too long for the four letters missing between *Volumnius* and *quod*. Moreover, *quod* ('as to the fact that') is not certain.

192,5–6 *globus . . . et forum equitum*: 'the whole knot of knights, especially those who come to the fore in politics and business'. *Globus* is used here as in Sall. Iug. 85,10 *ex illo globo nobilitatis* where, however, it is used in a pejorative sense, 'coterie'; thus there is no need to assume with Schwierczina, Frontoniana 17, that Fronto has Sallust in mind. *Forum* is often used for those who are active in the forum. So Volumnius was an eques and perhaps a merchant, since he had been entrusted with the *res frumentaria* (190,9).

Pars curiae: the plebeian part of the ordo decurionum. A. Stein, Der römische Ritterstand 132; PIR III[1] Volumnius 643, p. 480; R. Hanslik, Volumnius

Serenus, RE Suppl. IX (1962); and Champlin, Fronto 70, have misinterpreted this passage, thinking that a son of Volumnius was an eques and a grandson a senator in Rome.

192,7 *capita*: 'persons'.

De caelo tacta: 'were struck by lightning'. The expression is found several times since Cato, Agr. 14,3 *si de caelo villa tacta siet.*

Quam is suspect: the margin has *tot . . . quot*. See at 87,4. Besides, more than *tu condemnasti* seems to be missing, because the next sentence can hardly follow the one in question, and the margin often abbreviates the original text.

192,8 *genitorum*, 'forbears', is poetical. We only know his father's name, Titus: 259,5. Champlin, Fronto 145 n. 29, enumerates five Titii Cornelii of Africa who are known from inscriptions. Fronto's point here is that Volumnius is not that kind of man.

Facultates: 'richezze' (Portalupi).

Pedibus manibus: the same expression in Ter. Andr. 161 and in a few late authors, though always *manibus pedibusque* (Ter. Andr. 676 *-que* is uncertain). Only Ps. Quint. Decl. 12,6 has *pedibus manibus*, and there it has the same meaning that it has in Fronto, 'by force': *pedibus manibus iimus in sententiam necessitatis.*

192,9 *verius est*: 'it's only too true'.

Virtutem: 'virtù' (Portalupi) in the sense of 'energy', 'vigour', whereas in line 12 it tends to 'virtue'.

The variant *neclegere* is also found in old Latin, e.g. Plaut. Poen. 823; Varro, R.R. 3,16,1, but the Fronto MS always has *negl-*.

192,10 *tam valide* = *validissime*, see at 78,19f.

Sudore: Fronto has two proverbs in mind: nothing *sine sudore et sanguine* (Enn. Cic. Off. 1,61) and *concordia parvae res crescunt* (Sall. Iug. 10,6).

Quom: 'whereas'. The indicative is normal in old Latin, but also in Cicero and others, see at 46,10 and Kühner II 349; Hofmann-Szantyr 619; 624f. Or should it be *quam*, corresponding to *tam*?

192,10–11 *esse . . . maluit*: Sall. Cat. 54,6 *(Cato) esse quam videri bonus malebat*; Aeschyl. Sept. 592 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει.

192,11 *maluit* and *usus est*: perf. empiricum. See Kühner I 132; Hofmann-Szantyr 318f.

192,12 *opinionem*: 'la fama' (Portalupi), 'who cares not to be thought virtuous' (Haines). Volumnius was such a man, hence his rude behaviour *quasi in curiam inrumperet* (191,3). Fronto admits that this is a fault of his.

192,13 *bonas artis*: not 'the noble arts' (Haines and Portalupi) but 'noble qualities'; see at 54,1.

192,14 *sententiam errare* still depends on *verius est.*

192,14–15 *sententiae tuae stare*: 'to stick to your opinion'. So *stare* with dative Liv. 10,30,4 *etiam vero stanti (homini)*. The expression occurs several times in legal texts, e.g. Afric. Dig. 2,1,18 *conventioni*; Cels. Dig. 42,1,39 *statur duorum (iudicum) sententiae*; Ulp. Dig. 4,8,17,6 *arbitrio*; 19,1,13,27 *emptioni*; 36,3,6,1 *voluntati defuncti.*

192,16 (marg. e) *donicum* for *donec* is an archaism. It is already found

in Liv. Andr. Carm. frg. 18 M., then in Plautus and Cato. Apart from Nepos, Ham. 1,4, Fronto is the first to use it again; also in a few late writers.

Sin: addubito sin is found only here, nor does *dubito sin* occur elsewhere. *Dubito si* (instead of *an*) is found in Tert. Bapt. 3,6 and several times in the Codex Iustinianus, but always with indicative.

192,16–17 *repudium dare* is either 'grant a divorce' (Haines) or the same as *repudiare*, 'to divorce'. Hauler's reading seems to indicate that m[1] had the final dative *repudio dare*, which is found nowhere else.

Adgnatis orbari: the judge could decide that the wife was awarded the custody of the *agnates* (Cod. Iustin. 5,24).

192,17–193,3 *nam . . . posse*: the acc. cum inf. without determining verb points to the reflections of Fronto, see at 215,6. Apparently, Arrius had stated that he needed *pleniora argumenta* to be able to take a decision, see 190,15; 193,7.

193,2 *laxamentum*: 'latitude' (Haines). With gerund also Gell. 5,1,2 *animus . . . laxamentum atque otium prolixe profuseque laudandi non habet.*

Pleno plenius: a similar traductio Cic. Parad. 3,22 *nihil recto rectius*; Fin. 4,75 *nec honesto quicquam honestius nec turpi turpius*; Sen. Epist. 66,28 *quia non est quicquam apto aptius, quia plano nihil est planius . . . ergo nec honesto honestius quicquam est.* See at 91,16 and Ed. Wölfflin, Der Ablativus Comparationis, Archiv 6, 1889, 449.

193,4 *artata*: 'limited' (Haines), as 195,12. Cp. Ulg. Dig. 42,1,2 *qui pro tribunali cognoscit, non semper tempus iudicati servat, sed nonnumquam artat, nonnumquam prorogat.*

193,5 *trudat*: 'follows closely on'; cp. Ter. Andr. 779 (= Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. fallacia) *fallacia alia aliam trudit*; Hor. Carm. 2,18,15 *truditur dies die.*

193,6 *ne . . . putes*: 'you must not put the blame on time but you must consider whether'. *Putare cum animo suo* is quite usual, see at 25,2; Verg. Aen. 8,522 *cum corde putabant.*

193,7 *an*: 'whether', see at 138,3

Argumenti: see at 66,11.

Careat with accusative is archaistic: Plaut. Curc. 137; Turpil. Com. 32; Ter. Eun. 223. After Fronto only in a few late authors. Ps. Asper, Gramm. Suppl. 60,28 *careo vitio et vitiis, non vitium et vitia.*

193,8 *vestimentis*: in Rome senators wore a tunica laticlavia and the calceus senatorius. According to the Lex col. Gen. Iul. 62, the IIviri and the aediles wore a toga praetexta; see E. Hula, Clavus, RE IV (1901). Hauler's *vestimentis <candidis>* seems improbable because of *decurionum.*

193,9 *creari . . . creatus est*: see at 40,14.

Utrumque: Volumnius became *decreto ordinis scriba et decurio* (190,3). So *utrumque* may indicate the IIviri and the ordo decurionum.

193,10 *multifariam*: 'in many ways' (Haines), a rare meaning; see at 49,13.

193,10–11 *usurpavit . . . intulit*: a so-called epiploce or catena (Hofmann-Szantyr 813), as e.g. Plaut. Cist. 617ff. *peperit filiam. eam postquam peperit, iussit parvam proici. ego eam proieci*; Rhet. Her. 1,9,14 gives an example of *breviter narrare*, quoting Com. pall. inc. 2ff. *Megaram vesperi advenit Simo. ubi advenit Megaram, insidias fecit virgini. insidias postquam fecit, vim in loco adtulit.*

193,12 Before *plurima* the verb *fungi* or *functus* may have dropped out, cp. 190,14.

193,13 *dedecus*: 'an infamous deed'.

193,14 *fuerit*: see at 11,24.

193,16 *sat est* with acc. cum inf.: see Kühner I 695.

193,17 *perconstare*: 'to be an incontestable fact'. It occurs only here.

193,17–18 *finis ac modus* ('term', 'limit' [Haines]): cp. Plaut. Merc. 652 *quis modus tibi exilio . . . eveniat? quis finis fugae?*; Lucil. 1145 *finem . . . scire modumque*; Cic. Verr. II 2,118 *ut . . . modum aliquem et finem orationi . . . faciamus.*

194,1 *arte . . . restiterint*: 'they may briefly resist the judgement of a strange court' (the court of another judge where the accused does not belong, or authorities which are not interested in the case). It could refer to the authorities where Arrius intended to make his inquiries. For the proverb cp. Mart. 12 praef. *videor mihi in alieno foro litigare*; Sen. Clem. 2,7,1 *ut breviter tamquam in alieno iudicio dicam.* The opposite of *forum aliud* or *alienum* is *meum forum*: Plaut Curc. 403 *nec mihi placet tuum . . . nec forum nec comitium*; Most. 1051 *ego me video venire in meo foro*; Cic. Verr. II 3,38 *ne quis extra suum forum vadimonium promittere cogatur.* The expression may also be linked up with Mart. 7,65,2 *lis te . . . conterit una tribus . . . foris* and with Petron. 1,2 *ut, cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium orbem terrarum delatos*; Plut. Symp. 4,4 ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ κόσμῳ γεγονότων.

194,2 I now read *nisi quod iura sunt lenissimum* etc. *Iura*: 'legal arguments'.

194,3 *piissimum*: Cic. Phil. 13,43 *piisimos quaeris et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis. Piissimus* is frequently used since Seneca rhetor, see Neue-Wagener II 204f. Fronto uses this superlative deliberately; he may have in mind the passage of Cicero, because there, too, we read *tibi cum Lepido societas aut cum nullo, NON DICAM BONO civi, sicut ille est, sed homine sano?*

194,4 *finge*: 'suppose it were', 'let us call it' (Haines). This *finge* also e.g. Cic. Fam. 3,12,2; Ulp. Dig. 4,6,23,4.

Causa ambigua is a legal term, e.g. Ulp. Dig. 37,10,3,4; Cod. Iustin. 6,61,5,1.

Tanto natu, 'of such advanced age' (Haines), is an adnominal abl. qualitatis, as 140,8 *pallium soloci lana.* Adverbial abl. qualitatis 91,20 *sunt . . . colore satis salubri, clamore forti*; 238,18f. *sumptu nusquam prodigo fui, quaestu interdum necessario.* We have *magno natu* Liv. 2,8,4; 3,58,1; 10,38,6; *maximus natu* Nepos, Dam. 7,1.

Prohibuisse: in legal Latin we often have the inf. perfecti instead of praesens; so *gessisse* 200,9. See at 75,3f. and Kühner I 133f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 351f.

Interim is the word Arrius had used in his decree that, for the time being, Volumnius could not be admiited to the curia.

194,5 *vacatio munerum* at the age of seventy is confirmed by Ulp. Dig. 50,2,2,8; 50,4,3,6 and 12; 50,5,2 pr.; 50,6,4; Callist. Dig. 50,6,6 pr.; Cod. Iustin. 10,50,3.

194,6 *sacramento*: compulsory service in the army was limited to the age of sixty.

194,9 *senem* cannot be correct; I now read with Hauler *sine*: 'without favourable auguries (i.e. without being able to augur him many years more), you even mock him'.

194,10 *'abstine'*: Arrius had written to Volumnius that he should refrain from trying to force his way into the curia. But how long could he make that clear to his sons, *et ita in plerosque*: 'and that in front of so many'?

194,12–13 *sperabit*: Cic. Cato M. 68 *sperat adulescens diu esse se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest: insipienter sperat. Sperabit*, 'dovrà sperarlo' (Portalupi), is a fut. deliberativum or consultativum, see Hofmann-Szantyr 311.

Quantisper is found only in Caecil. Com. 52 and Pompon. Com. 44.

Tantisper dum is also archaistic: often in Plautus and Terence, also in Cato; Cicero only Inv. 2,149 and Fam. 9,2,4; Liv. 1 praef. 5; Fronto 233,17; Gell. 7,11,1; Apul. Met. 9,32,2; 10,29,3.

194,13–16 *quis . . . ardentibus*: these lines strike us as a proverb, a sentence or perhaps a quotation (so Ehrenthal 43 n. 82: *quis sḗgeti torridaḗ messem procrā́stinat?*). 'Who delays to put the sickle to the sun-browned cornfield?' (Haines). Cp. 'make hay when the sun shines'; *tempori serviendum est*, καιρῷ δουλεύειν (Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. tempus 3); *moras extrema recusant* (Sil. 7,320).

194,14 *destillantem*: this form also 81,1 and 125,11. Said of grapes, it means 'dropping their juice' (Haines).

Propellit: 'pushes forward' in the sense of 'differs' (Haines), 'posticipa' (Portalupi). Though this meaning is not found elsewhere, we should not alter it. The reading of the margin, *differt*, is an explanation, not a variant, see Proleg. XL.

194,15 *prorogat*: 'postpones'.

Mitibus: 'mellow'. Poets since Vergil use this adjective especially of *poma*, 'fruit'.

194,15–16 *facibus ardentibus*: 'quando le fiaccole sono accese' (Portalupi) in the sense of 'when all is at the point of catching fire', not 'when torches are burning down' (Haines). Cp. Cic. Pis. 26 *ardentes faces furiis Clodianis . . . ministrabas.*

194,16f. Instead of *ego recenti*, Hauler thinks that the MS has *crediderim*. Mai, in his first edition, has a gap, in his second and third editions he reads . . . *centi*, which is what Naber prints. We need an opposition to *occidenti* and so should follow Hauler's conjecture *etiam soli credo recenti verbum 'posterius', id est interim, occidenti aptius 'confestim'. Vellem* etc.: for the sun, too, when it is still young, I believe that 'later' is the appropriate word (this is what one calls meanwhile), but for the setting sun the more suitable word is 'at once'. Ellis' *recenti* alone is too short, *nascenti* (Cornelissen and Haines) also is too short, and too long when combined with *credo. Vellem* with subjunctive: see at 37,11.

195,1 *differs: differre aliquem*, 'to put off', is quite usual, e.g. Sen. Contr. 7 praef. 1 *instatis mihi cotidie . . ., non ultra vos differam.*

195,3 *prolixa curricula*: 'lengthy laps of life', as e.g. Cic. Arch. 23 *in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo.*

195,5 *viridis et quidem*: 'be it youthful indeed'. For the difference between this and *et quidem viridis* or *et viridis quidem* see Krebs & Schmalz, Antibarbarus I 524. *Viridis*: cp. Verg. Aen. 6,304 of Charon: *cruda deo viridisque senectus.*

Crepusculum: Fronto is the only one to use this poetical metaphor.

195,8 *Proculus Iulius*: Hauler's unedited reading of this line excludes all

prior guesswork about this person, nor is he the P. Iulius Proculus Celsinus of 263,33 and 264,16. He cannot be the judge who ruled that Volumnius be exiled, as Hauler, Wien. Stud. 52, 1934, 161, suggests: the entire following passage does not deal with the case of Volumnius. Also compare *quinquennium exsulis in triennium artavit* with 196,4f. The case of Proculus must have been a recent and well-known affair, since Fronto treats is at some length. There are two kinds of quindecimviri: *sacris faciundis* (see 132,19) and *agris dandis* (Plin. Nat. 7,139). Portalupi suggests that Iulius Proculus might be the Eutychius Proculus of Vita Marci 2,3 who later became proconsul of Africa; not very convincing.

195,9 *gratuando*: not *gratulando*, according to Hauler; perhaps *grato animo? Tulit* = *sustulit*, see line 12.

195,10 (marg. c) *iuxta interim*: 'close to that meanwhile', i.e. he may be dead before you come to a decision. Translators are at a loss: 'for an old man whatever is meanwhile means but a mean while' (Haines), 'tutto ciò che si fa provvisoriamente ad un vecchio lo si fa come ad interim' (Portalupi[1]; Portalupi[2] has not got this note in the margin). Ehrenthal's *interitum* is improbable because *interitus* is not *mors*.

Sexto Didio: unknown. Apparently he came to Proculus' aid.

Gratae provinciae: he was exiled (not *praefectus sit*) to a 'pleasant province'.

195,12 *artavit*: the judge in Proculus' case. See at 193,4.

195,13 *pugnavit* must refer to Proculus. We should expect *pugnaverat*, but *prius* may be faulty.

195, 15 and 17 *ad cetera*: 'in other respects'. See at 29,5.

195,16 *remisso*, synonymous with *delicato*: 'mild', not 'pleasure-loving' (Haines). See at 20,4.

195,17 *infensior et infestior*: paronomasia.

Male maledico: etymological figure. Here, *male* probably means *valde*, see at 96,14. Cp. Querolus p. 36,13 Peiper *clamat et maledicit quam male*.

196,1 *inlautius prolati* is very uncertain: 'came to the fore in a rather unpleasant way'? *Inlautus* instead of the usual *illutus* or *illotus* is found in Titin. Com. 1 and perhaps in the Vita Opil. 11,3. The adverb *inlautius* is found nowhere else.

196,2 *spectantes ut*, as Cic. Fam. 5,8,3; Sen. Epist. 122,7.

196,3 *obtensui*: *obtensus* only here and perhaps 226,12. Usual is *obtentus*, 'cloak' (Haines). Cp. *intensius* 230,21 and Neue-Wagener III 553f. See also at 229,7. Prisc. Gramm. II 520,8 *tendo et tentum et tensum facit. Obtentui esse* since Sallust, *obtentui sumere* Tac. Ann. 1,10,1.

Subornarent: 'put on the appearance of'. *Subornare aliquid* only here; elsewhere always *subornare aliquem*.

Saevitias: 'acts of ruthlessness'.

196,4–5 does not seem to refer to 195,12.

Probato: imperativus fut.

196,5 *biennium vitae* cannot refer to the death of Volumnius, as e.g. Tac. Ann. 2,88,3 *septem et triginta annos vitae . . . explevit*.

Adagi seems to be the genitive of *adagium* (= *adagio*), which after Fronto is found in Gellius and Apuleius.

196,6 *entia*: not *absentia*; possibly *praesentia, prudentia, sententia*.

Structa: cp. e.g. Plin. Epist. 10,81,3 *ut longiorem diem ad struendam causam darem*. The gap must have read: 'if Volumnius is rehabilitated'.

196,7 *pretia*: 'come ricompensa' (Portalupi).

196,8 *reliqueris*: see at 1,10f.

196,9 *patritam*: 'which you know so well in your home and in your father' (Haines). So Arrius' father must have been about seventy years old, see 194,8. In the margin the word *superfluus* is used in the sense of 'what remains by a normal standard', 'surplus'.

196,10 *pervicisti* with *ut*: 'you have carried through', as several times in Livy: 4,30,15; 23,5,1; 29,31,4; 37,16,4.

197,3 *docte dictis*: the same alliteration in Plaut. Epid. 404; Mil. 1088; Persa 551. See at 113,23.

197,5 Chronology: this letter has much in common with the preceding one: it was written at the instigation of friends (197,12f.), and *Barburiana* may not have been known to Fronto. The subject, too, seems to fall under the jurisdiction of Arrius as *iuridicus regionis Transpadanae* (see at 189,1). So we may date the letter 165–167. Haines, Chronology, dates it 163–166, edition 164, as do Kelly, Roman Litigation 60, and Portalupi. Champlin seems to have his doubts: he dates the preceding letter 163–167 and this one to the 160s, but in Barburiana he does see a local worthy, a woman. See at 198,14. Ad amicos II 6–11 all deal with municipal adminstration.

197,6 *gratulor mihi* (with acc. cum inf.), as e.g. Cic. Att. 15,22: 'I rejoice', rather than 'I congratulate myself' (Haines).

197,8 *parentem*: see at 189,10.

197,9 *non . . . dilectu*: cp. Rhet. Her. 4,34,5 *sine dilectu temere et cupide*. For *dilectu* see at 138,19.

197,10 *quid*: see at 27,6.

Impetratum velint: see at 182,8f.

197,11 *ferant repulsam*: 'meet with a refusal', as Cic. Sest. 114 *nec quicquam . . . nisi repulsam tulit*.

197,13 *ars*: 'intention'.

197,14 *humanitati*: 'fairness'.

198,2 *recepi*: 'took upon myself' (Haines); with predicative gerundive since Vitruv. 10 praef. 1 *publicum opus curandum recipit*.

Quam . . . studiosissime: see at 174,5f.

198,3 *identidem*: 'repeatedly', sc. in similar cases.

198,4 *apulas*: it is very unlikely that we should read with Hauler *Aefulas*: the town did not exist any more in Fronto's time.

198,6 *a te* instead of *tibi* because *providere* itself has a dative; see at 204,5 (marg. c).

198,6–7 *in pauca conferam*: 'lo riassumerò in poche parole' (Portalupi). The same expression Plaut. Asin. 88; Cas. 647; Poen. 1224; Pseud. 278; Cic. Caec. 17; Off. 3,118; Ammian. 17,5,4. *In pauca verba conferre* Plaut. Men. 6; Mil. 781; Persa 661.

198,8 *paene diceres*: 'you could have said' (hypothetical subjunctive) or 'you should have said' (jussive subjunctive). Cicero uses *paene dicam* (potentialis),

and in the same sense Tacitus *paene dixerim*. See TLL s.v. paene and Hofmann-Szantyr 327; 332ff.

Iuveniliter: since Gracchus pater, *iuvenis* is also used of a young woman: Plin. Nat. 7,122 *Cornelia enim iuvenis est*.

198,9 *ambitiosum*: 'exacting', 'importunate', not 'worth your while' (Haines) or 'senza partigianeria' (Portalupi). Cp. Sen. Contr. 1,2,11 *ambitiosa lex est: ad sacerdotium nullas nisi ... integrae ... sanctitatis ... admittit*. *Ambitiosus* and *verecundus*, 'shameful', are used with supinum only here. See at 152,5.

198,10 *iucundus* is used with supinum only in special cases: *cognitu, auditu, dictu, memoratu*; Plin. Epist. 5,6,3 *quae et tibi auditu et mihi relatu iucunda erunt*.

De sententia tua: 'in accordance with your decision' (Haines), or rather 'secondo il tuo giudizio' (Portalupi), an expression often used of magistrates.

198,11 After *usurarum* we might supply *<solution>i*. Possibly, Baburiana had been given a credit for which she had to pay interest. As the building turned out to be costlier than had been expected, Baburiana requested to have the agreed sum raised by, say, five to ten per cent.

198,14 *infamiā multata* sc. *Baburiana*. We often find *multare morte, exsilio*; with *ignominia*, Quint. Decl. 331 p. 301; with *damno*, Fronto 222,10.

199,1 Chronology: Champlin dates this letter to the 140s-160s, but at 189,1 we have seen that Arrius Antoninus was born not much later than 135, so I date the letter 160–167.

199,2 *Valerius* is the reading of Mai and Hauler. Naber misprints *Valerianus*, which has been adopted by PIR III[1]. The letter probably dealt with municipal administration. Letters of recommendation used to begin with the person recommended, see at 79,2.

199,3 Chronology: this letter, like the next one, is most probably addressed to the municipality of Cirta, Fronto's home town. Close dating is impossible, perhaps 150–167. Haines, Chronology, dates it 163–166, Champlin c. 158, as the folowing letter, which I date 156.

199,4 *gloriae*: Fronto's glory is bound up with Cirta's.

199,5 Chronology: Niebuhr and Mommsen, Chronologie, and Die Stadtverfassung Cirtas 61, already saw that this letter has been written under Pius. At 61,5 we established that Fronto's daughter Cratia married Aufidius Victorinus in 157, so this letter is not later than 156, see at 199, 11–13 and 200,5f. Haines, Chronology, dates it 163–166, edition 157–161; Champlin c. 158. Cirta in Algeria was renamed Constantina by the emperor Constantine; it was, after Carthage, the most important city of North Africa. There were *quattuor coloniae Cirtenses*: Cirta (Ksantina), Minervia Chullu (Collo), Sarnia Milevitana (Mileu, Mila) and Veneria Rusicade (Skida), see at 124,15. Their official name was *Colonia Iulia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis*. IIIviri (instead of IIviri) at the head of a colony or municipium is unusual: we only find them in Ilici, South-East Spain: CIL II Suppl. 5950. See W. Bartel, Zur Geschichte der römischen Städte in Africa, diss., Greifswald 1904, 44ff.; L. Teutsch, Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus, Berlin, 1962,

65; 176f.; J. Gascou, La politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère, Paris 1972, 23f.; 111ff. The council of Cirta had not requested Fronto to become patronus of the city and he certainly did not comply with such a request, as Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, and Pflaum, Les correspondants 545, assume. Fronto felt too old for such patronage, and besides he already was patron of the nearby Calama (Guelma), see 259,6. The council had just asked Fronto's advice about whom it should approach, whereupon Fronto names three suitable persons, only one of whom could be chosen. Probably the reason why Cirta needed a new patron was that the former patron had died (P. Pactumeius Clemens? see at 200,8). Only from this letter and 259,9 do we know that Fronto was a native of Cirta.

199,7 *multoque*: see at 26,23. Note the alliteration.

Malim with an abl. mensurae is rather frequent: Plaut. Bacch. 1047; Mil. 1357; Pseud. 209; 728; Cic. Mur. 29; Att. 12,21,5; see at 60,21. For *malim auctam* see at 5,3 and 182,8f.

Gratiam: 'influence', 'authority'.

199,8 *decreta in eam rem*: 'resolutions to that effect' (Haines). *Decretum* with *in* also Liv. 33,20,8 *senatus honorifica in se decreta.*

199,9 *fori . . . occupant*: 'who at present stand highest at the bar' (Haines); cp. Val. Max. 8,5,3 *Crassus . . . erat . . . fori . . . princeps*; Tac. Dial. 8,3 *principes fori.*

Aufidium Victorinum: see at 176,5.

199,9–10 *in numero municipum*: 'as a fellow citizen', not 'whom you will have on your burgess-roll' (Haines), for *exemplo senatorii ordinis patris* (here the father-in-law) *originem municeps unusquisque sequatur* (Cod. Theod. 12,1,101). For *in numero* see Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 176, and at 57,5.

Municipum: *municeps* is also used for the inhabitant of a colonia: Tac. Hist. 3,43,1 speaks of the *favor municipalis* in the Foroiuliensis colonia. See J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung V^2, Leipzig 1881, 133 n. 1.

Habebitis: for the reading *habetis* see at 54,18.

Iuverint: see at 1,10f.

199,11–13 *despondi . . . elegi* sounds as if Cratia had not yet reached marriageable age. In that case the letter could be earlier than 156; see at 176,5.

199,11 *ad posteritatem*: 'per il futuro' (Portalupi[1]), not 'in the matter of posterity' (Haines) or 'alla mia successione' (Portalupi[2]). Since Cicero, the usual expression is *in posteritatem.*

199,12–13 *cum illis moribus*: cp. Plaut. Mil. 658 *homines . . . cum istis moribus*; Caecil. Com. 59 *indomitis cum moribus.* See at 78,21. On Aufidius' mores and eloquence see at 176,5.

199,13 *Servilius Silanus*: there are two possibilities: M. Servilius Silanus, who was consul in 152 and 188; for him decide Teuffel 3,93; Pflaum, Les correspondants 545; Portalupi; and Champlin, Fronto 184. However, there is also a Q. Servilius Silanus, who was cos. ord. in 189 and, possibly, cos. suff. already before 156, see at 200,5f. According to Vita Comm. 7,5, a

Servilius Silanus was put to death by Commodus; this may refer to both Quintus and Marcus, see H. Dessau, PIR III[1] no. 427 p. 228; Lambrechts, La composition 200. See at 272,10.

199,14 *iure municipis*: 'by way of fellow citizen', 'as if he were by rights a fellow citizen', not 'by burgess right' (Haines) or 'per diritto municipale' (Portalupi). For this use of *iure* with genitive, cp. Quint. Inst. 3,6,102 *quia (abdicatus) filii iure futurus fuerit intestati heres*; Suet. Claud. 22 *ut... iure maximi pontificis... praeiret*; Gaius, Inst. 3,72 *moritur... Latini iure*; Lex Urson. CIL I[2] 594,61,1 *iudicati iure manus iniectio est* (Gaius, Inst. 4,22 *pro iudicato*).

199,15 *sit* with abl. originis; cp. Plaut. Poen. 996 *Hannonem se esse ait Carthagine*.

Hippone regio: present-day Hippone. It was called *Regius* because it used to be the residence of the kings of Numidia.

M. *Postumius Festus*, of Numidian origin; see also 265,5 and at 200,5f. CIL VI 1416 (= Dessau 2929) calls him *oratorem utraque facundia maximum*. He was cos. suff. in 160 (not 143, as used to be assumed, see Alföldy, Konsulat 174). In an inscription of c. 300 (CIL VI 1418 = Dessau 2941), we read *T. Flavio Postumio... oratori, pronepoti et sectatori M. Postumi Festi oratoris*. For *sectator* see at 87,21 *secta*, and *consectaneus* 272,11. Apparently Fronto and Postumius were kindred spirits and Postumius may have been Fronto's conterbunalis, see at 172,5. We have his epitaph CIL VI 1417 (= Dessau 2940). See PIR III[1] Postumius 660; Lambertz, M. Postumius Festus, RE XXII (1953); G. Winkler, Postumius 1, Kleine Pauly (1971).

199,16 *nomine*: 'on the ground of', 'on account of'; it is practically the same as *causa* with genitive, not 'in consideration of' (Haines) or 'per la fama di' (Portalupi). Cp. e.g. Cic. Fam. 2,1,1 *nomine neglegentiae suspectum*; Mur. 69 *talis viri nomine*; 75 *P. Africani... nomine*; Liv. 3,63,5 *consulum nomine*; and so *meo, eo, hoc nomine* (Cic. Fam. 4,5,5; 14,3,4; Mur. 82; Cat. 3,15; 4,5; Plin. Epist. 4,16,1 *publico nomine*). See Kühner I 423; Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 155.

Feceritis: potentialis, see at 1,10f.

Et ipsum: 'also'; see Kühner I 629; Hofmann-Szantyr 483.

199,17 *nostrae... civitatis*: a gen. possessivus indicating the origin. Of course, the city in question is not Cirta, as assumed by C. Wirth, M. Postumius Festus, Kleine Pauly (1971), nor is it one of the *IIII coloniae Cirtenses* (so Alföldy, Konsulat 315).

199,18 *dote*: the city received a 'gift' from its patron: such a patronage could be a costly affair.

Gaudebitis: originally, *gaudere* with infinitive occurs only in poetry; in prose since Seneca the philosopher.

Tres... cognoscitis has puzzled translators: impossible are Della Corte's 'fate che fra i miei riconosciate questi tre' and Champlin's (Chronology) 'select three patrons as being of my circle of friends (= *cognitis*!)', and Portalupi's 'procurate di conoscerne tre dei miei' does not make much sense. *Tres facite* means 'make three of them', i.e. put three persons on your list as you see from mine; in other words, from the persons I have presented (with the emphasis on *meis*), the council has to draw up a list of

three candidates. E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 54, 1936, 160f., regards *e meis* as neutrum: 'from my letter'.

199,19 *non quasi quia*: with Hauler l.l. and Champlin, I now prefer *qui* to *quia*. *Quasi quia* does not seem to occur elsewhere, though we find *quasi si*, *quasi cum*, *quasi ubi*; see Hofmann-Szantyr 675 and at 191,2. For *quasi qui* cp. e.g. Plaut. Trin. 1142 *venit quasi qui aurum mihi ferret*, meaning 'so-called men who'. The irrealis *essent* indicates that these men should not necessarily be close friends of the Licinii, who apparently had it their own way in Cirta (and whom Fronto dit not like). In Hauler's article quoted above, E. Groag names a few Licinii who lived in Fronto's time. See also RE XIII Licinius 214ff. and at 172,2.

199,19–20 *et . . . noluerint*: only the first four words are certain. *Eam* seems impossible. *Adesse* is 'to render legal assistance in court', cp. e.g. Plaut. Asin. 513 *tu mihi accusatrix ades*; Dares Phryg. 18 *aderant . . . ad auxilium Priamo adversus Graecos ducatores*. Hauler gives the following problematic explanation: 'Danach haben die drei Genannten wohl in einer Prozeszsache der Licinier gegen die Cirtenser aus Gründen der familiaritas diesen (the Cirtans) nicht Beistand leisten wollen, während Fronto von ihnen einen erhöhten Schutz der Stadtinteressen erwartete.' However, 'aus Gründen der familiaritas' cannot be correct. Champlin, Chronology 154: '*Adversus rem* seems to have no parallel in ancient literature; something has perhaps dropped out after *rem*; and *voluerint* might seem preferable to *noluerint*. It may be deduced that the interests of Cirta and those of the Licinii, if not quite opposed, at least do not coincide, and further that the advocates suggested by Fronto were acquainted with the Licinii but not to be rejected on that account . . . Fronto's real reason for declining the task was the same embarrassing familiarity with the Licinii.' Here we encouter the same difficulties as we do in Hauler's explanation. Portalupi has *noluerunt*. Non liquet.

200,1 *quae causa . . . tres m*: Hauler's suppletions are too uncertain to be adopted and they do not fit in with *ad aliud consilium*. For *aliud* see at 236,14.

200,2 *aetas . . . integra* is frequent since Plaut. Pseud. 203. Suet. Tib. 10,1 *integra aetate ac valetudine*.

200,4 *iuniorum*: Aufidius, Servilius and Postumius were a generation younger than Fronto.

Fundatam: Robbert, TLL s.v., thinks that in the preceding gap we should supply *coloniam*.

200,5 *nam*: 'again, we should have'.

200,5–6 *et . . . et*: the new patron must preferably meet three requirements: he must be 'well known' in Cirta, he must have been consul and he must be able to give legal advice in matters concerning the relation between Cirta and the Roman government. Aufidius Victorinus came up to these requirements: he was engaged to Fronto's daughter, he was consul in May-June 155 and he was a lawyer and a judge (see at 176,5). For Servilius Silanus see at 199,13. Postumius had not yet been consul, see at 199,15. Note the wordplay *popularem—consularem*.

Ius publicum respondentem: 'who is used to give legal advice in public affairs', not 'to be responsible for our public interests' (Haines), nor 'che si

pronuncia in pubblico' (Portalupi) or 'who possessed the ius respondendi' (Champlin, Fronto 11). See e.g. Cic. De orat. 1,198; 1,212; Leg. 1,12; 2,29; Hor. Epist. 1,3,24; Plin. Epist. 6,15,3 *adhibetur consiliis atque etiam ius civile publice respondet*; Pompon. Dig. 1,2,2,48f. describes the history of the *ius respondendi*. The same meaning has *de iure respondere*, e.g. Cic. Caecin. 68; De orat. 2,142; Pompon. Dig. 1,2,2,43. See K.W. Piderit & F.Th. Adler, Cicero De Oratore, Leipzig [5]1878, Index s.v. iurisconsultus, and Kunkel, Herkunft 155f. Kunkel and Champlin, Fronto 145 n. 37, have misinterpreted our passage, thinking that *virum consularem ius publicum respondentem* refers to P. Pactumeius Clemens (see at 200,8). Kunkel reads with Heraeus *publice* instead of *publicum*, but *ius publice respondere* is something quite different from *ius publicum respondere*; what Cirta needed was *publicum*, not *publice*.

200,7 *aetatis* does not belong to *quoad*, as Ebert, Synt. 4, thinks: *quoad* with genitive occurs only in *quoad eius*, 'as far as possible'.

Vis viguit: for the alliteration see at 128,16. Fronto is now about sixty years old.

Officiis civilibus: 'doveri civili' (Portalupi), 'my obligations as a citizen', rather than 'civil affairs' (Haines) or 'administrative affairs' (as *negotia civilia*, 210,21).

Non obscure versatus sum: the same litotes Cic. Flacc. 5 *in provinciis non obscure versatus est*; Sest. 9 *hominem perditum et non obscure . . . in illa coniuratione versatum*.

200,8 *alii . . . viri*: the reasoning is: I myself have looked after the interests of Cirta, and other Cirtensians in Rome could do likewise, but it would be most important if men of the calibre of the three I have mentioned could act as patron of Cirta.

Cirtenses as senators in Fronto's time were: Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus, cos. suff. 167 (?); C. Arrius Antoninus (perhaps not yet when this letter was written, see at 189,1); Sex. Calpurnius Agricola, cos. suff. shortly before 159; L. Claudius Modestus (?), cos. suff. in 152; M. Claudius Restitutus, who was from Cirta but perhaps not a senator; Q. Cornelius Quadratus, Fronto's brother, see at 238,12; M. Flavius Postumus, though he may have been too young to be a senator in 156; P. Iulius Castus, cos. suff. in 165; C. and P. Iulius Gemin(i)us Capellianus; P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus, see at 38,10; P. Iulius Proculus Celsinus (?), see at 263,33; Q. Licinius Modestius Attius Labeo, consul in 146, see at 199,19; Licinius Montanus (?), see at 172,2; Q. Lollius Urbicus, see at 191,6; P. Pactumeius Clemens, cos. suff. in 138 and of Fronto's age or slightly older. According to CIL VIII 7059, the last-named was *patronus IIII Coloniarum Cirtensium*, and it is not unlikely that he had died recently and that his death was the reason why the Cirtensians needed a new patron. His ancestor Q. Pactumeius Fronto was the first Cirtensian to become consul, in 80 AD. His son (?), T. Pactumeius Magnus, cos. suff. in 183, probably was too young to be a senator in 156. Q. Tullius Maximus, cos. suff. in the 160s, was an African but not necessarily a Cirtensian. Lambrechts, La composition 183ff., has calculated that under Hadrian circa 6.5 per cent of the senators were of Numidian origin, under Pius circa 9.5 per cent, under Marcus circa eight per cent, and according to Alföldy, Konsulat 82f., a third of all African

consuls between 138 and 180 came from Cirta. He assumes that it was Fronto's and Lollius Urbicus' influence which led to such excessive representation of a comparatively insignificant city. Champlin, Fronto 13, attributes the rise of Cirta's aristocracy to the services it rendered to Vespasian in the revolution of 69. See also Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 109; G. Alföldy, Römische Sozialgeschichte, Wiesbaden 1975, 106.

Clarissimi: see at 162,20; 164,11.

200,9 *postremus*: adjective instead of adverb, or 'the last honour is the greatest' (Haines).

Honos: Mar. Victorin. Gramm. VI 7,32 (and other grammarians) *R et S litterae apud antiquos communem potestatem habebant, . . . honos, nunc . . . honor.* See at 191,20 *arbos*. In old Latin and in poetry, *honos* is quite frequent; Cicero and Livy prefer it and so does Apuleius, but after the second century it becomes very rare. It could very well be that we have here to do with *honos* with acc. cum inf., though it is not found elsewhere. See at 64,13.

Gessisse: 'promote the interests of your city'. For the perfect infinitive instead of the present see at 194,4.

200,13 *Praecilio Pompeiano*: see at 180,15. It is not unlikely that he was a fellow-countryman of Fronto: the fact that this letter is not combined with Ad amicos I 15 and 16 but is put after II 10 and 11 may point to Cirta, and Ad amicos II 6–11 all deal with municipal administration.

201,3 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

201,10–14 Fronto jokingly refers to persons living in or near Reims who regarded their city as the cultural metropolis of the North. B.G. Niebuhr, Kleine historische und philologische Schriften II, Bonn 1843, 61: 'Fronto spottet über einen Gallischen Redner, der sich in dem Athen Dorocorthoro gebildet.' It is not certain that these words have been taken from a letter. Westermann, Geschichte der Beredtsamkeit II 313 n. 5, supposes that it is a fragment of Fronto's speech against Herodes Atticus (?!), see at 36,1–39,20, and Philibert-Soupé 25 that it is a fragment of a speech Pro Gallis (Consentius may have been a Gaul himself; his source here is not Charisius). O. Hirschfeld at CIL XIII 1 p. 552 (1904); Keune, Remi, RE I A 1 (1914); Haines I, XVII; and Champlin, Chronology, regard it as a fragment of a letter, either to some Gaul (Hirschfeld and Keune) or to Fronto's son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus (Haines and Champlin). If Consentius used the edition of Fronto's letters which we and Charisius have—and there is no reason to doubt this—then this fragment cannot be part of a letter to a Gaul, because we have the indices of the two books Ad amicos (pp. 169 and 186) and no Gaul figures there as addressee (but see 186,21ff.). As to Aufidius, he may have been governor of Gallia Belgica (see at 176,5), but *et illae vestrae Athenae Dorocorthoro* is not found in the letter in question, Ad amicos I 7. There is, however, a possibility that Dorocorthoro was mentioned in the letter Ad amicos I 12 to Aufidius (see at 178,7), where more than one page of which is missing; this letter was written in 162–165 when Aufidius was staying with his family in Mainz. The same goes for Ad amicos I 13 and 14: these letters, too, were written during Aufidius' stay in Germany, and in the lost pages 179,9–11 Dorocorthoro

may have been mentioned. So it could be that Aufidius had written about the nearest metropolis Reims which he had visited. Mainz itself was no more than a conglomeration of villages around the military camp, whereas, one and a half century before Aufidius, Strabo 4,194 sais of Reims: ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῶν (sc. Remorum) Δουρικόρτορα μάλιστα συνοικεῖται καὶ δέχεται τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνας. Dorocorthoro must be a clerical error: our sources speak of Dorocortoro, Durocortoro, Durocorterum, Δουρικόρτορα, Δουροκόρτορον, Δουροκόττορον, Δυροκόττορος. Caes. Gall. 6,44,1 Latinizes Durocortorum. See Ihm, Durocortorum, RE V (1905). On the cultural and administrative importance of Reims see Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten[3] 378; W. Meyer, L'administration de la province romaine de Belgique, Brugge 1964; W. Speyer, Gallia, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1971). I have not seen the unedited thesis of Bauwens, Reims in de Gallo-Romeinse tijd, Gent 1959.

Athenae: Athens became proverbial as the seat of culture, see e.g. Val. Max. 2,1,10 *quas Athenas, quam scholam, quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disciplinae praetulerim?*; Iuv. 15,110 *nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas*, and he continues in the next line: *Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Brittannos*, but we should not apply that to Gallia Belgica: it is the Provence and Lyon he is thinking about (see Iuv. 1,44). Baehrens, Fragm. poet. Lat., and Leumann, TLL Onomasticon s.v. Durocortorum, see here a verse: *et íllae vestrae Athénae Dorocórtoro*, and they come to the conclusion that Consentius does not quote our Fronto but the Fronto poeta mentioned in the Schol. Bern. Verg. Georg. 4,283 *hic enim* (sc. *Aristaeus*, the god of the bee-keepers) *iuxta fabulam, quam Fronto poeta descripsit, originem gignendarum apium primus invenit.* Baehrens and Bücheler, Fragm. poet. Rom. 172, also refer too Testim. 30, where any Fronto can be meant. The Fronto poeta of the Berne scholiast remains an enigma and we cannot solve the problem by deleting *poeta* and assuming that our Fronto wrote a fable on apiculture in the style of his Arion, as has been done by Timpanaro, Alcune citazioni 311. The Index Auctorum of the TLL (1990) rightly states that the Schol. Bern. do not refer to our Fronto and that the quotation is 'Frontonis cuiusdam fragmentum carminis'. If Consentius' quotation refers to our Fronto, the metre is fortuitous, see at 21,10f.; 30,10; 43,5f.; 62,12f.; 86,9–11; 89,14f.; 106,13; 115,23f.; 128,17; 144,6; 163,22f.; 212,17f.; 219,3f. There is another unknown Fronto, who wrote two Greek poems in the Anthol. Pal. XII 174 and 233 Dübner.

202,1–2 Of all editors, only Mai has seen that this is one letter, written to Marcus. Since Naber it has become customary to divide the Principia Historiae in two parts: an introductory letter to Marcus, 202,4–15, followed by the Principia proper addressed to Verus, 202,16ff. It is clear that the first part is addressed to Marcus: 202,10 and 13, but the rest is also addressed to him, see 202,16 *frater* (?); 203,4 *committito*; 203,6 *si venis*; 204,10 *cupis*; 214,6 *te*; and all the other text deals with Verus in the third person. There is one line in the margin, however, which at first seems to point to Verus: 203,2 (marg. a) *tantas res a te gestas*, but Mai justly explains it by the fact that there were more wars under Marcus than the Parthian War. Besides, everything Verus did fell under Marcus' responsibility. The title Principia

Historiae is not Fronto's; it is a well-chosen invention of the ancient editor, see Proleg. LIXf.: 'Preamble to history' (Haines), 'introduction', 'first draft' (Fronto himself calls it a *thema*, 'draft', 202,14), 'Prologo alla grande storia' (A. Peyron, Bibl. ital. 5, 1817, 2), 'preface' (Berger, see below, and D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory 523 n. 1), 'I fondamenti della storia' (Portalupi), and 'Erste Kapitel des Geschichtswerks. Eine Kostprobe' (Steinmetz, see below). What did Fronto mean by that letter? In 161 he had written a consolatory letter to Marcus which the ancient editor wrongly calls De Bello Parthico (see at 220,4). Marcus was alarmed at the unfortunate beginnings of the war. Now, in 166, things have turned out well, but Marcus is still troubled by the ugly tales doing the rounds about Verus (see at 126,5; 213,1; cp. 206,9f.; and especially 214,7 *haec a me detrectationis refutandae causa memorata sunt*). Though Fronto is not unaware of Verus' failings (see at 103,8f.), he now writes an encouraging letter to Marcus before Verus will set foot ashore in Italy (summer 166). This letter is an insult to historiography: after a long introduction (202,4–206,6), Verus is compared with the great warrior Trajan, a comparison which turns out to Verus' advantage. The surprising thing is not so much that Fronto could write this as that he could write it to Marcus, who in his heart of hearts must have known better, but Marcus was determined to ignore Verus' shortcomings, see at 92,8f. So there is no need to believe that Fronto wrote this letter at Verus' request, as Dorothy Brock, Studies 63, and Révay (see below) suggest. In 165–166 Verus had asked Fronto to write the history of his Parthian campaign, and he had promised to send the necessary documents, Ad Verum I 2 p. 108 and 113,14ff. Here, 202,13, these documents have not yet arrived, which proves that Révay is wrong in assuming that the Principia Historiae and De bello Parthico are the promised history. It is very likely that Fronto never came to write it: since 165–166 he was a sick man, at death's door (see at 159,12–14), and probably Verus never sent the documents, because others had already begun to write the history, see Testim. 10 p. 265. As the Principia were just one of Fronto's letters, they were not edited until the third century, see Proleg. LXf., and there is no evidence that Fronto published them himself, see Proleg. LIX n. 2, to which must be added Cugusi, L'epistolografia 416. For the same reasons it cannot be true that the Principia ever met Lucian's eye: he wrote his Quomodo historia conscribenda sit in the same decade in which Fronto wrote his Principia, and it is extremely improbable that Lucian is referring to Fronto and his Principia, see at 203,2; 265,15. Other views are very curious: Cova (see below) states that Fronto did not want to write the history of the Parthian War at all: Verus intended to do so himself and Fronto was only going to revise it. Steinmetz 154 and 162 (see below) suggests that Fronto published the Principia himself and that it would make no sense to go through it again. The Principia are written in grand style, with many poetical expressions.

Chronology: it is generally accepted that the Principia were written after the war was over; most scholars date them 165. With Champlin and Astarita, Cronologia, I prefer the first half of 166, because shortly before Verus' return the rumours about him must have reached a climax, and because

the promised documents have not yet arrived. Haines, Chronology, dates the Principia 164, but in his edition 165.

On Fronto's views on history writing see at 96,21f.; 106,13 (marg. d); 128,19; 168,8. Literature: Philibert-Soupé 58–80; Berger, Fronton historien; Peter, Die geschichtliche Literatur 378–381; Brock, Studies 62–77; Beltrami, Le tendenze; Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa I³ 81ff.; Leroy, La conception de l'histoire; Révay, A Lost Work of Fronto (confused and confusing); F. Carrata Thomes, Il regno di Marco Aurelio, Firenze 1952, 70–87; Silvia Jannaccone, Appunti 296ff.; Leeman, Orationis ratio I 376–378; Cova, Le note marginali 268–279, and particularly I Principia Historiae (unreliable); Della Corte, Frontone storiografo; Elizabeth Cawley, The Literary Theory; Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 153–163. See also Polverini, Sull'epistolario, and Leone, Frontone come fonte storica.

202,5–204,8 See Proleg. LVI.

202,5 *Parthis equitibus*: see at 212,2 (marg. a).

202,6 *Herculis*: the skillful archer, see e.g. Hom. Il. V 392ff.; Od. 8,224; Ovid. Met. 12,309.

202,7 *stola*: the long chiton.

202,10 *historia*: the planned history.

Consilio: 'intelligently', 'con criterio' (Portalupi).

202,11 *studii et rumoris*: 'interest and celebrity' (Haines), 'l'interesse e la fama' (Portalupi).

Auctura: *augere* sometimes means 'to add', e.g. Liv. 1,44,3 *addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias*; Quint. Inst. 10,7,17 *secundos impetus auget placendi cupido.*

202,11–12 *ignem ... adiuverit* seems to be a proverb, 'fan the fire', though it is not found elsewhere. *Levis aura*, a poetical expression, stands for Fronto's history of Verus' campaign, *ignem magnum* for Verus' glorious deeds.

Adflaverit adiuverit: see at 1,10f.

202,13–14 *nos*: an author's plural of modesty, see at 88,17. Inspired by Cova, Portalupi, Koinonia 4, 1980, 9, wrongly thinks that Fronto tries to get out of Verus' request to write the history of his campaign.

202,14 *si tamen*: see at 82,12.

Thema: 'proposition', 'specimen', 'draft'; the ancient editor rendered this word by 'Principia'. 126,3 and 131,7 the meaning of the word cannot be defined. *Thema* is a word used in rhetorical schools: Quint. Inst. 4,2,28 *scholarum consuetudo, in quibus certa quaedam ponuntur quae themata dicimus*; 7,1,4 *in schola certa sunt (omnia) et pauca et ante declamationem* (in Fronto's case before his extensive history of the Parthian War) *exponuntur, quae themata Graeci vocant, Cicero proposita*; 12,8,6 *velut themata in scholis posita.* In other passages *thema* simply means 'theme'.

Gustui: 'as a fore-taste' (Haines). This dat. finalis is found only in Plaut. Cist. 70 *gustui dat.*

202,16 *commentarium*: see at 108,14.

203,2 *Achilles* as the symbol of manly strength became almost proverbial, see Otto and Nachträge zu Otto s.v. Achilles. In Lucian. Quomodo 14 a historian compares Verus with Achilles and regards himself as a Homer,

but that is not enough evidence for saying that Lucian knew Fronto's Principia.

203,2–3 (marg. a and b): Fronto admits that he is not a historian.

Ab orationibus (not *oratoribus*): Mai's *laborationibus* is found only in Venant. Fort. Vita Leob. 1,4.

Cantibus . . . cecinerim: 'with my songs and measures I might sing (not "I shall have sung" [Haines], see at 1,10f.) something discordant in modulation and song'. The etymological figure *cantu cantare* also Sen. Herc. Oet. 130 *cantu nostra canet tempora flebili*, but the position of *quid*—usually after one word—indicates that we have to put a comma after *modis*.

Modulatu and *cantu* are substantives (so Landgraf, De figuris etymologicis 28; E. Ebert, Kleine lexikalische Beiträge 528; Busch-Ehlers, TLL s.v. modulatus). Novák, Zu Fronto 244, and Georges regard them as supinum II. The substantive *modulatus* occurs in Sen. Herc. Fur. 263; Tert. Nat. 1,8,7; and in a few late authors. The translations by Della Corte ('non convenienti all'armonia ed al canto') and Haines and Portalupi[1] ('not accordant with songs and measures') are less correct. See at 138,14.

203,4 *committito*, 'you must allow', with infinitive is rare: Ovid. Met. 9,632 *committit saepe repelli*; Colum. 2,4,3 *non committunt . . . facere*.

203,5 *resolutis*: 'unbridled'.

Antiochiae inquilini is uncertain, but it might refer to their baleful influence on the Roman army (and on Verus?), see at 210,1ff. *Inquilini* is especially said of those who do not belong to the city.

203,6 *deinque*: Hauler, Wien. Stud. 48, 1930, 226, says that the reading is certain, but in his Anecdota he is doubtful. According to him, it is a variant of *dein* and *deinde*, cp. *denique*, but here it is *et dein*.

203,7 *florilegium* is not a Latin word; we can only compare it with Ovid. Met. 15,366 *florilegae . . . apes*. The following *ando* shows that it is an incorrect reading.

203,8 *desperandas*: 'despairing', cp. *horrendus*, *mirandus* and the like. See Kühner I 732; Hofmann-Szantyr 371.

203,9 *cis Taurum* may not be certain here, but in line 12 it is (*cistae funebres* is hardly possible: coffins are *arcae funebres*). *Cis Taurum* is Northern Syria, ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου (Cass. Dio 71,23,2; see W. Ruge, Tauros, RE V A 2 1934). It was there that Crassus met his death after Carrhae (53 BC), and there, too, L. Decidius Saxa was beaten by the Parthians in 40 BC; to this region Antonius had to withdraw with great losses in 36 BC. *Ad Balcia Tauri* Trajan's general Appius Maximus Santra was killed in battle, see at 212,23. Fronto does not refer to M. Sedatius Severianus (see at 212,21) or to L. Attidius Cornelianus (see at 210,6f.), who were defeated in the Parthian War before Verus' arrival in the East.

203,9–12 *eorum* (sc. *scriptorum*) . . . *adaptarentur*: see at 109,3f.

203,10 *frustra fuissent*: 'would have been of no avail' (Haines); see at 179,14f. *Ni* is found only here in Fronto.

203,10–11 *se occupare* is rare: Plaut. Pseud. 548; Sen. Epist. 62,1; with ablative only here and Hieron. Epist. 32,1,1.

203,12 *vel*: 'or if you will', 'or at least'.

Adaptarentur reflexive. *Adaptare* is late Latin: before Fronto only in Suet. Claud. 33 and Otho 12.

203,13–14 *et Homeri . . . declaravit*: Cova, I Principia 47f., finds these lines enigmatic, but they are a continuation of the preceding thought: Homer would be of no use if he were not dealing with heroic deeds; in point of fact, his songs would be poorer if they did not tell of such deeds, and to tell of such deeds is exactly what he intends to do in the Ilias (not in the Odyssey, as Cova thinks), especially in his proem.

Disperderentur is not the same as *disperirent* ('sarebbero andati perduti' [Portalupi]); it means 'to be bungled', 'to be spoiled', cp. Verg. Ecl. 3,27 *non tu . . . solebas stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?*; Plin. Epist. 7,12,1 *libellum . . . misi tibi ideo tardius, ne tempus emendandi eum, id est disperdendi, haberes*; passive in Lucr. 2,831 *disperditur omnis (color)*.

Secundo: Fronto seems to have had a special liking for the second book of the Ilias, see Index nominum s.v. Homerus.

Primis versibus: it looks as if Fronto had made a special study of the proems of poets: 66,10 and 141,8 of Ennius, 155,4 of Lucanus, 155,16 of Apollonius' Argonautica; see also at 7,19.

203,15–204,4 Homer is a writer, not a fighter; Cato is both, and in between we have Xenophon who was a military man but in the Anabasis is a writer. Hercules may not be a historical figure, neither a fighter nor a writer, but his legend serves as a lesson.

203,15 *experientiae*: 'depositario dell'esperienza dei Greci' (Portalupi, Koinonia 4, 1980, 12) is better than her translation 'degno custode del gusto per la sperimentazione'. Fronto refers to all his works. See Index nominum s.v. Xenophon.

204,1 *fecit*: Steinmetz's supplement 'denn ohne ihn und seine Anabasis wäre der Rückzug der Zehntausend unbekannt geblieben' is too long. It should be something like 'but (as opposed to *certe*) he was a writer rather than a warrior'.

204,1–2 *Herculis*: the mention of Hercules is unexpected, but the fact that he is mentioned after Xenophon seems to be an allusion to Xen. Memor. 2,1,21ff., where Prodicus tells the story of Hercules at the cross-road. Fronto interprets the story allegorically (see at 53,10–21).

The genitive *Herculis* also 155,11 and 202,6. For *Herculi* in the margin see at 138,13. The archaic term for *labores Herculis* is *aerumnae* since Plaut. Epid. 179; in Fronto 155,11. In the sense of 'calamity', 89,7 and 220,16. On the proverb see at 155,11.

204,3 *fandi agendique*: see at 128,23; 216,13 (marg. f).

204,4 *Censorius*: this cognomen of Cato is found since Sen. Dial. 7,21,3 and Plin. Nat. 7,112; see A. Wojcik, De Catone maiore Censorii cognomine appellato, Eos 59, 1971, 309–323 (in Polish with a summary in Latin).

204,5 (marg. c) The text which Hauler published in Wien. Stud. 54, 1936, 162 is still corrupt, see Proleg. LXXVIf. The first sentence refers to an allegorical fable as 147,6–9, see at 53,10–21, and can be summarized by the non-classical saying *natura artis magistra* (see G. Bartelink, Natura artis magistra, Hermeneus 64, 1992, 18ff., and especially P.J. Smith in the Dutch

newspaper NRC Handelsblad of 27 September 1996. *Discipuli... deputat* is not a quotation from Cato. *Discipulus naturae* is an expression not found anywhere else.

In... extruendi: 'in the art of building ships', rather than 'costruzione' (Portalupi). For the gerund see at 185,11.

Alitis (genitive) is a collective singular belonging to *pinnatas facultates*, not 'il dio delle ali (Della Corte). *Ales* is frequent in poetry.

Pinnatas facultates: 'makeshift wings', 'risorse delle ali' (Portalupi): an adjective instead of a genitive, see at 61,22f.

Tueri ('osservare' [Portalupi]) *dare: dare* with infinitive ('in order to') is found in Plaut. Persa 821; Ter. Andr. 484; Lucr. 3,1030; and in other poetry, later also in prose. *Dare* is a historical or descriptive infinitive, see at 134,10.

Remos... deputat ('assigns') does not make any sense at all. Hauler probably thought that, as god invented the wings for the birds, so Cato (?) invented the oars for the ships, and he was influenced by the reconstruction of this passage by J.W.E. Pearce, Class. Rev. 33, 1919, 153, a reconstruction based upon Hauler's first reading *rei factae mater natura, in navium apparatum accommodans alitis pinnas, ut eas effingeret homo natura tuenda; remus igitur de natura. catus* etc., and he compares Prop. 4,6,47 *classis centenis remiget alis*. However, if we look at Mai's reading and the readings of Hauler himself we see that *remus* is a fiction.

Catus ita Cato: a pun and an etymological figure, cp. Varro, L.L. 5,99 *catulus a sagaci sensu et acuto, ut <Cato>, catulus*. According to Varro, L.L. 7,46, *catus* is of Sabine origin. Donat. Ter. Andr. 855 *catus: callidus, doctus, ardens*, παρὰ τὸ καίειν, *unde Cato dictus*; Plut. Cato 1,2 Ῥωμαῖοι... τὸν ἔμπειρον κάτον ὀνομάζουσιν. See R. Fisch, Substantiva personalia auf -o, -onis, Archiv 5, 1888, 65; W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen, Berlin 1904, 310 n. 11 and 418.

A patria instead of *patriae* emphasizes the word, especially because of the near *statuis*. See at 198,6 and Kühner I 730.

Oppidatim: 'in every city' (Haines), a rare word: Suet. Aug. 59; Galba 18; Cypr. Epist. 44,3,1; Itin. Alex. 7.

Statuis: according to Plut. Cato 19,4, Cato was given a statue already during his lifetime. A.F. Astin, Cato the Censor, Oxford 1978, 103, n. 89, doubts this.

Prima... pueritias: the most important testimony for Cato's Origines and their division into seven books is Nepos, Cato 3,3f.: *primus (liber) continet res gestas regum populi Romani, secundus et tertius, unde quaeque civitas orta sit Italica, ob quam rem omnes Origines videtur appellasse. in quarto autem bellum Punicum est primum, in quinto secundum. atque haec omnia capitulatim sunt dicta.* The meaning of *capitulatim* is disputed, see Schanz I^3 188 and Martine Chassignet, Caton, Les Origines, Paris 1968 XVf. (she has overlooked Fronto's testimony). Usually it is translated by 'in a nutshell', but Fronto's *inlustravit* seems to point to a more circumstantial account, cp. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1,11,1 Κάτων ὁ τὰς γενεαλογίας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐπιμελέστατα συναγαγών, and Fronto clearly speaks of four subjects. So the meaning of *capitulatim*

must be 'subject by subject' or even 'chapter by chapter'. We can imagine that *prima sollertiarum* refers to the prologue of book I, *Aboriginum pueritias* also to book I, *Latini nominis subolem* to book II and *Italicarum origines urbium* to book III.

Prima sollertiarum: 'the rudiments of all sorts of ingenuity'. For the genitive cp. e.g. Lucr. 1,86 *prima virorum*; Cic. Fin. 3,21 *prima naturae*; Tac. Hist. 2,11,2 *prima consiliorum*. For *praecipuus* with genitive see at 235,25. The plural *sollertiae* also Vitruv. 7 praef. 10 *egregiis ingeniorum sollertiis*; Gell. 6,3,34 *sophistarum sollertiis*.

204,6 *supplantare*: 'to cut up', 'to run down'; here of someone who *prospera facta silet*.

204,6–205,1 These words do not make sense. For *primipilaribus ordinis* see at 130,10 and 131,12. For *Carrheis* see at 220,15.

205,1–2 *quantum* ... *occupatur*. Modern editors have put these words elsewhere, see Proleg. LVIf. It is not clear to whom Fronto refers; Mai and others think that it is Trajan (see Plin. Pan. 81,1–3), but *stipendiis* make that highly improbable. For the same reason we cannot consider Alexander or Hannibal (Liv. 21,4,7 *id quod gerendis rebus superesset quietis datum*) or Iugurtha. *Otium* with *ab*: Liv. 3,32,4 *ab hoste otium fuit*; Sen. Dial. 10,2,3 *a cupiditatibus suis otium stat*; Gell. 19,8,1 *a magistris* ... *obeundis otium* (= 262,21 of this edition).

205,3 Alexander took a bath in the ice-cold Cydnus in Tarsos and fell seriously ill: Curt. 3,5,1ff.; Plut. Alex. 19,1; Arrian. An. 2,4,7f.; Iustin. 11,8,3f.

205,11 (marg. c) In his campaign of 114–116 Trajan crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris, making Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria Roman provinces. After Trajan's death these provinces were given up, and the Euphrates again became the eastern border of the Roman Empire (see at 208,11).

Porrectum: 'was advanced' (Haines).

Read in the text *et mihi* -- d) -- |

(marg. d) *liberum amanti* ... *mentiuntur*: 'no blame attaches to the lover who ignores the imperfections of the loved one; in all other cases, silence is a lie'. *Inculpatum*: see at 97,12.

Mortales is reminiscent of Sallust, particularly in an apophthegm like this, see at 261,24.

Praesenti die: 'when the moment presents itself', 'on the spur of the moment', 'tell present-day lies' (Haines), not 'oggi' (Portalupi). Cp. *praesens* in the sense of immediately, e.g. Pompon. Dig. 24,1,31,6 *quod vir uxori in diem debet, sine metu donationis praesens solvere potest*. The whole passage resembles Polyb. 1,14,1ff. ἑκόντας μὲν οὖν ἐψεῦσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας (sc. Philinus and Fabius Pictor) οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω..., δοκοῦσι δέ μοι πεπονθέναι τι παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐρῶσι..., ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιείκειαν ἴσως οὐκ ἄν τις ἐκβάλλοι..., ὅταν δὲ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἦθος ἀναλαμβάνῃ τις, ἐπιλαθέσθαι χρὴ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων καὶ πολλάκις μὲν εὐλογεῖν καὶ κοσμεῖν... τοὺς ἐχθρούς... πολλάκις δὲ ἐλέγχειν καὶ ψέγειν... τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους. See at 168,8.

Scriptorum: 'historians'. See the ideas of Cic. De orat. 2,62; Plin. Epist. 7,33,10; Lucian. Quomodo 38; 41; 44.

Tum... quam: see at 155,22f.

(marg. e) *ordo regnorum*: Fronto devotes only a few lines to Assyria and Persia, to Macedonia and the Diadochs.

205,16 *testor vos <deos immortales>?*

205,17 C. Asinius *Pollio*?

(marg. g) *torrentis modo*; Vogel, Quaestionum II 408; Schmitt, Das Bild 104; Leeman, Orationis ratio I 377; and Selvatico, Scambio 245 n. 92, see here an imitation of Sall. Hist. I 16 *maiorum mores... torrentis modo praecipitati*, but it is a frequent comparison: Liv. 39,31,10 *haud secus... quam torrentis modo fundunt... perculsos*; Sen. Benef. 6,31,7 *velut torrentis modo ablati*; Curt. 8,4,5 *torrentis modo effunditur*; Plin. Nat. 2,131; 36,105 etc. etc. On the other hand, Sall. Iug. 2,3 *omniaque orta occidunt* resembles *ortae... occiderunt*.

Modo magna: alliteration.

Brevi die for *brevi tempore* or just *brevi* occurs only here, but that is no reason to alter it with Schopen and Münscher, TLL s.v. brevis.

Prolis: 'generation' (Haines).

Illa sc. *regna*.

Praefecturae: 'provinces', 'satrapies' (Haines). On the Diadochs, Iustin. 13,4,25 *siquidem non magno post tempore, quasi regna, non praefecturas divisissent, sic reges ex praefectis facti magnas opes... reliquerunt*. Plin. Nat. 5,83 *(Euphrates) oritur in praefectura Armeniae*.

Magis = *potius*, see at 35,1.

The marginal notes h and i do not refer to the Parthians, as Niebuhr and Berger, Fronto historien 457ff., think (see 206,2), but to nomads in general. Roth, Bemerkungen; J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v. diutinus; and Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 150, think that the Germans are meant here, and Klussmann, Emendationes 68, the Arabs.

(marg. h) *tectum* and *limen* for 'house' is poetical, and Fronto is the first prose writer to use *limen* in this sense.

Diutunus for *diutinus* is found only here.

Libertatem: Appian, Fronto's fellow student of history (see at 168,8) notices Prooem. 7 that the Romans did not want τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἄπειρον ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ βάρβαρα ἔθνη πενιχρὰ καὶ ἀκερδῆ.

Inope... mancipatur ('is obtained') remains uncertain; earlier editors had *inopem subigendi sterilis fructus laboris capitur*.

(marg. i) *vagi palantes*: Sall. Iug. 18,2 of the Gaetuli and the Libyans *vagi, palantes quas nox coegerat sedes habebant*; Liv. 21,61,2 *socios vagos palantisque*. Studemund, Epistula critica XXX n. 1, and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 17, assume that both Livy and Fronto quote Sallust.

Fini: this ablative is rather rare, e.g. Lucr. 1,978. The meaning is: 'the end of which depends not on locality but on nightfall' (Haines).

205,18 *Pan(egyricus)*: see at 207,12.

206,1 *latronum*: Pompon. Dig. 50,16,118 *hostes hi sunt, qui nobis aut quibus nos publice bellum decrevimus; ceteri latrones aut praedones sunt*; Ulp. Dig. 49,15,24 *hostes sunt, quibus bellum publice populus Romanus decrevit vel ipsi populo Romano; ceteri latrunculi vel praedones appellantur*. The contrast *hostis—latro* also Cic. Inv. 2,111; Liv. 35,7,7; 40,27,10; *bellum—latrocinium* Cic. Catil. 1,27; Liv. 29,6,2;

33,29,2; and elsewhere. Fronto's definition of *hostes* differs from the one given by Cic. Phil. 4,14. See K.H. Ziegler, Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich, Wiesbaden 1964, 121f.

206,2 *hostium numero duco*: the usual expression is *in hostium numero ducere*: Cic. Verr. II 5,64; 5,125; Catil. 3,25; Caes. Gall. 6,32,1. *Hostium numero ducere* only Bell. Hisp. 17,2 *ducimur hostium numero*, but cp. e.g. Caes. Gall. 6,21,2 *deorum numero . . . ducunt*; Liv. 30,42,9 *quod eos . . . hostium numero in vinclis habeat*. See at 57,5; 163,2.

Soli hominum: see at 46,20.

206,3 *nomen gerere* is poetical: Verg. Aen. 2,90; Ovid. Met. 8,576; Mart. 1,117,14; cp. *nomen regium gerere* Liv. 45,19,10.

206,4 *Crassi*: M. (not L., as in the Index nominum) Licinius Crassus, defeated and killed at Carrhae in 53 BC.

Antonii: M. Antonius had to retreat from Mesopotamia in 36 BC, losing thousands of his soldiers.

Foeda fuga: a frequently used alliteration: Cic. Phil. 3,24; Sall. Iug. 38,7; 43,1; and several times in Livy and later authors.

206,5 *ductu* must be taken in a broader sense, since Trajan was not present when his legate was killed in action.

Legatus: Appius Maximus Santra, see at 212,22.

206,6 *decedentis*: *decedere* is often used to indicate the return to Rome from the provinces, e.g. Liv. 9,16,11 *ad triumphum decessisse Romam Papirium*.

Regressio: this word happens to occur here for the first time in its original meaning, as in Apuleius and later authors; Quint. Inst. 9,3,36 uses it as a rhetorical term for ἐπάνοδος. During his retreat, Trajan tried in vain to capture Hatra and had to quash a rebellion of the Jews: Cass. Dio 68,31f.; Vita Hadr. 5,8; Oros. 7,12.

206,7–8 *bella bellata*: this etymological figure is first found in Liv. 8,40,1 *hoc bellum a consulibus bellatum*, and after Fronto in Hieron. Epist. 138 as well as in his Vulg. I Par. 22,8 and I Macc. 9,30. I do not believe that Fronto borrowed it from Livy: he is fond of such figures, e.g. 210,18f. *vigiliam vigilare*; see Index s.v. Etymological figure.

206,7 *duo . . . maximis*: traductio or polyptoton.

206,8 *nostra memoria*: see at 135,3.

Contendere, 'to compare' (Haines), is normally used with *cum*; with *inter* only here.

206,9 *pro copiis*: 'according to their possibilities', rather than 'forces' (Haines). Elsewhere it always is *pro copia*, so Fronto 238,22. Here the plural is used because of *cuiusque ducis et temporis*.

Ignarus with acc. cum inf. since Cicero.

206,9–11 *fortia . . . praesentibus*: a Sallustian sentence with alliteration, antithesis and paronomasia; cp. Sall. Epist. Caes. 2,13,7 *vivos interdum fortuna, saepius invidia fatigat; ubi anima naturae cessit demptis obtrectatoribus ipsa se virtus magis magisque extollit*; Iug. 55,3 *meminisse post gloriam invidiam sequi*; Vell. Pat. 2,92,5 *praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur*; Phaedr. 5 prol. 8 *fucatae plus vetustati favet invidia mordax quam bonis praesentibus*; Plato, Hipp. M.

282 a εἴωθα μέντοι ἔγωγε τοὺς παλαιούς τε καὶ προτέρους ἡμῶν προτέρους τε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγκωμιάζειν ἢ τοὺς νῦν. Fronto alludes to the rumours going around about Verus' conduct.

206,9 *fortia facinora*: see at 61,10.

206,10 *gravatius* . . . *gratius*: paronomasia, cp. Cato p. 42,3 Jordan (= frg. 155 Sblendorio) *beneficia ratissima atque gratissima*; Cic. Fam. 7,23,1 *non solum rata mihi erunt, sed etiam grata*. See at 67,12.

207,1–2 *pensis* . . . *propositis*: 'equal to the task before him' (Haines); note the alliteration. Cp. Plut. Mar. 11,1 ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν χρείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ περισκέψασθαι τὴν πόλιν, ᾧ χρωμένη κυβερνήτῃ διαφεύξεται κλύδωνα πολέμου τοσοῦτον. It is not impossible that—as Mai[3] states—Fronto has read Plutarchus: Gellius quotes him several times, and the fact that *Arpinati paupertate* refers to Marius makes a quotation likely. See at 68,7f. Marius was born in Arpinum, or rather in Cereatae: Plut. Mar. 3,1 ἐν κώμῃ Κερεάτῳ τῆς Ἀρπίνης, cp. Plin. Nat. 3,63 *Cereatini qui Mariani cognominantur*. The ablative of *Arpinas* is always *Arpinati*, except in Cic. Tusc. 5,66 *Arpinate* (probably corrupt, for Cicero could know it).

Nursina duritia: Niebuhr; G. Leopardi, Volgarizzamento 464 n. 1; Mai[2]; Haines; and A. Stein, Vespasianus PIR III[2] p. 180 no. 398, think that Vespasianus is meant, but he was born in the Sabine Falacrinae. Th. Bergk, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 101, 1870, 828, was the first to see that Fronto means Q. Sertorius, who was born in Nursia (Norcia), according to Plut. Sert. 2. Nursia has a rough climate and rough inhabitants: Verg. Aen. 7,715 *frigida* . . . *Nursia*; Sil. 8,417 *habitata pruinis Nursia*.

Arpinati paupertate and *Nursina duritia* are abl. originis: 'native of the poor Arpinum and the hard Nursia', adjectives instead of a genitive, see at 61,22f.

207,3 *fortior* . . . *extitit*: 'there appeared one who was . . . warlike' (Haines). It does not refer to Trajan but to Verus.

207,4 (marg. b) *impiare* occurs twice in Plautus, in Sen. Phaedr. 1186 and after Fronto in Apuleius and others.

207,12 *panegurico*: in the margin we have 163,26 and 211,21 *panegyricus*; 92,27 *panygyricus*; and 205,18 the abbreviation *pan.*

Vologaesi: probably Vologaesus III (148–193), who started the war in 161: Cass. Dio 71,2,1 ὁ γὰρ Οἰολόγαισος πολέμου ἦρξε. Vita Marci 8,6; Oros. Hist. 7,15,2 *Vologaesus enim, rex Parthorum, gravi eruptione Armeniam, Cappadociam Syriamque vastabat*. See at 126,4; 131,11. It is also possible that this Vologaesus is the son of Sanatruces, who fought against Trajan and ultimately succeeded in holding his own in Armenia: Cass. Dio 75,9,6; Vita Hadr. 21,11. It is not the Vologaesus of 126,8. Pliny and Suetonius use the form *Vologesus*, Tacitus has *Vologeses*. Greek authors Οὐολόγαισος, Οὐολόγεσος, Οὐολογέσης. See Neue-Wagener I[3] 511f.

207,14 *intentum et infestum*: paronomasia. *Intentus* with *adversus* since Liv. 24,10,4 *intentus adversus omnes motus Philippi*; Tac. Ann. 14,3,3 *adversus insidias intentae*. *Infestus*: Sen. Benef. 7,31,1 *duri infestique adversus diligenda animi est*.

Instructum: 'well prepared', cp. Sen. Epist. 113,28 *contra hostes instructi*.

207,17–18 Again a Sallustian sentence. For the use of predicative *atrocius*

see Kühner II 311f.: 'no crime more outrageous being now left for him to dare' (Haines). For the abl. absolutus *scelere reliquo* cp. e.g. Caes. Gall. 4,20,1 *exigua parte aestatis reliqua.*

207,19 *tum praeterea*: see at 59,9. Here begins the comparison between Trajan and Verus: Trajan had tried and trusty soldiers, Verus' army was made up of defeated soldiers and recruits.

207,21 *cognitis*: 'tried' (Haines), not 'qu'il connaissait par leur nom' (Leroy). On Trajan's army in the Second Dacian War (105–107) see Schulten, Legio, RE XII (1924); E.T. Salmon, Trajanus' Conquest of Dacia, Transact. & Proceed. Amer. Philol. Soc. 66, 1931, 83ff.; J. Guey, Essai sur la Guerre parthique de Trajan, Bucarest 1937, 50; R. Hanslik, M. Ulpius Traianus, RE Suppl. X (1965); T.B. Mitford, Journ. of Roman Stud. 64, 1974, 166ff.; Maria G.A. Bertinelli, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 9,1, Berlin/ New York 1976, 11f.

207,22 *falcibus*: not real 'scythes' (Haines) but *falcati enses* (Verg. Aen. 7,732); Curt. 8,14,29 *copidas* (κοπίδας) *vocabant gladios leviter curvatos, falcibus similes.* They are represented on Trajan's column. See Liebenam, Falx, RE VI 2 (1909).

Volnera: see at 220,7 and Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

Despicatui habentes is not necessarily borrowed from Plaut. Men. 693 *me . . . tibi habes despicatui*, for we have Cic. Flacc. 65 *si quis despicatui ducitur* and *despectui habere* since Calp. Decl. 22 and *contemptui habere* since Suet. Aug. 93.

208,1–2 This is confirmed by Plin. Pan. 15,5 *prope omnes (milites) nomine appellas.*

208,2 *adeo*: see at 60,13.

Corniculo: 'helmet decoration' (Haines). Liv. 10,44,5 *equites . . . corniculis armillisque argenteis donat*; Suet. Gramm. 9 *corniculo, mox equo meruit* (as a private first class); Aur. Vict. Vir. ill. 72,3 *corniculum meruit*; Carm. Epigr. 744,3. See at 128,13. In the TLL VI 2, 1672,26f. Hauler reads here *galeam aut calicem*, which I have not found in the inedita he left. These words correspond to Livy's *corniculis armillisque.*

208,3 *aere duplo*: 'double pay'. Gaius, Inst. 4,27 *dicebatur autem ea pecunia, quae stipendii nomine dabatur, aes militare.*

Pilo . . . principe: a metonymy: *pilum* stands for *pilus* and *hasta* for *hastatus*, the rank of a *primus pilus (primipilus)* and the rank of a *primus hastatus*, both centurions, comparable to a warrant-officer or a sergeant-major. See A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres 1908 and J. Kromayer & G. Veith, Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer, München 1928.

208,4 *pensiones*: 'compensations' rather than 'payments' (Haines). *Hostium spoliis feroces* should not be connected with *pensiones* and *quos* should not be altered to *quas.*

208,5 See Proleg. LXXVII.

208,7 *Parthis*: dat. incommodi, 'for the Parthian war' (Haines), not 'contro i Parti' (Portalupi). There is no reason at all to read with Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 381, *Parthis* <*obviam ituro*>.

Dilectu: 'by a levy' (Haines), see at 138,19.

Tirones: contrasting with the *cogniti milites* of Trajan. Hauler, Serta Harteliana, Wien 1896, 267, reads *quirites*; he thinks that it is used ironically of the helpless Romans, but *quirites* is out of place here. For Verus' role in this phase of the war see at 126,6f. and Maria Bertinelli o.c. 26f.

208,7–8 *fracti*... *tristi* remains uncertain, but evidently it will not do to keep, with Timpanaro l.l., the reading *ex subsignanis*, a reading which Hauler published in one of his first articles but later retracted.

Legitima militia lasted twenty-eight years.

Tristi: 'miserable' rather than 'dull' (Haines) or 'fiacco' (Portalupi). See at 46,14; 66,16; 88,4.

Molli militia also Sen. Epist. 37,1; Suet. Vesp. 6,4. Ehrenthal 38 wrongly supposes that this alliteration was taken from an old source.

208,9 *expertes* with genitive 56,8; 179,9.

208,10 *Hadriano*: Fronto's dislike of Hadrian (see at 25,3–9) makes him unreliable; all historians testify to Hadrian's care for the army and his reforms: Arrian. Tact. 44,1f.; Cass. Dio 69,5,2; 69,9,1–6; Vita Hadr. 10,2–11; 14,10; Veget. 1,8; 27; Eutrop. 8,7. See Champlin, Fronto 95f.

Circumeundis: cp. Liv. 10,35,8 *circumeundos adloquendosque milites ratus*. See J. Dürr, Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian, Abh. d. arch. epigr. Semin. Wien II 1881.

Facunde: Vita Hadr. 3,1 *cum orationem imperatoris (Traiani) in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit*; 15,10 *oratione et versu promptissimus*; Aur. Vict. Caes. 14,1 *Hadrianus eloquio togaeque studiis accommodatior.*

Appellandis: some of his speeches have been preserved, see P.L. Strack, Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts II, Stuttgart 1933, 151; P.J. Alexander, Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian, Harvard Stud. Class. Philol. 49, 1938, 141–177; Bardon, Les empereurs 401f.; Davies, Fronto, Hadrian (unreliable). In these speeches there is no trace of archaisms.

208,11 *inpigro* with a limitative ablative of a gerund(ive) also Cic. Fam. 2,1,1 *quis est tam scribendo impiger quam ego?*

Summa bellorum: 'warfare to the knife'.

Provincias: Assyria, Mesopotamia and Armenia. Vita Hadr. 5,3 *omnia trans Euphraten ac Tigrim reliquit*... *quia tueri non poterant*; 9,1; Eutrop. 8,6,2; Festus p. 20; Hieron. Chron. ann. 117; Augustin. Civ. 4,29. See at 209,6f.

208,12 *Daciae* is only a conjecture. In 118–119 Dacia was divided into Dacia inferior and Dacia superior; when this letter was written, Dacia was made up of three provinces. That these provinves were not yet *pacatae* is correct, but not that they were given up. As far as Dacia is concerned, *maluit* does not imply that Hadrian actually abandoned this province: Eutrop. 8,6,2 says that he did give up Assyria, Mesopotamia and Armenia, and he continues: *idem de Dacia facere conatum amici deterruerunt, ne multi cives Romani barbaris traderentur.*

209,1 *itinerum monumenta*: 'monuments in remembrance of his travels',

'records of his progresses' (Haines). Vita Hadr. 19,2 *in omnibus paene urbibus . . . aliquid aedificavit*; see also 12 and 13. I have not seen C. Schultess, Bauten des Kaisers Hadrian, 1898.

209,2 *cum . . . tum*: see at 55,21f.

Sepulcra: given *ex saxo formata*, Fronto seems to mean the Mausoleum Hadriani, which Vita Hadr. 19,11 calls *sepulcrum*, Cass. Dio 69,23,1 μνῆμα. In Fronto's time, L. Aelius, the empress Sabina, Hadrian, Pius, his wife Faustina and Marcus' children, who had died young, were buried there. However, it is also possible that the plural *sepulcra* refers to the tomb of Antinous, that of Pompeius (Vita Hadr. 14,4) and—less likely—the tombs Hadrian erected for his horses and dogs (Vita Hadr. 20,12).

209,3 *gelosas*: a new word which does not occur anywhere else. Usual is *gelidus*. *Gelosus* has been formed after *nivosus* and the like. See at 128,5.

Bis: Hadrian was in Mauretania in 123, in Africa in 128. During his second journey he visited Arabia, Egypt and Libya (130–131).

Merodionalis is also a neologism, formed after *septentrionalis*; after Fronto it is only found in Ps. Rufin. Ios. Bell. Iud. 2,2.

Sedis: 'situation' (Haines).

209,5 *provincias* (or *provinciam*): 'as provinces'. What Trajan wanted was to add Dacia to Moesia and the provinces beyond the Euphrates to the empire in Asia, not to 'the province of Asia' (Haines) or to Asia Minor, as Davies l.l. suggests. In his article of 1896, Hauler read *provinciae*, but later he was not sure about the ending of the word. After *addere* I have not adopted Hauler's old reading *posse se*, which seems to be too long.

For *spe* with acc. cum inf. see at 64,13.

209,6 *omnino*: 'nella loro totalità' (Portalupi). For *omnino* with a pronoun cp. e.g. Cic. Nat. deor. 1,81 *si . . . falsum illud omnino est*.

Daciam: Trajan needed a second Dacian war to regain what had been lost after the first one.

Parthis: a dat. incommodi (see at 208,7), not a dat. auctoris, as Hauler thinks, 'by the Parthians' (Haines); cp. Frontin. Strat. 2,10,2 *amissas populo Romano Hispanias restituit*. *Omitto* and *amitto* are often confused in MSS.

Parthis . . . partes: a pun, especially if we read *partis*. These parts are Assyria, Mesopotamia and Armenia, as 208,11f.

209,7 *ultro*: 'on his own initiative' rather than 'voluntarily' (Haines).

Restituit: Trajan, not Hadrian, as Haines, Davies and Steinmetz think. See e.g. H. Volkmann, Parthia, Kleine Pauly (1970).

209,7–8 *exercitus . . . vidit*: the last words (*neminem* etc.) must refer to Trajan, but *pro scutis . . . delectare* does not seem to tally with the image of that great warrior. Moreover, the text is rather uncertain and the historical or descriptive infinitive *delectare* is curious here: it cannot be an acc. cum inf. ('his armies in Asia he amused' [Haines]). If nothing has dropped out, we must attach a positive meaning to this sentence: when they were off duty, Trajan's soldiers cracked jokes instead of loitering about and drinking like Verus' soldiers (210,1ff.).

Salibus: 'sallies' (Haines), 'antics'. Davies does not believe in *salibus*: he looks for a contrast to *pro scutis atque gladiis*, thinking that Fronto used some

sort of practice weapons made of *salix* ('willow'). Steinmetz accepts this view ('mit Übungswaffen im Manöver'); M. Leone 390 n. 26 (see at 202,2) justly rejects it.

209,8 *sub pellibus*: 'under canvas', as Davies correctly translates, not 'in the camp' (Haines). When soldiers could not stay in the hiberna, they had to camp in the open, *sub pellibus*: Cic. Lucull. 4; Caes. Gall. 3,29,2; Civ. 3,13,5; Liv. 5,2,7; 23,18,15; 37,39,2; Tac. Ann. 13,35,5; 14,38,1; Flor. 1,12,8; Fronto 131,7; Vita Av. Cass. 6,2; Ammian. 19,11,4; 20,6,9; 23,3,8; 25,2,3; Val. Max. 2,7,15 *tentorium ex pellibus*. See K. Schneider, Pellis, RE XIX.

Neminem etc.: Steinmetz, who sees Hadrian in *ducem*, must necessarily regard this sentence as a sarcasm.

209,9 *Aurelius Antoninus*: before his adoption, Pius was called T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; as an emperor he dropped the name Aurelius, so Hauler's reading is more than uncertain. See Proleg. LXXVIII.

Sanctus imperator: see at 166,20. On his surname Pius see at 79,10.

209,9–10 *retinuisse . . . abstinendo*: 'he is said to have restrained himself by abstaining from blood'. Cp. Vita Pii 13,4 *solusque omnium prope principum prorsus sine civili sanguine et hostili . . . vixit.*

Uni omnium: see at 56,21.

209,10 *Numae*: Vita Pii 2,2 *merito Numae Pompilio ex bonorum sententia comparatur* (from Marius Maximus, see 11,3); 13,4 *qui rite comparetur Numae*; Epit. Caes. 15,3 *quamvis eum Numae contulerit aetas sua*; Eutrop. 8,8,1 *qui merito Numae Pompilio conferatur*. There is no reason to assume with Mai[2] and L.H. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 79, that the Vita Pii or the other sources drew their information from Fronto, see Proleg. LXII n. 4 and at 271,5. Quite wrong is Steinmetz o.c. 87, who assumes that Fronto sees the second Numa in Hadrian, not in Pius, and that Vita Pii 2,2 'in Polemik dagegen' gives that name of honour to Pius. The Historia Augusta did not use Fronto's letters. J. Vogt, Die Alexandrinischen Münzen I, Stuttgart 1924, 123, supposes that Pius himself wanted to be compared with Numa, but that is contrary to the statements of the historians. It is worthwhile to note that Fronto does not state here that Marcus was regarded as a descendant of Numa; see Marius Maximus in Vita Marci 1,6.

209,11 *aequiperandus*: 'to be put on a level with'.

209,11–15 These lines still deal with Pius, and Fronto admits that under him the striking-force of the army deteriorated to a lower level.

209,13 *quisset: quies* or *quiescit* Holford-Strevens.

209,14–15 *desuetudine . . . redactus*: again a Sallustian maxim. Davies thinks that Fronto quotes Hadrian (?!).

209,15 *cum . . . tum*: see at 55,21f.

Artibus: 'skills' rather than 'arts' (Haines).

209,16 *desidia noxia est*: cp. Liv. 28,24,6 *licentia ex diutino, ut fit, otio conlecta*; Vell. Pat. 2,78,2 *ne res disciplinae inimicissima, otium, corrumperet militem*; Tac. Agr. 16,3 *cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciveret.*

210,1–211,6 A pure rhetorical fabrication (see the testimonies under the text) which is true where the corruption of the Syrian army is concerned (Sall. Cat. 11,5; Liv. 39,6,7; Tac. Ann. 13,35,1; Suet. Vesp. 4,6; 6,4;

Fronto 128,7ff.; Plut. Lucull. 7 and 30,3; Vita Al. Sev. 53,2; see Fiebiger, Disciplina militaris, RE V [1903]), but Verus was certainly not the ideal commander-in-chief. In view of the testimonies it is highly unlikely that Vita Av. Cass. 5,5 *legiones Syriacas . . . diffluentes luxuria et Daphnitis moribus agentes* was taken from Fronto, as J. Schwartz and B. Baldwin assume, see Proleg. LXII n. 4. Th. Mommsen, Römische Geschichte 5, 398 n. 2; P.L. Strack, Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts I, Stuttgart 1931, 215; and A. Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg, Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas, Stuttgart 1931, 270, are wrong in assuming that this passage refers to the army of Trajan, see J. Guey, Essai sur la Guerre parthique de Trajan, Bucarest 1937, 51.

210,2 *apud signa infrequentes*: 'absent from their unit without leave'. Gell. 16,4,5 quotes L. Cincius Alimentus' book De re militari (late third century BC): *miles cum die, qui prodictus est, aberat neque excusatus erat, infrequens notabatur*; Paul. Fest. 112 *infrequens appellabatur miles, qui abest abfuitve a signis*; Glossaria: *cum vocati non adfuissent, infrequentes notabantur.* Tac. Hist. 4,35,2 and 4,77,2 avoids this *infrequens: rarum apud signa militem*; cp. Sall. Iug. 45,2 *ut cum signis frequentes* ('in full strength') *incederent*; 44,5 *uti quoique lubebat, ab signis aberat.*

Prae statutis praesidiis: the reading of m^1 *freti armis, praesidiis vagi* cannot be correct, though *freti armis* is found in Sall. Iug. 18,12 and several times in Livy: *vagus* with a separative ablative can hardly be defended, in spite of Cic. Tusc. 3,13 *nostro instituto vagabimur.* The reading of m^2 is quite satisfactory: 'straying in front of their prescribed (better: set) posts' (Haines). *Praesidia constituere*, 'to post guards', is used since Cicero. Cova, I Principia 20 n. 10, justly rejects Pescani's conjectures; see also his Problematica 462f. Timpanaro, Contributi 384 n. 24, is not content with Pescani's conjectures either and rightly notes that *freti armis* remains an enigma; with some hesitation he proposes *procul stativis praesidiis vagi* or *destitutis praesidiis vagi.*

210,2–3 *vagi . . . palantes*: Sall. Iug. 18,2 of the Gaetuli and the Libyans: *vagi palantes*; Liv. 21,61,2 *milites . . . vagos palantisque.*

210,3 *more*: 'like' (Haines).

De meridie ad is unusual; Caes. Gall. 7,80,6 and Plin. Nat. 7,84 have *a meridie ad*; Liv. 29,27,6 *a meridie.*

Armatu occurs only in the ablative; several times in Livy and before Fronto, only in Curt. 3,2,5.

210,4 *adsueti* with a gerundive is rare: Ovid. Pont. 3,3,107 *tua supplicibus domus est adsueta iuvandis.*

Inpatientia laboris: patiens with genitive since Cicero; Sal. Iug. 44,1 *laboris patiens.*

Armis: from *arma*, not from *armi* as E.S. Bouchier, Class. Rev. 36, 1922, 182, thinks.

Singillatim: 'one man after another' (Haines). See Index Latinitatis.

210,5 *seminudi*: cp. Liv. 31,35,6 *nec pedes (Philippi) . . . vagus et prope seminudus genere armorum veliti Romano parmam gladiumque habenti (par erat).*

210,6 *malis proeliis*: see at 108,24; 212,21. Vita Marci 8,6 *Parthicum bellum, quod Vologessus . . . indixit fugato Atidio Corneliano, qui Syriam tunc administrabat*; Vita Veri 6,9 *interfecto legato, caesis legionibus.*

Perculsi fuerunt is not quite the same as *perculsi sunt*: the participle is felt as an adjective, see Hofmann-Szantyr 322. However, see at 37,11.

210,7 *fugae signum* also Bell. Hisp. 18,6; cp. Sil. 13,361f. *aere belligero revocante.*

210,8 *pro re*: 'as the case demanded' (Haines), cp. Caes. Gall. 5,8,1 *ut . . . consilium . . . pro tempore et pro re caperet.*

210,9–211,2 This passage corresponds completely—often verbatim—to the descriptions of Hannibal, Corbulo, Vespasian and Trajan in Livy, Tacitus and Pliny. See at 269,14.

210,10 *vehi*: in this passage Fronto uses the inf. historicus, or rather descriptivus, eighteen times, a Latin record; Sall. Iug. 94,4f. uses it fourteen times; Bell. Afr. 20,1–3 twelve times; Tac. Agr. 38 ten times. See Ed. Wölfflin, Archiv 10, 1898, 179; Kühner I 134f.; and at 134,10.

Fatisci is archaistic: Pacuv. Trag. 154; Acc. Trag. 330; Varro ap. Non. p. 479,10; Lucr. 3,458; 5,308; and Fronto 220,6.

210,10–11 *facile ferre*: this alliteration also in Caecil. Com. 47; Cic. Tusc. 5,113; Cato, Cic. Fam. 16,1,1; Caes. Gall. 7,66,2; Augustin. Civ. 6,5 p. 253,15f.

Diem serenum: 'the clear morning air'; cp. Lucan. 5,700f. *discussa nocte serenus oppressit cum sole dies* and Fronto 93,15 *serenus dies inluculascit lumine inchoato.*

210,11 *pro*: see at 106,6.

210,12 *in ludricis*: 'at athletics' (Haines), 'in sports', 'nei giochi' (Portalupi). See at 39,6f.

Insuper habere: see at 59,4.

Caput apertum: as Alexander in the mosaic of Pompeii.

210,12–13 *imbribus et nivibus*: 'rain and snow showers'. See at 262,33.

210,13 *spectandis*: 'to pay attention to' rather than 'to inspect' (Haines) or 'tenere sotto controllo' (Portalupi).

210,14–16 *non incuriose* etc.: Cass. Dio says the same of Hadrian 69,9,2: τοὺς βίους, τὰς οἰκήσεις, τοὺς τρόπους καὶ ἐφορῶν καὶ ἐξετάζων. The litotes *non incuriose*: 'with great interest'.

210,15 *forte temere*: see at 170,23.

Munditias: 'the dandy ways' (Haines). There is no reason to doubt this word with Leopardi and Eva Baehr, TLL s.v.

210,16 *inscitias*: 'the gaucheries' (Haines). The plural only here and Tert. Anim. 20,4. According to Stat. Silv. 1,4,78, the Pannonians were *feroces*; they formed the *robur equitatus* (Tac. Ann. 15,10,5) of the Legio II Adiutrix; see Schulten, Legio, RE XII (1924), and Maria Bertinelli, I Romani oltra l'Eufrate 27.

Arbitrari de: 'si faceva un'idea di' (Portalupi).

210,17 *post decisa negotia*: Mai^2; Hertz, Renaissance; Droz 71; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 31; Priebe II 9; Haines; Schanz III^3 100; Portalupi in her edition and in La presenza 100, assume that this expression is taken from Hor. Epist. 1,7,59 *cessare . . . post decisa negotia campo.* Marache, La critique 161, has justly doubted such a quotation, see at 29,5; 45,3. Cp. Suet. Vesp. 21 *postque decisa quaecumque obvenissent negotia* and Ennod. Opusc. 2,309,8.

Lavatus: 'after his bath', see at 58,6–17; 74,6.

Mensa sobria also Sen. Epist. 108,14.

210,18 *plebeio*: 'of the private soldier'.

Temporis: 'of the moment', 'the kind of water occasion offered', 'of the

season' (Haines), not 'aqua piovana' (Portalupi). Cp. Tac. Hist. 2,5,1 and Ammian. 16,5,3 *cibo fortuito.*

Primam vigiliam: Veget. 3,8 *in quattuor partes ad clepsydram sunt divisae vigiliae, ut non amplius quam tribus horis nocturnis necesse sit vigilare.* See E. Neumann, RE Suppl. IX 1693ff. The etymological figure *vigiliam vigilare* also Gell. Praef. 19 *nullas hoc genus vigilias vigilarunt.*

210,19 *expergitus*: see at 7,2.

Opperiri: in MSS *opperior* is often spelled with one *p*; so 167,6.

210,20 *otio . . . abuti*: Astarita, Roma e l'Oriente 28, compares Cic. Manil. 40 *non denique labor ipse ad quietem devocavit (Pompeium).*

Militaribus: 'military duties' (Haines). *Militaria* as substantive only in Sall. Iug. 80,2 *signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere* and in Fronto 224,14 in a different sense.

210,21 *civilibus negotiis*: 'administrative affairs' rather than 'civil business' (Haines) or 'affari politici' (Portalupi). *Civilis* is often the opposite of *militaris*, cp. at 200,7.

Occupare: see at 30,2.

211,1 *frondibus*: a poetical plural.

Proprie: 'simply', not 'a volte' (Portalupi). Hildebrand, Haines and Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 375, follow Mai.

Supellectile: 'bedding' (Haines).

Caespitem: Ovid. Met. 10,556 *datque torum caespes*; Fast. 6,332 *Vesta iacet . . . positum caespite fulta caput.*

211,2 *torum*: 'pillow', not 'couch' (Haines).

Incubans with accusative since Varro, R.R. 3,9,8; see at 11,21.

211,3–6 *graviora . . . obfirmantur*: again a Sallustian thought: Iug. 45,3 about Metellus: *prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit*; 100,5 about Marius: *pudore magis quam malo* ('punishment') *exercitum coercebat*; cp. Plin. Pan. 46,6 *castigaverunt vitia sua ipsi, qui castigari merebantur, idemque emendatores qui emendandi fuerunt.* See also Cass. Dio 52,34,1 and 9ff., and Fronto 128,17–20.

211,3 *demum*: 'only' (Haines), as 10,15.

Perverse facta: cp. Plaut. Trin. 183 *si recte seu pervorse facta sunt*; Cato, frg. 200 Sblendorio *si quid perverse taetreque factum est.*

Animadvertit: 'punished' with accusative, first in Ter. Andr. 156, then here and in a few later authors.

211,3–4 *sciens dissimulavit*: cp. Plaut. Poen. prol. 112 *omnis linguas scit, sed dissimulat sciens se scire.*

211,4 *locum paenitendi*: cp. Liv. 24,26,15 *(quod non) locus paenitendi . . . relictus esset.*

211,5 *obfirmantur*: 'si ostinano' (Portalupi).

211,9 *excidendorum* refers only to *arcium, stationum, castellorum. Stationum*: 'armed posts', 'posti di guardia' (Portalupi), not 'ports' (Haines). *Excidendorum*: 'to destroy', not 'to storm' (Haines). As it seems, Fronto is still speaking of Trajan, see also *ducenta profudit spolia*: 'he generously gave away a thousand spoils'.

211,10 *aperta discrimina*: 'open dangers' (Haines), cp. Liv. 10,14,8 *in apertum . . . discrimen evasura esset res*; Ammian. 17,12,8 *in discrimina ruentes aperta*; Verg. Aen. 9,663 *in aperta pericula mittunt.*

Curas et consilia (alliteration), *non luxurias*: 'tokens of care and counsel, not of luxury'. The plural *luxuriae* occurs here for the first time. Charis. Gramm. p. 39,14 Barwick states that this word is only used in the singular.

Ducenta: 'a thousand' (Haines). *Ducenti* is one of the so-called typical numbers, see at 42,19 and Grammatical and Stylistic Index s.v. number; Ed. Wölfflin, Archiv 9, 1896, 188. Cp. e.g. Plaut. Asin. 276 *ducentas plagas . . . dabo*; Truc. 341 *quasi abhinc ducentos annos fuerim mortuus.*

211,13 (marg. d) *legibus*: Haines' *legionibus* is very tempting. Trajan is meant here, not Verus, as Hauler, Wien. Stud. 24, 1902, 521, thinks.

Anxius with *de* also Curt. 3,3,2; Quint. Inst. 5,10,75; 11,1,50; Suet. Cal. 19; Tert. Nat. 1,4,12.

Gnarus: the fact that this word is repeated in the margin seems to indicate that it has a passive meaning, 'well known', a meaning often found in Tacitus and Apuleius.

211,16 *ad triumphum*: in 117 Trajan died in Cilicia on his way back to Rome.

211,17 *consiliorum sollertia*: that is Fronto's meaning. Nazarius, Pan. Lat. 4,24 (= Testim. 20 p. 267) has a different opinion of Verus. It may be that Nazarius has read Fronto's letters, see Proleg. LXII n. 4, but it is unlikely that Verus ever caught sight of the *cataphracti* in action.

Senior: 'riper'. Cic. Brut. 160 uses this metaphor with some reserve: *exstat in eam legem senior, ut ita dicam, quam aetas illa ferebat, oratio*; cp. 265 *me . . . delectabat . . . in illa aetate plena litteratae senectutis oratio.*

212,2 (marg. a) *catafractos*: 'mail-clad' (Haines) troopers. They and their horses wore a lorica squamata, hence *similes beluis piscibus*. The Parthians had taken over this armour from the Persians, see Gross, Lorica, RE XIII 2 (1927), and Lammert, Thorax, RE VI A 1 (1936). These *cataphracti* are mentioned by Sall. Hist. frg. 4,64; 4,66; Liv. 35,48,3; 37,40,11; 37,42,1; Prop. 3,12,12; Fronto 202,5; Pan. Lat. 4,24 (= Testim. 20); and several times by Ammianus, e.g. 16,10,8 *cataphracti equites, quos clibanarios dictitant.* Sisenna, Hist. 81, was the first to introduce καταφρακτής into Latin: *custodiae in muro statuuntur cataphractarum*. See also Polyb. 31,3,9; Arr. Tact. 1,19,4; Plut. Crass. 21,6.

Beluis piscibus: 'finny monsters' (Haines), 'mostri marini' (Portalupi). *Eas* shows that *pisces* is here used as an apposition, and Apicius speaks of *piscis aurata, piscis dentix, piscis lupus, piscis mugil, piscis rubellio, piscis scorpio*; cp. Plaut. Poen. 290 *lapis silex*. The comparison is based on the waving movement of the horses, whereby the *squamae*, 'the scales', glittered in the sun, a movement like that of cetaceans.

Eludere . . . cernuantis can hardly be 'diving headlong in the deep sea they escape' (Haines). Krohn, TLL s.v. eludo, is right in assuming that here—and here only—*eludere* means 'to frisk', cp. Plin. Nat. 9,24 of the dolphin: *(navigiis) adludit exultans*. If *alto mari* means 'out of the high sea', *eludere* is 'to pop out of'.

Cernuantis is nominative: 'somersaulting'. Before Fronto the word only occurs in Varro ap. Non. p. 21, then in Apul. Met. 1,19,10 and in a few late authors.

Persultare: 'to leap about', cp. Apul. Met. 4,31,6 *passim maria persultantes Tritonum catervae.*

Campestribus: since *campestria* is the same as *campi*, it must here stand for the surface of the sea, though *campestria* is never used in that sense; especially poets, however, often use *campus* for the sea.

212,3 (marg. d) This note must refer to Trajan's operations in Dacia; it bears a slight resemblance to Livy's description of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, 21,35,11f.

Lubrico, 'a slippery spot' (Haines), is a causal ablative (so the Anonymus, Philol. Anzeiger 12, 1882, 397f.) rather than a locative (so Ebert, Synt. 12).

Manus inritae is poetical, cp. e.g. Ovid. Met. 11,541 *bracchia . . . irrita tollens*; Sen. Thy. 165 *(fames) iubet irritas exercere manus.*

Arcus: cp. Frontin. Strat. 4,7,30 *(arcus) madentibus nervis inhabiles factos*; Liv. 37,41,4 *umor arcus fundasque et iaculorum armenta emollierat*; Flor. 1,24,17 *(imber) Persicos arcus corruperat.*

Enerves: a pun: the *nervi* were affected by rain. Only here *enervis* is used of a material.

Legatos missitare: Verus refused to do so a second time.

212,4 *litteras*: see at 108,20 and 126,7.

212,4–5 *bellum . . . poneret*: after verba orandi, monendi and the like there often follows a subjunctive; so after *scribere* Cic. Fam. 16,4,2 *scripsi ad Curium quod dixisses daret*; Caes. Gall. 5,46,4 *scribit Labieno . . . ad fines Nerviorum veniat*; Fontin. Strat. 1,8,3 *scripsit . . . copias ad Clusium moverent.* See at 37,11. Cp. Sall. Iug. 112,1 *posse condicionibus bellum poni*; Vell. 2,25,1 *aequis condicionibus bellum componere.*

Condicionibus: 'by agreement' (Haines). *Dum*: 'because', see at 161,22.

212,6 *male mulcatus est*: the same alliteration 183,10 *male mulcavit*: 'roughly handled' (Haines). It is an old expression: several times in Plautus and Terence, but also in Cicero, Livy and many other writers. For *male* see at 182,5.

212,7 *insita*: 'deep-seated'.

212,8 *pacem incruentam* also in Colum. 9,9,7; Tac. Ann. 2,46,2; Flor. Epit. 4,2,90.

212,9 *potiorem*: 'in a greater measure', 'rather', a predicative use, as often with *superior, inferior, prior.* So we should not delete *in* with Niebuhr, Baehrens and Haines.

De: Fronto is the first to write *coniectare de*; more usual is *ex.*

212,10 *multi*: Cass. Dio 68,17,1 ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Ἀρμενίους καὶ Πάρθους πρόφασιν μὲν ὅτι μὴ τὸ διάδημα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰλήφει . . . ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλεύς, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ δόξης ἐπιθυμίᾳ. Epit. De Caes. 48,10 *cupidinem triumphandi.* It is rejected, of course, by Plin. Pan. 16,1 *innutritus bellicis laudibus pacem amas*; cp. Eutrop. Brev. 8,4 *gloriam tamen militarem civilitate et moderatione superavit.* Ziegler, Die Beziehungen 100 n. 1, attaches much importance to Fronto's testimony; L. Dilleman, Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays

cents, Paris 1962, 275f., and Maria Bertinelli, I Romani oltre l'Eufrate 8f., are more reserved.

Parthorum legatos... dismisisse is confirmed by Cass. Dio 68,17,2f.; 68,18,2; 68,22,1.

212,11 *dismisisse* sc. *eum*: see at 55,28.

212,12 *iustitiae... clementiae*: Vita Veri 1,5 *erat... morum simplicium et qui adumbrare nihil posset*; 3,7 *amavit... Pius simplicitatem ingenii, puritatem vivendi.*

212,13 *omnibus*: 'in the eyes of all' (Haines), a dat. iudicantis, not auctoris ('da tutti' [Portalupi]).

Regnum: 'kingdom' (Haines); Fronto has Sohaemus in mind, see at 126,8.

212,14 *contulisse*: cp. Cic. Leg. agr. 2,9 *omnia... in fidem et quodammodo in patrocinium mei consulatus esse conlata.*

Traiano: the dative with *excusare* usually means 'to' (so 51,20; 168,27); here it indicates the person concerned: 'as to'. Klussmann, Emendationes 68, wrongly sees in *Traiano* a dat. auctoris. See at 47,1.

Parthamasiri: Cass. Dio 68,17–20 tells that in 113 King Chosroes put Parthamasirus on the throne of Armenia instead of his brother Axidares (Exedares). He was not recognized by Trajan, which was the immediate cause of the Parthian War. In 114 Parthamasirus went to Elegia to meet Trajan and laid his crown at the Roman emperor's feet, hoping that Trajan would recognize him as a vassal of Rome. There were a lot of soldiers about and Parthamasirus felt threatened. Trajan bluntly refused his request, Parthamasirus grew nervous and insolent. Trajan ordered him to leave without his escort and a Roman body of cavalrymen led Parthamasirus away. This is the end of the story as told by Xiphilinus. Eutrop. 8,3,1 *Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi, recepit (Traianus) Parthomasiri occiso, qui eam tenebat.* Suda s.v. γνῶσις from Arrianus: (Parthamasirus) πρῶτος παραβαίνων τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἔτυχε τῆς δίκης. It seems that Fronto gives a fair account of what happened, though the people in Rome may never have known the full facts: the Roman troopers led Parthamasirus away and killed him on Trajan's orders. Plin. Pan. 16,5 does not name Parthamasirus but obviously alludes to the incident in Elegeia: *quodsi quis barbarus rex eo insolentiae furorisque processerit, ut iram tuam indignationemque mereatur* etc. *Parthamasiri* is the genitive of *Parthamasirus*. Dio rejects Παρθαμάσιρις, -ιδος, but Suda l.l. has the genitive Παρθαμάσιρου, so Haines' *Parthamasiris* as genitive cannot be correct. Compare the forms *Vologaesus* and *Vologeses* at 126,8. See on Parthamasirus' death J. Dierauer, Beiträge zu einer kritischen Geschichte Trajans, in Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte, Herausg. von M. Büdinger I, Leipzig 1868, 163; P. von Rohden, Parthamasiris, PIR III[1] p. 12; Longden, Notes 9f.; A. Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg, Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas, Stuttgart 1931, 264; J. Guey, Essai sur la guerre Parthique de Trajan, Bucarest 1937, 33ff.; 54; R. Hanslik, Parthamasiris, RE XVIII (1949); K. Ziegler, Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich, Wiesbaden 1964, 101f.; Bertinelli, I Romani oltre l'Eufrate 13 n. 51.

212,15–16 *tametsi... tamen*: we should not alter *tametsi* to *nam etsi* with Heindorff and Haines, cp. Caes. Gall. 5,34,2 *tametsi... deserebantur, tamen*

omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant. And so often in Cicero, Sallust and others. See Kühner II 441f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 672. In Fronto 65,20; 186,1f.

212,16 *meliore fama*: see at 1,10.

212,17 *supplex . . . supplicium*: pun.

212,17–18 *talium . . . facti*: the first genitive means 'in (the matter of)', cp. Cic. Tusc. 2,35 *labor est functio quaedam vel animi vel corporis gravioris operis et muneris*; Ligar. 12 *studia generis ac familiae vestrae virtutis, humanitatis*. On such two genitives of a different kind see Kühner I 416f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 65f.; and at 212,23.

Facti . . . factum: polyptoton. For the combination of *facinus* and *factum* cp. Cic. Mil. 96 *sibi facinoris suspicionem, non facti crimen obstare*. Klussmann, Emendationes 78, and Ehrenthal 40 reconstruct here, with a slight inversion, a hexameter:

fácti caúsa latét, factúm spectátur ⏑ – ⏑

and a similar reconstruction by K. Sittl, Jahresb. ü. d. Fort. d. class. Altertumswiss. 55, Bd. XVI, Jahrg. 1888, 240, but without *facti*: *causa latet, factum spectatur*. A quotation is not likely, however: in Fronto, Sallustian sentences easily adopt a metrical form, see at 201,10. *Causa latet* in Verg. Aen. 5,5 is certainly not Fronto's source (against Portalupi, Contributo 473 n. 7, and Selvatico, Scambio 294 n. 276), for this expression also occurs elsewhere.

212,18–19 *secundo rumore*: see at 1,10.

Gentium: see at 261,24.

212,20 *utrique*: the plural because it is an apposition to *viri duo*, as e.g. Varro, R.R. 3,9,6 *duae caveae . . . utraeque*. The plural also 231,9 of two gods. See Kühner I 649.

212,21 M. Sedatius *Severianus* was legatus Aug. pro praetore of Cappadocia when the Parthians under Chosroes invaded Armenia. He marched upon the enemy but suffered a crushing defeat near Elegeia. As this happened before Verus left Rome (spring 162), Severianus' defeat probably took place in 161. See at 108,7–9; 108,24; 126,5f.

Obtruncatus is not exact: he committed suicide. See Lucian. Quomodo hist. 21; Alex. 27; Cass. Dio 71,2,1; Vita Veri 6,9. Napp, De rebus 16, and A. Stein & P. von Rohden, RE III (1899), erroneously call him P. Aelius Severianus; Schulten, Legio, RE XII 1 (1924), and P. Junge & Schnur, Parthia, RE XVIII (1949), give him the wrong first name of C. See E. Groag, M. Sedatius Severianus, RE II A 1 (1921); PIR III[1] Severianus 438; Schwendermann, Der historische Wert 138f.; Lambrechts, La composition 92; R. Hanslik, Vologaeses III, RE Suppl. IX (1962); Bertinelli, I Romani oltre l'Eufrate 26; Birley, Mark Aurel 218f.; Alföldy, Konsulat 220; Astarita, Avidio Cassio 33 n. 59.

Necdum etiam tum: 'at the time not yet' rather than 'at the time not even' (Haines). This combination does not occur elsewhere. It is a contamination of the usual *nondum* (or *necdum*) *etiam* (see 218,2 marg. b) and *etiam tum* with a negation. Catull. 64,55 *necdum etiam sese quae visit, visere credit*; Verg. Aen. 1,25 *necdum etiam causae irarum . . . exciderant animo*, and so in other poets (Fronto is the first prose writer with *necdum etiam*). *Etiam tum* with negation

e.g. Tac. Ann. 2,52,3 *nullo etiamtum urbium cultu*; Apul. Met. 9,5,2 *nihil etiamtum tale suspicans*. *Necdum* in the sense of *nondum*: 42,16M; 232,1 *tum somnus necdum natus erat*. See Kühner II 818; Hofmann-Szantyr 449; and at 66,18; 180,17.

Profecto in an abl. absolutus for the first time in Plin. Epist. 6,20,2, and then here. According to Steele, The Ablative Absolute 316, Cicero uses, of all deponents, only the participle *mortuo* in an abl. absolutus.

212,22 *Appius* Maximus *Santra*: Cass. Dio 68,30,1 μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ... τόν τε Λούσιον (Lusium Quietum) καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἔπεμψε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέθανεν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ, in 116 in Mesopotamia. This Maximus is the same as our Appius Santra. The cognomen Santra seems to be Etruscan, cp. W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen, Berlin 1904, 342. See E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 38, 1916, 166f.; Longden, Notes 15f.; Guey, Essai 129ff. (see at 212,14); E. Groag, Appius Maximus Santra, PIR I^2 no. 950; R. Hanslik, M. Ulpius Traianus, RE X (1965), and Maximus 1, Kleine Pauly (1969); Bertinelli, I Romani 20f. He is not T. Iulius Maximus Manlianus, as G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses, Wiesbaden 1969, 78, thinks.

Praesens: being also in the East.

Euphrati: see at 138,13.

212,23 *portoria ... tribularet*: 'making more stringent the ferry dues for camels and horses on the Euphrates and Tigris' (Haines). *Tribulare* in this sense does not occur elsewhere, but cp. *castra munire*: it means 'to impose an onerous toll'. Marache, Mots 63, translates 'obtenir par pression'. Before Fronto the verb is only found in Cato, Agr. 23,4. On the double genitive see at 212,17f.

Equorum et camelorum: for what they carried, cp. Cic. Att. 2,16,4 *de portorio circumvectionis*. On the Euphrates we know of custom-houses in Zeugma and Dura Europos. Those on the Tigris were abolished by Hadrian: Vita Hadr. 21,12. See Rostowzew, Geschichte der Staatspacht 415; De Laet, Portorium 339; Fr. Vittinghoff, Portorium, RE XXII (1953); H. Volkmann, Portorium, Kleine Pauly (1971).

Retro: 'in rear of the Emperor' (Haines).

Ad Balcia Tauri may be only a gloss, an explanation of *retro*. 220,20 shows that he was killed in action in Mesopotamia, so here the eastern chain of the Taurus must be meant, between Mesopotamia and Armenia, somewhere near Samosata; see R.P. Longden, Cambridge Anc. Hist. 1936, 248. Potter, The Mysterious Arbaces 541f., locates it near Edessa, but it seems to be a place near a mountain pass. Since Appius Santra marched along the Euphrates and Lusius Quietus along the Tigris, it is unlikely that *ad Balcia Tauri* indicates the Bitlis Pass, as Hauler l.l. and L. Dillemann, Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents, Paris 1962, 286, think: this pass lies east of the Tigris.

212,24 *Arsace*: the names Arsaces and Arbaces occur frequently in Median, Persian and Parthian history. Guey, Essai 132, proposed *Sanatruces* because Malal. XI p. 270,8 identifies Arsaces with Sanatruces, and R. Hanslik, Parthamaspates, RE XVIII (1949), thinks that it was Sanatruces who, together with Parthamaspates, defeated Appius Maximus Santra. Maria Bertinelli, I Romani 21 n. 92, wonders whether we should not read *Arbace*,

and Potter l.l. proposes *Abgare*: he thinks that it is Abgar VII, King of Edessa (Osroene). But Hauler reads *ar̥ba̧|cer*, so the *b* and the *c* seem to be certain. Moreover, Greek and Latin sources speak of Ἄβγαρος and Abgarus, not Abgares, and, finally, Cass. Dio 68,18,1 and 21,1 relates that Augarus (= Abgarus) made friends with Trajan in 114 because he had good reasons to fear the Parthians (though he may have changed his attitude towards the Romans later, during the general revolt of Mesopotamia).

213,1 *trosciusl*: it is not improbable that we should read *utriusque*, which means that both Trajan and Verus were reproached for their excessive love of histrionics. As to Trajan, see also 229,13 and Cass. Dio 68,10,2.

213,2 *histrionem*: this refers to Verus, for Trajan does not seem to have transferred dancers from Rome to the East. At the end of the Parthian War, Verus brought with him from Syria the dancer *Maximinus quem Paridis nomine noncupavit* (Vita Veri 8,7) and *Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Memfi, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti tropaeum Parthicum adduxerat, quem Apolaustum nominavit* (Vita Veri 8,10f.). At 114,9 we have seen that in Rome Verus had a dancer Apolaustus, probably already in 161. So it is possible that Verus had him come down to Antiochia during the war: Vita Veri 8,11 *adduxerat secum et fidicinas et tibicines et histriones scurrasque mimarios et praestigiatores*. For the meaning of *histrio* see at 47,1; 154,15.

213,3 There are several similar proverbs: *feriunt summos fulgura montes; summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti* (Otto, fulmen 1 and 2); *eminentis fortunae comes invidia* (Otto, invidia): 'high winds blow on high hills'.

213,5 *in ambiguo pono* occurs here for the first time; usual is *in ambiguo est*.

213,6 *Spartacus et Viriathus*: see at 131,1.

Armis potuere also Cic. S. Rosc. 69; P. red. ad Quir. 20; Planc. 86; Liv. 34,57,7; 34,62,13; Ps. Sall. Rep. 2,1,3. *Potuere* is an empirical perfect, as 224,2. See at 178,18.

213,6–7 *pacis artibus*: of Numa Ovid. Met. 15,484 *(Romanos) pacis traduxit ad artes*, and Liv. 1,21,6 *belli et pacis artibus*; 1,35,1; 2,16,7; 38,53,9; Vell. 1,13,3.

213,7 *ad: acceptus ad* only here and CIL I 818 and X 8249. A dative is impossible here because of *Traiano*. Plaut. Capt. 714 has *acceptus* with *apud*, so has CIL VI 10407 C and X 8249. Trajan and popular favour: Plin. Pan. 25 speaks of the *congiarium populo datum*, the donativum for the soldiers, of his *munificentia* and *liberalitas* towards the inhabitants of the provinces overseas; 33 of his *spectacula*; 34 of the punishment of *delatores*. On his love of the theatre see also Cass. Dio 68,10,2, of gladiators and fights with wild animals 68,15,1, of dancers see Fronto 229,13.

Nescio si qui adaeque: 'I do not know if anyone equally' = 'perhaps no one equally'. The readings *nescio qui* and *nisi qui* are not possible. Our lexica and grammars give no example of *nescio si* ('if'), but cp. *quaero si* and the late examples of *scio si* in H. Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata, Marburg [2]1875, 404. For *qui* = *quis* see at 213,7. *Adaeque* is archaistic, see at 18,2.

213,8 *fuerit*: 'could be', see at 1,10f.

213,8–9 *ipsa . . . lacessunt*: 'these very facts, together with some disparagements about his life before he became emperor, lead to criticism'. *Ipsa haec* is subject, also of the following *videntur*. E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 42, 1920/1, 95f., takes *ipsa haec* as object and translates *lacessunt* as 'aufreizend

vorbringen'. Portalupi's translation 'Taluni mettono in forse queste stesse virtù calunniando in qualche modo la sua vita precedente' is all wrong. Here and 214,7, Fronto is the first to use *detrectatio* in the sense of 'disparagement', but already in Sall. Iug. 53,8 we find *detrectare* in the sense of 'disparage', as in Fronto 66,21. 110,20 *detrectatio* means 'unwillingness'. People jeered at his Spanish origin (Cass. Dio 68,4,1f.) and his being a descendant of poor colonists (Eutrop. 8,2,1).

213,9–12 Subject is still *ipsa haec*, not 'i principi' (Portalupi), and it still refers to Trajan, not to Verus, as Barnes, Hadrian and L. Verus 70ff., thinks. But the thought behind this statement is of course that no one can blame Verus for his indulgence in spectacles and circuses if the great Trajan evinced the same interests.

213–9 *summa . . . ratione*: 'the loftiest principles of political wisdom' (Haines). See at 66,17.

Sumpta: by Trajan.

213,10 *histrionum*: 'mime artists', not 'actors', as E. Kroeke, TLL s.v., supposes. See at 154,15 and 229,13.

Scaenae: see at 15,1.

Harenae: 'the amphitheatre' (Haines), see at 262,33.

213,11 *indiligentem* (litotes) with gen. respectus also 218,17 and Gell. 15,28,1. See at 21,8. *Diligens* with genitive since Cicero; in Fronto 219,10; 229,17; 260,27. *Diligens ad* 219,9.

Fuisse sc. *eum*. See at 55,28. The acc. cum inf. depends on *ex ratione sumpta*.

Ut qui: see at 35,21.

213,12 *annona et spectaculeis*: Ps. Sall. ad Caes. de rep. 1,7,2 *provideas oportet, uti plebs largitionibus et publico frumento corrupta habeat negotia sua, quibus ab malo publico detineatur*; Tac. Hist. 4,38,2 *(vulgus) cui una ex re publica annonae cura*. Comparable thoughts in Cic. Att. 16,2,3; Phil. 1,36f.; Plut. Brut. 21,2f. But it is tempting to see here a quotation from Iuvenalis: *duas tantum res anxius optat: panem et circenses*. According to Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 2f., and J. Haussleiter, Brot, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum II (1954), it is a saying that originally referred to Alexandria, and Friedländer quotes Dio Chrys. Or. 15,31. See also P. Veyne, Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique, Paris 1976, 729.

Non minus quam: see at 66,7f.

213,13 *ludicreis* is opposed to *serieis* by several writers, so there is no reason to assume with Frassinetti, L'orazione di Frontone 251, that Min. Fel. 1,3 *in ludicris et seriis* is a quotation from Fronto; see Proleg. LXII n. 3 and at 259,8.

Invidia: 'discontent' (Haines), cp. Sall. Iug. 30,1 *apud plebem gravis invidia*.

213,14 *congiaria*: not 'food-largess' (Haines) but 'benefits', 'allowances in money'. Plin. Pan. 26 describes what happened under Trajan *adventante congiarii die*. See at 91,3 and J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung IV^2, Leipzig 1884, 118ff.; Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten 230ff.; Rostowzew, Congiarium, RE IV (1901); H. Dessau, Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit I, Berlin 1924, 337ff.; D. van Berchem, Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'Empire, Genève 1939; W.H. Gross, Congiarium, Kleine Pauly (1964).

213,15 *frumentariam plebem*: 'the proletariat on the corn-register', not 'le peuple pour qui le pain cotidien fait problème' (Veyne); cp. Cass. Dio 43,21,3 and 55,10,1 ὁ σιτοδοτούμενος ὄχλος or σιτοδοτούμενον πλῆθος. *Frumentaria plebs* or *frumentarius populus* does not occur elsewhere. People could enter their names as unemployed; they were registered and received a *tessara frumentaria*, a piece of lead with their name engraved on it (hence they were called the *incisi*). Every time they produced this *tessara* they received their dole, hence *nominatim*. In Trajan's time some 200,000 people may have profited from such benefits.

For *singillatim* see at 39,7.

213,16 *interdum* (if correct): 'many a time'. The following words must hide something like *se delectare populum*.

214,2 *caerimonieis* refers to the rites attending the ludi circenses.

214,3 *pompas*: the games led off with a procession from the Capitol via the forum to the *portae pompae* of the Circus Maximus. Cp. Ovid. Fasti 4,391 *circus erit pompa celeber numeroque deorum*; Macrob. Sat. 1,23,13 *vehuntur in pompa ludorum circensium deorum similacra*. This procession turned into a carnavalesque spectacle: Val. Max. 1,1,16 *quod, cum ludos circenses aedilis (Varro) faceret, in Iovis optimi maximi tensa eximia facie puerum histrionem ad exuvias tenendas posuisset*; Sen. Contr. 1 praef. 24 *scio quam odiosa res mihi sit circensibus pompa*; Tert. Spect. 7,2 *sed circensium paulo pompatior suggestus, quibus proprie hoc nomen 'pompa' praecedens, quorum sit in semetipsa probans de simulacrorum serie, de imaginum agmine, de curribus, de tensis, de armamaxis, de sedibus, de coronis, de exuviis*. See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 44f.; K. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte, München 1960, 248ff.; O. Nussbaum, Geleit, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1975).

Carpenta: two-wheeled carriages with an ornamental top, used in processions: Isid. Orig. 20,12,3 *carpentum pompaticum vehiculi genus est*. Several authors testify that they should not be used for other purposes: Liv. 5,25,9; 34,3,9; Festus p. 245 M.; Suet. Cal. 15; Claud. 11; Tac. Ann. 12,42,3 (see Furneaux ad loc.); Cass. Dio 60,22,2; 60,33,2. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht I 394ff.

Tensas: state carriages with two wheels, drawn by four horses and only used for religious purposes. They were kept on the Capitol. Festus p. 364 M. *tensam ait vocari Sinnius Capito vehiculum, quo exuviae deorum ludicris circensibus in circum ad pulvinar vehuntur*; see Cic. Verr. II 1,154; 3,6; 5,186; Suet. Aug. 43; Vesp. 5; Liv. 5,41,2; Plut. Coriol. 25,3 (θῆσσα); Tert. Spect. 7,2. See G. Koch, Tensa, RE V A (1934); W.H. Gross, Tensa, Kleine Pauly (1974).

Exuvias: not 'spoils' (Haines) but 'attributes of the gods' which were carried on the *tensa*: Val. Max. 1,1,16; Apul. Socr. 14; Tert. Spect. 7,2. See Marquardt, o.c. III 508f.; Pollack, Exuviae, RE VI; W. Eisenhut, Exuviae, Kleine Pauly (1967).

214,4 *et*: 'and that in peacetime', see at 136,9.

In pace: the Romans got acquainted with elephants in the war with Pyrrhus. Rome itself saw elephants for the first time in 275 BC, when M'. Curius Dentatus held his triumphal procession. See I. Opelt, Elefant, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum IV (1959).

In acie: the Romans did use elephants in wars: in 200 BC P. Sulpicius Galba in the war against Philippus of Macedonia (Liv. 31,36,4), in 121 BC Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus against the Gauls (Oros. 5,13,2) and in 46 BC Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio in the battle of Thapsus (Bell. Afr. 81–86; Appian. Civ. 2,96; Oros. 6,16,3). After Fronto, Didius Iulianus in 193 (Cass. Dio 73,16,3).

214,4–5 *spectaculeis nocturnis* refers to Caesar's triumph in 46 BC: Suet. Caes. 37,2 *ascenditque Capitolium ad lumina quadraginta elephantis dextra atque sinistra lychnuchos gestantibus*; Cass. Dio 43,22,1 πολλῶν δὲ ἐλεφάντων λαμπάδας φερόντων.

214,5 *s ulla*, not Sulla: nothing is known of a triumph with elephants.

214,6 *constrepi*: 'to be made such a fuss of'. The verb occurs here for the first time, then in Gell. 4,1,4 and Apul. Met. 4,26,5; 6,6,3; 8,27,4; 11,10,2; and in a few later authors.

Te (if correct) could be 'about you'. See transitive *strepere* at 43,17.

214,7 *linguis . . . ominari*: 'that they enunciate mischief by all sorts of idle stories'. *Ominari* with ablative also Liv. 26,18,8; Lact. Opif. 3,2.

Detractionis refutandae: see Proleg. LXf. and at 126,5–9; 202,1f.; 213,8f.

214,11 *quid*: see at 27,6.

Litteris: see at 118,3.

214,12 *ut qui*: see at 35,21.

Restaurare: 'to rehabilitate', perhaps at variance with Trajan who, according to Cass. Dio 68,7,4, παιδείας . . . ἀκριβοῦς, ὅση ἐν λόγοις, οὐ μετέσχεν. Ps. Aurel. Vict. Epit. 13,8 *moderate eloquens*.

214,15 *proavus*: Trajan adopted Hadrian, Hadrian adopted Pius, Pius adopted Verus.

214,16 discrimen: 'result'; 'however the question of superiority be decided, the difference will only be a family matter' (Haines).

Familiae nomine though Trajan and Hadrian were not Antonines.

214,17 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

215,1–3 Chronology: though it is a letter to Marcus Caesar, the title is not fictitious because Fronto himself calls it Laus fumi et pulveris (231,13). It must be an early letter: in 161 Fronto writes that it was written *olim* (231,13). The form of address *Caesari suo* points to the period when Fronto was Marcus' teacher, 139–145 (see at 1,5 and 67,16), and all the letters with this form of address (1,5; 2,18; 8,8; 24,15; 31,20) were written between 143 and 145. 216,2 Fronto speaks of Plato and Lysias, the same theme we find in a letter of 139 (250,11). So it seems likely that this Laus is a piece of work with which Fronto introduced himself to his new pupil; we may date it 139, with Haines, edition, Portalupi and Champlin. Haines, Chronolgy, dates it 140, Brakman 141–142.

In the second half of the fifth century BC, a new rhetorical genre arose, adoxography or paradoxography, see A. Westermann, Παραδοξογράφοι, Braunschweig 1839; Schmid-Stählin, Geschichte d. griech. Lit. I[6] 579f.; II 1,337f.; Guillemin, Le public 121f. Polycrates of Athens already wrote ἐγκώμια on a pot, on pebbles, mice and on salt, see Fr. Blass, Die Attische Beredsamkeit 2, Leipzig 1874, 341f. In the first and second centuries AD

such παίγνια or *nugae* (*nugalia* Fronto 231,13) were written by Dio Chrysostomus (on hair, on the parrot, on rib-grass), by Favorinus (on the quartan fever) and by Lucianus (ἐγκώμιον μυίας). Catullus wrote an encomium on Lesbia's sparrow (2; 1,1,4 he calls his poems *nugae*), Ovid. Amor. 2,6 praises Corinna's parrot, which is praised again by Stat. Silv. 2,4. Mart. 11,69 sounds the laud of a dog, but the praise of what is extremely useless we do not find in Rome, hence *nullum huiuscemodi scriptum Romana lingua exstat satis nobile.* Blithe-spiritedness was in Fronto's nature, and he wanted to show his new pupil—to whose character a certain hypochondria was not foreign—modern avenues in literature and his ability to cope with them; cp. Quint. Inst. 3,7 *De laude et vituperatione*, where he states 3,7,3 *quasdam esse ex hoc genere materias ad solam compositas ostentationem ut laudes deorum virorumque*; 3,7,28 *et somni et mortis scriptae laudes*; Augustin. Vera rel. 77 *vermiculi laudem sine ullo mendacio copiose possum dicere . . . cineris et stercoris laudem verissime atque uberrime plerique dixerunt* (but he may have in mind writers *de agricultura*). For Fronto's love of fables see 20,9; 47,1ff.; 53,10ff.; 147,6ff.; 152,2ff.; 224,4ff.; 241,1ff. I do not believe that this genre has to do with Fronto's *siccum genus*, see at 272,4.

215,3 *dis paratae*: it seems that Hauler came to his conjectures because he saw no sense in *disparatae*. But Fronto sees gods in Fumus and Pulvis: 217,4f.

215,6 *forsan*: see at 51,13.

De: see at 70,8.

Contemnant: there is no reason to add here a verbum sentiendi or declarandi, cp. e.g. Tac. Ann. 1,24,1 *ut Drusum . . . mitteret nullis certis mandatis: ex re consulturum*, and so 1,38,3; 2,5,3; and Fronto 19,3; 152,6; 192,17–193,3; 238,10f.

215,7 *fumus* and *pulvis* indicate all that is deceiving, cp. Marcus, Medit. 10,27 καπνὸς καὶ σποδός. Καπνός in this sense also Medit. 5,29; 10,31; κόνις 9,36. Add to the examples given by Otto: Lact. Ira 24,4 *(cor nostrum) non fumo, non pulvere, sed malis cogitationibus sordidatur.* A similar paradox we find 4,4ff., where Fronto prefers what is *fortuitus* and *nullis causis serviens* and *sine ordine* to reason.

215,8 *existimabis*: fut. pro imperativo, see at 19,7. *Existimare* with a dependent question is found several times in Cicero, but since Livy it does not occur any more until here.

Lusa an locata: alliteration: 'whether my labour is lost or well laid out' (Haines). *Ludere* is 'to play away' and *locare* 'to invest well', both Plautine expressions: *operam ludere* Plaut. Capt. 344; Cas. 424; Pseud. 369; Rud. 426; Ter. Phorm. 332; after Fronto only Ambros. Hex. 6,2,8; 6,3,13; Spir. 1,9,102. *Operam locare*: Plaut. Amph. 278; Persa 228; Stich. 472; Trin. 843; and Cic. Fam. 2,6,3.

Poscere with infinitive is normal when its subject is identical with the subject of the infinitive; Fronto is the first to use it with different subjects, and so Tert. Nat. 1,7,12 *iustitia poscebat dispicere*; Ammian. 20,5,3 *res poscit* with infinitive. Cp. Sall. Iug. 17,1 *res postulare videtur . . . exponere.*

215,9 *ratione*: 'method' (Haines).

215,10–11 *comoedis vel Atellanis*: the *ars ludicra* of the stage often presents silly comparisons, like the lover compared to a fish (Plaut. Asin. 178ff.), or

tries to prove that a poor bride is better than a rich one (Aul. 534f.), and it especially indulges in the shuffle of persons with its ludricous consequences. For the Atellanae see at 29,3; 49,19; 57,2; 106,13 (marg. d); 268,13.

215,12–13 *conquiret . . . conlocabit . . . coniunget*: alliteration.

215,12–14 The rules holding good for a rhetorical work in general must especially apply *in ludicris*. See at 19,2; 138,14. Portalupi, Un mimo letterario 89, assumes that Macrobius had these lines in mind as well as 47,1ff., 189,15ff. and 241,1ff. when he characterized Fronto's oratory style as a *siccum genus*, but see at 272,4.

215,12 *crebras sententias*: 'an abundance of maxims', see at 44,2; 132,1. *Dense conlocabit*: 'pack them closely' (Haines), against the normal rule: Quint. Inst. 8,5,26 *densitas earum (sententiarum) obstat invicem*; Rufin. Orig. in Cant. 3 p. 147 B *densitatem spiritalium sensuum*. In the same year that this letter was written Marcus expressed his admiration for Fronto's *sensuum densitas* (249,9).

Subtiliter: 'con finezza' (Portalupi).

215,13 *geminata*: see at 135,13–15.

There is nothing wrong with *supervacanea*: see Kühner I 234ff. and Hofmann-Szantyr 171f. on adjectives where we use an adverb. The comma should be deleted. The adverb *supervacaneo* is used by Fronto—and by Fronto only—59,8.

Inferciet: Cic. Orat. 231 uses the same word for the rhetor who wrongly *inferciens verba quasi rimas expleat*. However, there is no need to believe with Schwierczina, Frontoniana 30, that Fronto quotes the Orator.

215,14 *concludet*: 'to round off' (Haines). Cp. Cic. Orat. 20 *(oratio) neque perfecta neque conclusa*; 230 *aptius explet concluditque sententias*. Fronto means the clausulae, cp. Orat. 208 *nemo . . . scripsit orationem generis eius, quod esset ad delectationem comparatum remotumque a iudiciis forensique certamine, quin redigeret omnes fere in quadrum numerumque sententias*. See also Orat. 221 and at 17,18; 24,21.

Aliter: ellipsis of e.g. *res sese habet*.

215,15 *iudiciariis: oratio iudiciaria* is found only here; Quint. Inst. 2,15,12 speaks of *oratio iudicialis*, but *iudiciaria cognitio, controversia, lex* etc. are common expressions. See at 49,11f.; 272,4.

Ut: see at 38,20; *curo* with subjunctive at 37,11.

215,16 *incomptius*: *incomptus* of style e.g. Cic. Orat. 78 *haec subtilis oratio etiam incompta delectat*; Quint. Inst. 8,6,65 on a certain word order: *rectum erat, sed durum et incomptum*; Sen. Epist. 75,6 *compte . . . disserat*.

Finiantur: finire, like *concludere* above, is also used by Cicero to indicate the clausula of a sentence: Orat. 164 *nec solum componentur verba ratione, sed etiam finientur*; 170 *ipsi infracta et amputata loquuntur et eos vituperant, qui apta et finita pronuntiant*; De orat. 3,191 *ut sententiae verbis finiantur*. See at 216,1f.; 216,9; and the crit. app. at 135,16.

Istic: 'here' (Haines), see at 1,11.

Sed contra is more or less abundant; it occurs since Cicero; in Fronto only here.

215,16–17 *inconcinnum vel hiulcum*: 'di disarmonico o di interrotto da iati' (Portalupi), see at 19,2; 41,10; 134,2; 144,11. Cic. De orat. 3,171 *conlocationis est componere et struere verba sic, ut neve asper eorum concursus neve hiulcus sit*;

it is not certain that Fronto quotes this passage. *Oratio concinna* also Cic. De orat. 3,100; Cic. Orat. 150 *ne extremorum verborum cum insequentibus primis concursus aut hiulcas voces efficiat aut asperas.* See at 144,11.

215,17 *quin ut*: 'yes, even that'.

Tenui: 'fine' (Haines). *Veste*: see at 88,9.

215,17–18 *oris detexta*: 'finished off with hems', 'borders' (Haines). Elsewhere *detexere* means 'to finish weaving'. *Ora* also 216,8.

215,18 *revimentis*: 'fringes'. The word occurs only here and in the Glossaria, where it is explained by παραστροφή, the 'selvage' of a robe. Other authors have *fimbriae*, which may refer to something like crochet. Tac. Ann. 12,16,3 has the hapax *vimentum*, 'wickerwork', and both substantives are derivations of *viere*, 'to plait'.

Cincta: 'trimmed' (Haines) as 88,10, see at 269,16. Note the gradation: the sentence should not only be finished off neatly, but also furnished with an ornamental clause.

215,19 *luminis*: see at 88,18.

215,19–20 *clavi vel fibula*: the word *aliqua* indicates that it is a simile of the conclusion of a sentence and its linking up with the next one. The only way we can understand *clavis* is to take it in the sense of 'closing-pin', the modern safety pin, a meaning we do not find in the TLL. Both the pin and the brooch keep the two ends of a dress decently together. The conjecture *clavo aliquo* (Volkmann, Fröhner and Haines: 'with some sort of fastening' [trans. by the last-named]) raises new difficulties, even if we take it in the sense of 'border' (cp. *laticlavus*). For *fibula* cp. Verg. Aen. 4,139 *subnectit fibula vestem*; Ovid. Met. 2,412; Tert. Adv. Herm. 26,3 *'autem' ipsum velut fibula coniunctivae particulae ad conexum narrationi adpositum est*; Ennod. Opusc. 2,12 p. 291,10 *subiunctam quaestionem rhetorica fibula momordistis allegando.* It is obvious that in these passages *fibula* is not a rhetorical term, as Lackenbacher, TLL s.v., thinks.

215,22–23 *capitis . . . voluptatis*: a gen. finalis. This genitive occurs for the first time in Ter. Ad. 270, then a few times in the Rhetor ad Herennium, Sallust, Livy, Celsius, Velleius and several times in Tacitus, Gellius and Aurelius Victor, but not in Cicero and Caesar. Usually it is found in a gerund(ive) construction, seldom with an isolated substantive as here *facetiarum et voluptatis*; cp. Rhet. Her. 4,50 *utrum . . . avaritiae an egestatis accessit ad maleficium?* See H. Furneaux in his Tacitus edition, Oxford I[2] 52; Kühner I 741f.; E. Löfstedt, Zum Stil des Tacitus, Dragma M.P. Nilsson 1939, 297ff.; Hofmann-Szantyr 75; E.P. Pasoli, Saggi di grammatica latina, Bologna 1961, 40ff., and Riv. di filol. e di istr. class. 91, 1963, 46ff. For a similar construction, see at 233,13.

Capitis defendendi: the *genus iudiciale.*

Suadendae legis: the *genus deliberativum.*

Exercitus adhortandi: Quint. Inst. 3,6,47 *quattuor (status) fecit Athenaeus,* προτρεπτικὴν στάσιν *vel* παρορμητικήν, *id est exhortativum, qui suasoriae est proprius*; 5,10,83 *exhortativum genus.*

Inflammandae contionis: Quint. Inst. 9,4,130 speaks of the *genus demonstrativum, iudiciale* and *contionale*, where *contionale* stands for *deliberativum.* Quintilian

is the only one who uses the term *genus contionale*: 3,4,1; 3,4,9 and 10; 3,8,14. According to Cicero, *inflammare* is characteristic of the *genus deliberativum* and the *genus iudiciale*. For the *genera orationis* see at 49,11f.

215,24 *parvae... magnis*: cp. e.g. Cic. Orat. 14 *parva enim magnis saepe rectissime conferuntur* (Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. magnus 1); Verg. Georg. 4,176 *si parva licet componere magnis*; Ovid. Trist. 1,6,28 *grandia si parvis adsimulare licet.*

215,25 *denique*: 'consequently', see at 10,6.

215,26 *adseveratio*: 'imposing seriousness'. Rhet. Her. 1,3,4 *confirmatio est nostrorum argumentorum expositio cum asseveratione*; Quint. Inst. 4,2,94 *cum praesertim quorundam probatio sola sit in adseveratione et perseverantia*; 11,3,2 *neque probatio ulla... tam firma est, ut non perdat vires suas, nisi adiuvatur adseveratione dicentis.*

215,27 *versus et proverbia*: see at 9,1 and 268,17.

Inficete is a variant of *infacete* in Plin. Nat. 19,145; 35,25; 37,10; and perhaps in Plaut. Truc. 355. In combination with *conficta* it may be a pun or an etymological figure, see J.F. Westermann, Archaische... woordkunst 117. Cp. Plaut. Asin. 351 *facio facetum me... virum*; Cic. Cael. 69 *non infacetum mendacium.*

215,28 *mendacia... mendacium*: enallage numeri.

Argumento: 'reasoning' (Haines). O. Hey, TLL s.v., thinks that it here means 'theme'. See at 66,11.

216,1 *cumprimis*: see at 67,6.

Disponere: a rhetorical term, see at 10,10–12. Rhet. Her. 3,9,16 *dispositio est per quam illa, quae invenimus, in ordinem redigimus, ut certo quidquid loco pronuntietur*; Quint. Inst. 3,3,8.

216,2 *rite*: 'correctly', not 'logical' (Haines) or 'felice' (Portalupi). See at 59,7.

Divinus philosophus has been accepted by Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi 356. Plato is called *divinus* by Cic. Opt. gen. 17; Tusc. 1,79.

Lusiam: in Plato's Phaedrus, Socrates tries to convince Phaedrus that rhetoric should not recommend or condemn something until the orator knows what is good and what is bad, which is precisely what Plato condemns in Lysias (264a–b) οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τελευτῆς ἐξ ὑπτίας ἀνάπαλιν διανεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸν λόγον ... οὐ χύδην δοκεῖ βεβλῆσθαι τὰ τοῦ λόγου; see at 250,8f.

216,3 *culpat* with acc. cum inf. only Plin. Nat. 20,219 and 22,4. With accusative and acc. cum inf. only here.

216,5 *ita... si* also 44,21M.

216,5–6 *si... nectemus*: 'if we arrange our arguments in classes, and so concatenate them' (Haines).

216,7 *per saturam feruntur*: *satura* is a dish of mixed ingredients, hence *per saturam* metaphorically 'without systematic order', 'pell-mell': Lucil. 48 *per saturam aedilem factum*; Sall. Iug. 29,5 *quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis*; Fronto 130,5; Lact. Inst. 1,21,13 *in libris historiarum per saturam refert*; Eumen. Grat. act. 11,1 *separata igitur utraque dicam; neque enim quasi per saturam confundenda sunt tanta beneficia. Feruntur*: 'are served up', not 'are said' as O. Hey, TLL s.v. fero, thinks, nor 'formassero' (Della Corte). Haines does not

late it; 'com'è nella tradizione della satira' (Portalupi) is all wrong. According to Fest. p. 249, Sallust borrowed the expression from the *veteres*.

Sed ut: here Fronto reduces the question between Plato and Lysias to the question how to join two sentences, and resumes the image of the dress of 215,17.

216,7–8 *in . . . praetendat*: as in 215,19, *aliquam* shows that we are dealing with a simile. The point is that the *inconcinnum vel hiulcum* should be avoided and that each sentence should run on smoothly into the next one. In view of *ubi prior . . . ordiatur*, it means 'so that the preceding sentence links up precisely by way of a sort of hem with the following one, stretching its border', not 'overlaps the subsequent one and dovetails into it' (Haines). Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 63, better: 'dass der vorgehende Gedanke dem folgenden irgend einen Zipfel reicht und seinen Saum angrenzen lässt'. It is a very unlucky metaphor. The second hand (marg. b) has misunderstood the passage.

Porrigat = *se porrigat*, see at 87,25.

216,8 *ubi*: 'precisely where'; hence the subjunctive *sit*.

216,9 *transgredi*: for this general rule see e.g. Rhet. Her. 1,9,14; 4,25,35; Quint. Inst. 4,1,78.

216,11 (marg. c) *variatio* as a rhetorical term occurs here for the first time; Cicero uses *varietas*. Priscian. Inst. 17,155 *figuram, quam Graeci* ἀλλοιότητα *vocant, id est variationem*. See at 10,11; 10,14ff. The reference to the proverb *varietas delectat* is out of place here, see at 64,12.

Cum detrimento: cp. 18,11 *non magno detrimento rectae eloquentiae*.

Recta continuatio: 'continuità ininterrotta' (Portalupi), not 'a correct continuity' (Haines). *Continuatio* is a rhetorical term, the uninterrupted continuation of a periodos, hence the periodos itself. Rhet. Her. 4,12,18 *fugere oportet longam verborum continuationem*; Cic. De orat. 3,186 *quodsi continuatio verborum haec soluta* ('in prose') *multo est aptior et iucundior, si est articulis membrisque distincta quam si continuata ac producta*; Aquila, Rhet. 19 p. 28,22 *optimam . . . orationem futuram, si et . . . in quibusdam partibus continuationem illam perpetuae elocutionis assumpserit et nonnumquam caesis interrupta fuerit*.

(marg. d) *austere*: before Fronto, this adverb occurs only in Cic. Mur. 74.

Fordiora: fordus, 'with young', 'pregnant', is only here used metaphorically; it has the same meaning as *gravis* or *gravidus*.

Hauler's *[h]abunde* can hardly be correct ('con sovrabbondanza' [Portalupi]): we expect *leviter*, *secure*, and therefore I now prefer Naber's reading *h*<*ilari*>*ter*.

216,12 (marg. e) *modo* = *dummodo*, as 130,8.

Incorruptum: Cic. Brut. 36 *sucus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc aetatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus nitor*; 132 *incorrupta quaedam Latini sermonis integritas*; Quint. Inst. 8,3,57 *corrupta oratio in verbis maxime inpropriis, redundantibus, comprensione obscura, compositione fracta, vocum similium aut ambiguarum puerili captatione consistit*; Tac. Dial. 34,4 *(iuvenes) vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur*.

Pudicum is connected with the *genus tenue* or *subtile*, see at 49,14f. Cp. Petron. 2,6 *grandis et, ut ita dicam, pudica oratio non est maculosa nec turgida, sed*

naturali pulchritudine exsurgit; Gell. 6,14,11 *(genus orationis), cum caste pudiceque ornatur, fit illustrius.*

Tusculanum: Cato was born in Tusculum. *Tusculanum* refers to *incorruptum et pudicum* rather than *dulce*, for, especially in his speeches, Cato was anything but *dulcis*. We must think here of his dislike of Greek influence (Plin. Nat. 29,14 *quandoque ista gens (Graeca) suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet*) and of his preference for a direct, pure style (though others might speak of his *orationes horridulae*, Cic. Orat. 152).

On Herodotus' γλυκύτης see Cic. Hort. p. 15 Grilli; Orat. 39; Quint. Inst. 9,4,18; 10,1,73; 10,1,101; Dio Chrys. Orat. 18,10; Lucian. Herod. 1; Hermog. De id. 2,4. Hermog. De id. 1,3 speaks of his καθαρότης (cp. *incorruptum*). See at 106,13 (marg. c); 241,1.

216,13 (marg. f) *rationem docendi*: 'the way how to teach'. This reflection on theory and practice resembles 80,7f.; 128,23; 204,3. Cp. Sall. Cat. 3,1 *haudquaquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et auctorem rerum*; Plin. Epist. 6,16,3 *beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero, quibus utrumque.*

216,13–14 *laborare . . . dicere*: see at 162,1.

Bene precari: see at 43,4; 78,4.

216,15 *opibus*: 'aid' (Haines), 'mezzi esterni' (Portalupi).

216,18 *relictissimos*: 'most passed by in the praises of others' (Haines). The superlative occurs only here, as *commitissimus* 97,2. The preposition *a* is used here on the analogy of *remotus a*, *seorsum a* and *infrequens a* 217,4. Cp. 68,2 *quantum ab his melioribus ingenium meum relictum sit*, 'comes short of' (Haines).

217,1 *agrum intactum* is poetical, e.g. Ovid. Met. 1,101 *immunis rastroque intacta . . . tellus.*

217,3 *fanum avium*: see at 29,5.

Sacrificent has been accepted by Timpanaro, Nuovi contributi 356.

217,4 *infrequentes a*: 'not much in evidence in the matter of praises' (Haines). *A* is 'with regard to', 'in view of', only here with *infrequens* but in colloquial Latin several times with other adjectives, e.g. Plaut. Truc. 833 *ab ingenio improbust*; Cic. Att. 8,14,1 *tempus . . . mutum esse a litteris*. See Kühner I 496 and at 77,15; 83,16.

217,4–5 *in usu cultuque*: see at 48,5.

217,5 *frequentissimus*: 'very much in evidence' (Haines).

217,6 *asae* refers to *Fumus*, and *viae* to *Pulvis*. *Asae* is a premeditated archaism: Macrob. 3,2,8 *Varro* (frg. 128 Gramm. Rom. fragm. Funaioli) . . . *dicit aras primum asas dictas*; Ter. Scaur. Gramm. VII 13,13; Serv. auct. Aen. 4,219 *veteres aras 'asas' dicebant, postea inmutata littera a s in r 'aras' dixerunt . . . quod Varro Rerum Divinarum in libro quinto plenius narrat.* The form *(a)asa* is also used in Oscan-Umbrian.

Viae . . . semitae: *quod volgo aiunt* shows that it is a proverb (see at 48,3), 'Wege und Stege'. Plaut. Curc. 287 *in via de semita*; Rud. 212 *aut viam aut semitam*; Trin. 481 *decedam ego illi de via, de semita*; Ambros. De fide 3,1,1 *vias quasdam fidei et semitas demonstrare*; Vulg. Psalm. 24,4 *vias tuas, domine, demonstra mihi et semitas tuas edoce me.*

217,7–8 *numerandus . . . in numero*: a premeditated etymological figure, because the usual expression is either *in numero habere (ducere)* or *in loco numerare*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 124f. and at 57,5.

217,8 *ventos*: as Aquilo, Boreas, Zephyrus.

217,9 *nebulas nubesque*: the same alliteration Lucr. 5,253 *(terra) exhalat nebulam nubesque*; 6,1099 *nubes nebulaeque*; 6,1121 *nebula ac nubes*. *Nebulas*: Hyg. Fab. 38,5 Nebula, the mother of Phrixus and Helle; cp. Verg. Aen. 2,606; 10,636; 12,52. *Nubes* may refer to Aristophanes' Νεφέλαι.

217,10 *amiciri nubibus*: e.g. Hom. Il. V 186; XIV 343; XV 153; 308; XX 150; Verg. Georg. 4,424; Aen. 2,606; 10,636; 12,53; Hor. Carm. 1,2,31 (see at 29,5); (not Aen. 1,516).

217,11 *obstitisse: obstare* with *ab* Val. Max. 4,3 ext. 4 *velim a sole mihi non obstes*; Lucan. 1,59 *nullaeque obstent a Caesare nubes*.

Proprium is used by Fronto with genitive 3,3; 57,4; 227,12.

217,12–13 *vincire . . . detinere*: Hauler's *vincere* cannot be correct: derisively, both Plautus and Fronto have the penal terms *vincire* and *verberare*: Aul. 347 *vincite, verberate, in puteum condite*; Poen. 146 *suspende, vinci, verbera*; 833 *verberatum, vinctum, addictum*. As penal terms, Cic. Verr. II 5,170 *facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare*; Tac. Germ. 7 *neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem*; 25 *verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere*; Gaius, Dig. 47,9,9 *vinctus, verberatus*; Call. Dig. 48,19,28,7 *vinculis vel custodia detentus*. See Wölfflin, Über die allitterierenden Verbindungen 90.

217,13 *dehiscat*: I have now adopted—with Haines—Heindorf's conjecture because *deposcat*, 'to ask for', seems impossible, though Gudemann, TLL s.v. deposco, defends it. Translations of *deposcat* such as 'si dà' (Della Corte) and 'se trova' (Portalupi) are arbitrary. Cp. Ovid. Trist. 2,85 *cunctaque fortuna rimam faciente dehiscunt*; 5,12,27 *rimisque dehiscit (cumba)*; Liv. frg. 21 *oppidi turris . . . subrutis fundamentis dehiscere ingentibus rimis . . . coepit*.

217,15 Mai, Naber and Haines put the marginal note c at the beginning of the next letter, though it must belong to the Laudes Fumi et Pulveris, see 218,2 marg. a. For Fronto's ideas on friendship see at 4,2–5,14. Note the assonance *conficiunt—confidunt*.

218,1 Haines has correctly seen that this is a letter, see *oro te* (220,1), though Fronto himself calls it *Laudes neglegentiae* (218,2 marg. b). This corresponds to 231,13, where he calls his letter *Caesari suo* (215,5) *Laus fumi et pulveris*.

Chronology: apparently an early letter written at a time when Fronto still had vigour and literary ambition (231,12); so the form of address *Caesari suo Fronto* seems adequate, more so than *Domino meo*. This letter must be later than 139 (when the Laudes fumi et pulveris were written); otherwise Fronto would also have mentioned 231,13ff. these Laudes neglegentiae. Here he is Marcus' teacher, so we must date the letter 140–145, see at 1,5; 67,16. Naber and Champlin do not venture to date it; Champlin, Chronology, even suggests that it was written at a time when Marcus was burdened with the care for the empire. But the Laudes neglegentiae were not written to cheer Marcus up, as Fronto did with his De feriis Alsiensibus

in 161; here he wants to demonstrate his literary ability and to impress his youthful pupil. Haines and Portalupi date the letter 139. See also at 219,2f.

218,2 (marg. b) *agitavi* with infinitive and without *mecum* or *mente* or *corde* is used since Plaut. Rud. 936. See at 25,2.

Quae: in less careful language there is a tendency to use neuter instead of congruent pronouns, e.g. Plaut. Poen. 542 *per iocum . . . dictum habeto quae nos tibi respondimus*; Cic. Fam. 2,8,2 *nullis in aliis nisi de republica sermonibus versatus sum, quae non possunt scribi*; Cic. Sen. 7 *interfui querelis . . . quae . . . deplorare solebant.* See Kühner I 61ff.; Hofmann-Szantyr 431f. Mai, Naber and Haines read *quas*.

Nondum etiam: 'not even yet', see at 212,21.

Ut res est: 'as it is', 'com'è di fatto' (Portalupi), not 'as the subject demands' (Haines).

218,5 *temperantia coercetur*: *temperantia* may be nominative, cp. Cic. Fin. 2,73 *si pudor, si modestia, si pucicitia, si uno verbo temperantia poenae . . . metu coercebuntur.* But Haines and Portalupi regard it as an ablative: 'is checked by self-control', 'è corretto dalla moderazione'.

218,5–6 *volgo . . . dare*: see at 108,4f.

Laudata sc. *est*.

Indulgentia with infinitive occurs only here.

218,6 *nisi*: see at 162,12.

Facile intellegas: 'unless you show some well-meant understanding'. There is no reason te read *neglegas* with Mai; Naber; E. Lommatzsch, TLL s.v. delictum; Haines; V. Bulhart, TLL s.v. indulgeo; and Portalupi[1]. E. Wauters, Latomus 34, 1975, 790, justly defends *intellegas*.

218,7 *indulgere* in the sense of 'forgive' is rare: before Fronto only Calp. Decl. 18.

218,8 *quod quis*: see at 110,21.

Intutum: Schwierczina, Frontoniana 17, wronlgly assumes that this is an allusion to Sall. Hist. 1,51,17 *rem publicam intutam*.

218,9 *omne* instead of an adverb also 223,12 *omne contra evenit.* See Kühner I 236.

Contra videtur only here and Paul. Dig. 50,16,240 *aliis contra videbatur.* Sall. Iug. 85,1 *mihi contra ea videtur*; 85,22 *quod contra est.*

Multo multoque: see at 26,23; 118,13f. Heindorf's *multoque multoque* does not exist.

218,9–10 *magis obnoxiam*: see at 108,4.

218,10–11 *insidias locat* also Plaut. Curc. 25; Rud. 474; Lucil. 856; Liv. 2,50,6; Ammian. 29,6,16; Sulp. Sev. Chron. 1,22,5.

218,11 *ubi libeat* should not be altered to *uti libeat* with Heindorf and Haines. See at 67,1. *Ubilibet* also Sen. Dial. 9,1,6; Augustin. Epist. 27,6; Conf. 3,7,14.

218,12 *in . . . fallere*: 'it would be easy work to take in' (Haines). *In proclivi esse*, 'to be easy', also Plaut. Capt. 336; Ter. Andr. 701; Sall. Rep. 2,8,6; Apul. Plat. 2,11 *cum haec in proclivi sita sint*; cp. Naev. Com. 24 *in proclivi profundier*; Bell. Alex. 76,1 *cum in proclivi detruderentur.*

218,13 *circumspectos*: 'cautious', a meaning since Sen. Contr. 7,5,11.

Exsultantis opibus: 'those who pride themselves on their capabilities'; cp. Verg. Aen. 2,386 *successu exsultans animisque*; Ps. Quint. Decl. 19,2 p. 338,10 *corporalibus bonis iuventus insolenter exsultat.* Corrections are not necessary, though Ida Kapp, TLL s.v. exsulto, regards it here as corrupt.

218,14 *ferme*: 'per lo più' (Portalupi), see at 64,13.

Tutatur: since Plaut. Amph. 651 the active form *tutare* is used in old Latin, but also in late Latin. See Neue-Wagener III 97. Elsewhere Fronto always has *tutari* (41,1; 54,14; 167,18; 188,9). See *tueo* 44,18.

Astu: both in old and in classical Latin only the ablative is used. See crit. app. at 124,15; 224,1.

218,15–16 *erratis neglegentia* and *benefactis gratiis*: two substantives with ablative: 'mistakes committed through negligence' (Haines) and 'benefits without ulterior motives'. *Erratum* and *benefactum* with ablative do not occur elsewhere, but *gratis facere* is a common expression, so there is no reason to read *gratior* with Leopardi, Heindorf, Haines and O. Hey, TLL s.v. gratia 2222,38. *Gratiis* is not 'maggiore gratitudine' (Della Corte) or 'senza che le costi nulla' (Portalupi). Note the pun and the polyptoton *gratiis—gratia.*

218,16 *praeter opinionem*: 'contrary to expectation'.

Gratum est with acc. cum inf. since Cic. Fam. 9,22,5.

218,17 *indiligentem* with genitive: see at 21,8; 213,11.

In tempore: 'in season' (Haines), see at 110,6. *Suo tempore* 92,18.

Neglexisse: aoristic perfect instead of inf. praesens after *gratum est*, as in other authors after *iuvat* and *libet.* See at 75,3f.

218,18 *saeculum aureum*: apart from the poets mentioned under the text, cp. Hesiod. Op. 106ff.; Sen. Epist. 115,13 *quod optimum videri volunt (poetae) saeculum, aureum appellant*; Tac. Dial. 12,3 *felix illud et, ut more nostro* (= poetarum) *loquar, aureum saeculum.* Cp. A. Kurfess, Aetas aurea, Reallex. f. Antike u. Chistentum I (1950); H. Schwabe, Weltalter, RE Suppl. XV (1978).

Memoratum: *memorare* with double accusative since Plaut. Most. 963 *si haec hic vera memorat.*

Si: see at 162,12f.

Cum animo reputes: see at 25,2.

218,19–20 *ager . . . ferret* has an iambic rhythm but is not a quotation, as Ehrenthal 43 n. 82 justly observes.

218,20 *utensilia* is mostly used of food.

218,21 *bono genere nata* is a standard expression: Plaut. Aul. 212; Epid. 107; 169; Merc. 969; Persa 645; Cato, Or. frg. 42 Sblendorio; Rhet. Her. 3,7,13; Cic. Mur. 15. So it is not borrowed from Plautus, as Selvatico, Scambio 212 n. 115, thinks.

218,21–22 *deis . . . probata*: see at 47,1.

219,1 *grata benefactis* (ablative): 'welcomed in welldoing' (Haines).

219,2 *declaratur: declarare* with the accusative of a substantive is quite usual, e.g. Cic. Pis. 3 *me . . . consulem declaravit*; with a substantive and an adjective here for the first time; cp. Hermog. Dig. 49,14,46 pr. *qui . . . suppositus declaratus est.*

219,2–3 *Favorini*: he probably had a beauty parlour, and even the women of the imperial house were his clients. His speciality was make-up

and hair-dyeing. In his first edition, Mai saw this very well: 'pigmentarius quidam', but in his second and third editions he saw in him Favorinus of Arles, referring to Testim. 5 p. 260, where Fronto and Favorinus have a discussion about the names of colours. Unfortunately, this has become a common view: Marres, De Favorini 20; Ehrenthal 46; Priebe II 12; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Th. Colardeau, De Favorini Arelatensis studiis et scriptis, thesis, Gratianopoli 1903, 20; Hauler, Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien 61, 1910, 678; Haines; Müller-Graupe, Pigmenta, RE XXI (1941); Barigazzi, Favorino 140; Baldwin, Aulus Gellius 105, and Studies 21; Champlin, Fronto 40; and Portalupi. Rubenbauer, TLL s.v. focus, and the Oxford Dict. must also see in him the philosopher of Arles, since they regard *pigmentis fuci* as a rhetorical term, as in Cic. De orat. 2,188 *sine pigmentis fucoque puerili*; see also 3,100; 3,199; Brut. 298; Att. 2,1,1; Sen. Dial. 9,1,3; Quint. Inst. 8,3,6; Fronto 19,2 *fucatus*; Gell. 12,4,3. A. Stein, Favorinus, PIR III^2 (1943), does not mention our passage: did he not agree with the above scholars? However, it is not rhetoric that Fronto is here speaking of, but women who can afford to neglect their appearance: *cutem* and *capillum* point to cosmetics and hairdressing. Moreover, there is *nostri*: Testim. 5 nowhere shows a close connection between the faddish philosopher and Fronto. *Nostri* cannot mean 'our mutual friend', since there was no connection of Marcus with the man from Arles. *Noster* means 'we both know him very well', see at 90,2; 108,9; 185,8; 187,7. For *fucus* as 'make-up' see Tibull. 1,8,11 *fuco splendente genas ornare*; Tert. Cult. fem. 1,2,1 *medicamanta ex fuco, quibus genae colorantur.* To dye hair with: Prop. 2,18b,31 *si caeruleo quaedam sua tempora fuco tinxerit.* For *appingere* see at 145,2.

Quisnam for *quibusnam* does not seem to occur elsewhere, but *quis* for *quibus* is frequent, and we also find *quiscum* = *quibuscum*, see at 172,4; *quisque* = *quibusque* Lucr. 4,798; *aliquis* = *aliquibus* Liv. 24,22,14; 26,49,6.

The following presents new difficulties: if we read with Naber and Hauler *appingeremus* (appingerem<u>? is a misprint), we cannot connect *appingeremus* with *licet*, because it is an interrogative sentence. Naber reads *appingeremus? Licet. Ut*, but then we have an acc. cum inf. in the next lines, the explanation of which is very doubtful; we might compare e.g. Ter. Haut. 503 *ita comparatam esse hominum naturam*, dependent on a suppressed 'considering that', see Kühner I 720. Nor does it make sense to read *appingeremus? Licet . . . neglegere . . . inlecebras creari* etc. The conclusion must be that Mai's *<vide>licet* is correct: *videlicet* (= *videre licet*) with acc. cum inf. we find in Plaut. Stich. 555 *videlicet parcum illum fuisse senem*; cp. Asin. 599 *negotiosum interdius videlicet Solonem*; Lucr. 1,210 *esse videlicet in terris primordia rerum*; Gell. 17,5,9 *videlicet eum vocabula rerum vera ignoravisse.* This use of *videlicet*—like that of *scilicet*, see at 131,12—is archaistic; see Kühner I 699; Hofmann-Szantyr 359. So we must read *appingere? <Vide>licet*: 'make-up with what kind of ingredients of rouge? It is evident that' etc. Since our Favorinus is no longer the philosopher, this passage does not give any clue as to the dating of this letter, nor as to the conversation between Fronto and Favorinus in Testim. 5 (against Mai^3; Baldwin, Studies 22 and 105; and Champlin, Fronto 154 n. 170).

219,3–4 There is no reason to assume with Ehrenthal 46f. that we have here a quotation from an ancient comic poet:

Ut qaéque mulier mági' fretast facié <sua>
ita fácilius cutem ét capillum néglegit.

Ehrenthal compares Plaut. Most. 250f. *mulier quae se suamque aetatem spernit, speculo ei usus est. Quid opust speculo tibi, quae tute speculo speculum es maxumum?* But Fronto's sentences often have alliterations (*facie freta, cutem et capillum, diffidentia—diligentia*); see at 201,10.

Neglegere sc. *eam.*

219,4 *plerisque*: dat. incommodi, not a dat. auctoris, as Ebert, Synt. 7, thinks.

Ut: 'even if', 'though'. It is not *creari ut*, as Haines and Portalupi assume.

219,5 *diffidentia . . . creari*: '(that) they distrust their beauty (and that all the alluring devices which care can discover are brought into being)' (Haines).

Diligentia in malam partem is unusual. Cp. Prop. 3,24,1 *falsa est ista tuae, mulier, fiducia formae.*

219,5–8 Fronto and Quintilianus (Inst. 8,3,8) hated topiaria (see at 4,15) and the diligence with which gardeners used to meddle with the natural growth of plants. See Enn. inc. ap. Nov. p. 194,23; Petron. 131,8; Plin. Nat. 12,13; 16,140; 17,257; 18,265; Mart. 3,58,3; Plin. Epist. 5,6,16f.; 35; Firm. Mat. Math. 8,10.

219,7 *comi*: 'to be trimmed' (Haines). The branches were shaped in all sorts of geometrical forms. Fronto is the only one to use *comere* of trees.

219,8 *intonsae*: only poets use this word of trees. So Fronto may have in mind Verg. Aen. 9,681 *consurgunt geminae quercus intonsaque caelo attollunt capita.*

219,8–9 *aemulum addere*: 'to bring up their heads to the level of (or in competition with) the clouds'. Both the text and the margin have *addere*, so we had better keep it, against Mai; Ph. Thielmann, Abdere, Archiv 3, 1886, 471; O. Hey, TLL s.v. abdo; Haines; Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 75; and Della Corte. *Addere* often has the same meaning as *dare.* N.B. read in the crit. app.: addere *n b* abdere *ma.*

219,9–10 *aeque ut*: see at 4,14f.

Diligens ad and with genitive: see at 213,11.

219,9 *comparcendum* may be an archaism: Plaut. Poen. 350; Turpil. Com. 145; Ter. Phorm. 44; and in a few late authors, whose MSS mostly have *compercere.*

219,10 *formicas*: the diligence of ants is proverbial, e.g. Verg. Georg. 1,186; Aen. 4,402ff.; Hor. Sat. 1,1,33; Ovid. Met. 7,656f.; Trist. 1,9,9. See also Aristot. Hist. an. 622 b 20ff.; Plin. Nat. 11,108ff.; Plut. Soll. ann. 11; Aelian. N.A. 2,35. Quint. Inst. 5,11,24 has this example of an image: *si ad curam rei publicae horteris, ostendas apes etiam formicasque . . . in commune . . . laborare.* See also at 112,20.

219,11 *tenuibus ingeniis*: creatures 'with a narrow intellect' are always more diligent than others.

219,14–220,4 Somewhere in A 244 the De bello Parthico must begin,

but the surviving fragments do not allow us to decide where exactly; the remark on the *portio Lucullanae hereditatis* (220,1) seems to fit better in the Laudes neglegentiae than in De bello Parthico, see Proleg. LVIII n. 1. Hanslik, Anordnung 47, supposes that after the Laudes neglegentiae there may have followed a Laus somni. That is pure fantasy: there is no room in the MS for such a laus and, what's more, Fronto never wrote a Laus somni, see at 5,21; 231,14.

220,1 *portio Lucullanae hereditatis*: L. Licinius Lucullus (117–56) was—after Crassus—the richest man of the first century BC. It is not clear to what extent negligence bore on his estate; we only know that M. Cato as guardian of the young M. Licinius Lucullus sold the fish from his ponds (Varro, R.R. 3,2,17; Plin. Nat. 9,170; Macrob. Sat. 3,15,6). See Gelzer, L. Licinius Lucullus, RE XIII (1924). *Portio* (instead of *pars*) *hereditatis* is only found in legal Latin: Iulian. Dig. 35,2,87,7; Gaius, Inst. 2,217; Scaev. Dig. 33,2,32,1; Ulp. Dig. 37,5,5,7; 37,8,1,10.

220,4 This title was wrongly chosen by the ancient editor: it is a consolatory letter written to Marcus when at the beginning of the Parthian War the military situation seemed hopeless. 224,12f. refers to Ad Antonin. IV 1, a letter written about April 161, see at 105,3; Marcus 234,11 refers to 226,1, see Proleg. LX n. 2. The first great defeat of the Roman army took place in (summer?) 161, see at 212,21. So this letter was written that same year, probably before the defeat of Sedatius Severianus. 161 is also the date given by Naber; Brakman; Dorothy Brock; Birley, Mark Aurel 229; Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 152; and Maria Astarita, Avidio Cassio 33 n. 59. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Della Corte, Frontone storiografo 267; Astarita, Cronologia; and Champlin date the letter 161–162. Niebuhr; Mommsen, Chronologie; Haines; J. Révay, A Lost Work; Pepe in his edition 48; André, Le De otio 256; and M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism, Jerusalem 1980, 177, date it 162. On Fronto as historian see the literature at 202,1f. and at 227,11.

220,6 *genuit* sc. *Mars*: Cic. Phil. 4,5 *a quo populum Romanum generatum accepimus*; 14,32 *vos huic urbi genuisse videtur.*

Genuit gentem: etymological figure.

Gens Romana is poetical since Verg. Aen. 1,33.

Fatisci: see at 210,10.

220,7 *volnerari*: see Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

220,8 *Marspater*: Gell. 5,12,5 *Neptunuspater coniuncte dictust et Saturnuspater et Ianuspater et Marspater, hoc enim est Marspiter.*

220,9–11 Fronto has adapted the trochees of Ennius' Telamon to his own purpose. In Cic. Tusc. 3,28 we read:

Ego cum genui, tum morituros scivi et ei rei sustuli;
praeterea, ad Troiam cum misi ob defendendam Graeciam,
sciebam me in mortiferum bellum, non in epulas mittere.

All modern editors of Ennius have adopted Fronto's *scibam* for *sciebam*. The form *missi* in Fronto is dubious: it is not necessary metri causa and perhaps one *s* has been deleted. No editor of Ennius has *missi*, but Timpanaro,

Ennio e Frontone 191, and Contributi 665, and Portalupi keep *missi*, referring to *missi* in CIL I[2] 1216 (see F. Sommer, Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre, Heidelberg [3]1914, 555, and M. Leumann, Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre, München 1963, 142); Timpanaro regards it as an archaism.

The plural *morituros* is certain; Warmington adds <*liberos*> before *ego cum genui*. However, some wiseacre must have realized that of the two sons of Telamon, Aiax and Teucer, only Aiax failed to return from the Trojan War, and so we see that in Cic. Tusc. 3,28 some later MSS add *moriturum scivi* after *ego cum genui* (other late MSS correctly add *tum morituros scivi et ei rei sustuli*). We see the same in Sen. Dial. 11,11,2 *ego cum genui, tum moriturum scivi et huic rei sustuli*; Seneca must use the singular because in what preceeds he says *nuntiata filii morte*. A similar sentence was used by Anaxagoras: Cic. Tusc. 3,30 *quem ferunt nuntiata morte filii dixisse: 'sciebam me genuisse mortalem'*, and so too Vita Gall. 17,1, but Aelian. Var. Hist. 3,2 ᾔδειν θνητοὺς γεγεννηκώς. Hieron. Epist. 60,5,1 combines the two traditions *Anaxagorae ac Telamonis semper laudata sententia: 'sciebam me genuisse mortalem'*. Ennius' *ad Troiam cum misi* could not be kept by Fronto, so he writes *cum ob terrae orbem mis(s)i* in spite of the ugly repetition of *ob* in the same line, albeit in a different meaning. We cannot conclude with G. Leopardi, Scritti 1969, 33; Th. Bergk, Philol. 33, 1874, 307 n. 70; Timpanaro; and A. Szantyr, TLL s.v. ob, that Fronto's *ob* should be put in the original text of Ennius and that we should read *ob Troiam cum misi*: it is far more plausible that Fronto deliberately chose the archaic use of *ob* in the sense of *ad*: 'into the wide world'. Cp. Fest. p. 178 *dixerunt antiqui 'ob Romam legiones ductas' et 'ob Troiam duxit exercitum'*. The first example refers to Enn. Ann. 297 *ob Romam noctu legiones duxit*, the second seems to refer to another poet, though Vahlen in his edition of Ennius enters it as Incerta 5. This meaning of *ob* is found in classical and late Latin almost exclusively in the expressions *ob oculos, ob os*. Mai changed *ob* into *in* and read *in terrarum* (a mistake) *orbem*, Haines *in terrae orbem*. *Terrae orbis* is the οἰκουμένη, in later times the Roman world.

The second *ob*: see on *ob* with gerund(ive) Kühner I 751; Hofmann-Szantyr 238.

In mortifera bella: again Fronto adapts the text to his own purpose: Mars sends his Roman soldiers in more than one war.

220,13–15 See at 259,8 p. 579.

220,14 *apud Alliam*: 390 BC. Authors before Fronto, Livy in particular, write *ad Alliam*. See at 6,8. Frassinetti, L'orazione 251, thinks that Min. Fel. 7,4 quotes Fronto: *sic Allia nomen infaustum* etc.; he is wrong: it is taken from Verg. Aen. 7,717 *infaustum . . . Allia nomen*. See at 259,8 p. 579.

Apud Caudium: 321 BC, see 224,3. We find *apud Caudium* Cic. Off. 3,109; Liv. 9,8,14; Gell. 17,21,36 *ad Caudium* Liv. 9,9,10; 9,15,7.

Apud Cannas: 216 BC. Livy always has *ad Cannas; apud Cannas* often since Valerius Maximus.

220,15 *apud Numantiam*: 153–139 BC.

Apud Cirtam: 109 BC. See 99,14.

Ad Carrhas: 52 BC. *Ad Carrhas* since Quintilianus' Institutio, *apud Carrhas* since Hieronymus.

220,16 *aerumnas*: see at 204,1f.

220,18 *alte*: see at 170,14.

220,19 *vir consularis*: Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus fell into the clutches of Decebalus in the Second Dacian War (105) and committed suicide. He is the Longinus of Cass. Dio 68,12, cos. suff. in 90. See R.P. Longden, Cambridge Anc. Hist. 1936, 230; W.H. Gross, M. Ulpius Traianus, RE Suppl. X (1965); PIR V^2 Longinus (1970); R. Syme, Danubian Papers, Bucarest 1971, 185; R. Hanslik, Pompeius 8, Kleine Pauly (1971); and Maria Astarita, Avidio Cassio 32 n. 59.

220,20 *consularis aeque vir*: Appius Maximus Santra, see at 212,22. Maria Bertinelli, I Romani oltro l'Eufrate 26 n. 127, erroneously states that this *consularis vir* is a Severianus or a Cornelianus.

221,2 *a Iudaeis*: in the bloody war against Bar-Kokhba (Simon) 132–135, in which the legio XXII Deiotariana was wiped out. Cass. Dio 69,14,3 πολλοὶ μέντοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο.

Ab: see at 9,11. Novák and Th. Mommsen, Röm. Geschichte 5,171 n. 2, read *a*.

Britannis: we know next to nothing about the revolt of the Brigantes in central England in 117: Iuv. 14,196 *dirue*... *castella Brigantum*; Vita. Hadr. 5,2 *Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant*. The legio VIIII Hispana suffered heavy losses. See Schulten, Legio, RE XII 1 (1924), and Legio, RE XII 2 (1925).

Vestro: Marcus and Lucius, see at 111,11.

221,3 *principum*: Berger, Fronton historien 458, adds: 'a été le plus pacifique, l'empire a aussi perdu des soldats', which is much more likely than <*bello felicissimus fuit*>. The Vita Pii 5,4f. enumerates the military operations under Pius: in Britain (see also Pausan. 8,43,4), in Mauretania (see also Aristid. Or. 26,70 Keil; Polyaen. Strat. 6 praef.), in Germania, against the Dacians and Alanians, revolts in Iudaea, Achaia and Egypt (see also Malall. 11,367). None of these operations involved a major war, but somewhere a Roman army must have been defeated. See Maria Astarita, Avidio Cassio 32 n. 59, who assumes that Fronto may have mentioned here the death of the prefect of Egypt, Dinarchus.

221,3 (marg. c) *Marso*: the Marsians knew how to cure snake bites with herbs: Gell. 16,11,1f. *gens in Italia Marsorum orta fertur a Circae filio. propterea Marsis hominibus*... *vi quadam genitali datum, ut et serpentium virulentorum domitores sint et incentionibus herbarumque sucis faciant medellarum miracula*. See also Verg. Aen. 7,758; Plin. Nat. 7,15; 21,78; 25,11; 25,86; 28,30; Sil. 8,495ff.; Solin. 2,27; 2,30; Firm. Math. 8,17; Vita Heliog. 23,2. For Hor. Epod. 5,75f. see at 29,5.

221,6 *fascis*: here the *fasciae* seem to be a baby's 'napkin', 'swaddling bands' (Haines), a meaning found only in Plaut. Truc. 905 and Ps. Soranus p. 21 Rose. It may refer to the Romans, whereas *illi*, the Parthians, pass their whole life in rags.

221,7 *bonus ille imperator*: Portalupi supposes that Trajan is meant: Plin.

Pan. 53,2 regards him as one of the *boni principes*, and Vita Hadr. 6,3 calls him *optimus imperator*; but that is rather arbitrary and *venire captivos iubebat* may refer to anyone.

221,8 *quippe qui*: see at 111,17.

221,14 *gloriam Romani nominis*: the same expression Cic. Imp. Pomp. 19; Liv. 45,38,10; Plin. Nat. praef. 16; Tac. Hist. 5,16,2.

221,16 perhaps *vendere nugas*: 'to talk rubbish'.

222,1–2 Previous editions do not have the word *progredi*; now the three verbs correspond to the three adverbs, and we cannot translate 'call upon those to halt who are ready to advance' (Haines).

Ilico: 'just there'. The local meaning of this adverb does not occur after Terence.

222,3 *homini nato*: 'who is only a human being', 'a man that is born of a woman' (Haines). Cp. Plaut. Cas. 293 *concedere homini nato nemini*; Rud. 706 *natum quantum est hominum sacrilegissime*; Sulp. Cic. Fam. 4,5,4 *visne tu . . . meminisse hominem te esse natum?* (where *nos homunculi* precedes); Cic. Att. 15,1a,1 *ea condicione nati sumus, ut nihil quod homini accidere possit, recusare debeamus*; Apul. Met. 9,1,5 *nihil fortuna rennuente licet homini nato dexterum provenire*; Apol. 8,6 *quid ego de homine nato diutius?*; 14,2 *nihil esse aspectabilius homini nato quam formam suam*. Cp. also Cic. Fam. 5,16,2; Quint. fr. 2,9,4. See at 56,20.

222,4 *magis tutae*: see at 108,4.

222,4–223,14 The main source of Polycrates of Samos is Herodotus: see also Cic. Fin. 5,92; Diod. 1,95,3; Strabo 14,1,16; Val. Max. 6,9 ext. 5 and Plin. Nat. 37,3ff. Fronto's version of the story cannot be traced back to a specific source: it is a free adaptation, like his Arion 241,1ff.

222,6 *sine offensione*: 'without giving offence', 'without a stumble' (Haines).

Potitus with genitive often since Plautus.

In aetate agunda: aetatem agere is so frequent (also 230,12 and 232,2) that there is no reason to assume with Ehrenthal 36 and Schwierczina, Frontoniana 26, that Fronto here quotes Plaut. Amph. 633 *in vita atque in aetate agunda*. *In aetate agunda* also Enn. Ann. 380; Fronto 238,10; cp. Anthol. Lat. Epigr. 2,1 *aetatei agendai*.

222,7 *quin*: see at 5,3.

Sub manus: Plaut. Mil. 873 *lepide hoc succedit sub manus negotium* (Ernout: 'L'affaire prend bonne tournure entre mes mains'). We also find *sub manum*, e.g. Bell. Afr. 36,1 *(tirones) sub manum Scipioni . . . submittere*; Suet. Aug. 49,3 *quo celerius ac sub manum annuntiari cognoscique posset* (= Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. manus 22), and often *sub manu esse* or *habere*. Perhaps we might supply *quin sub manus cuncta q<uae volebat> prosus rede<gerit>*, 'to bend everything to his will', cp. Herod. 3,39,3 ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρεε εὐτυχέως, but *sub manus redigere* does not occur elsewhere.

222,8–9 *fortunatissimis consuetus* seems to be the best solution: 'accustomed to very fortunate people or situations', cp. Plin. Nat. 37,3 *quam (felicitatem) nimiam fatebatur (Polycrates) etiam ipse qui felix erat*. If we read *fortunatissimis consultus*, the ablative cannot be explained as in *iure consultus*. And if we take *consultus* as 'consulted', we cannot explain *fortunatissimis*. Moreover, we clash with the tradition: Polycrates did not consult Amasis. Another solution,

tunatissimis consultis, proposed by Allen and O. Hey, TLL s.v. fortuno, is not very likely in conjunction with *familiaribus litteris*.

222,9 *familiaribus*: not 'friendly' (Haines) but, as often, 'confidential', e.g. Quint. Inst. 1,1,29 *in epistulis secretis et familiaribus*.

Suasit ut: see at 84,9.

222,10 *voluntario damno* also Plin. Nat. 37,3. *Damno multare* Plaut. Cas. 722; Cic. De orat. 1,194. See at 198,14.

Invidiam is very plausible: Herod. 3,40,2 τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν. Plin. Nat. 37,3 speaks of the *invidia Fortunae*.

222,12–13 *anulo* . . . *smaragdo*: Cic. Fin. 5,92 also speaks of an *anulus*. Herod. 3,41,1 ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. Strabo: τὸν δακτύλιον λίθου καὶ γλύμματος πολυτελοῦς. Pausan. 8,14,8 Θεοδώρου δὲ ἔργον ἦν καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου τῆς σμαράγδου σφραγίς, ἥν Πολυκράτης . . . ἐφόρει. Plin. Nat. 37,4 *sardonychem eam gemmam fuisse constat*, and he also relates that Polycrates' ring was still to be seen in the temple of Concordia in Rome, *si credimus*.

Manupretioso is the πολυτελής of Strabo. The word is found only in Cato, Or. frg. 218a Sblendorio: *neque vasum neque vestimentum ullum est manupretiosum*. Both Sblendorio and V. Bulhart, TLL s.v., interpret it as *manu* (= *arte*) *pretiosus*; cp. Isid. Orig. 11,1,66 *manus etiam ars vel artifex, unde et manupretium dicimus*. *Manupretium* means 'wages', later also 'value'. See at 128,5.

Facie of gems also e.g. Plin. Nat. 9,109.

Lapidem for a precious stone is used by poets; since the elder Pliny also in prose.

222,14 *nave longa*: πεντηκόντερον Herod. 3,41,2; *navigio* Plin. Nat. 37,3.

Sponte: *de industria* Val. Max. 6,9 ext. 5.

222,15 *ex profundo* is the unedited reading by Hauler, but in the TLL s.v. postilla he reads *postilla*.

223,1 *nactus*: λαβών Herod. 3,42,1.

Indignum . . . *deferre*: οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν Herod. 3,42,2. *Dignus* and *indignus* with an active infinitive do not occur before the imperial age. With a passive infinitive 50,13M.

Ad venales sc. *pisces* or *res* does not occur elsewhere; it stands for ἐς ἀγορήν, *ad macellum*. *Venalis* is usually said of slaves, of horses Sen. Epist. 80,9. Cp. Petron. 101,4 *onus deferendum ad mercatum conducit*.

223,2 *dignitati parens*: 'banking on its quality'. Not Polycrates' *dignitas* is meant, as Th. Bögel, TLL s.v., thinks, but the first-rate quality of the fish: 'in virtue of its excellence' (Haines), 'preso dalla sua bellezza' (Portalupi[1]; 'in ossequio alla dignità del re' [Portalupi[2]]). For *dignitas*, 'quality', of animals, cp. Varro, R.R. 1,21,1 *canes potius cum dignitate acres paucos habendum quam multos*; 2,5,10 of cattle; Apul. Met. 10,18,3 *quibus (iumentis Gallicanis) generosa suboles perhibet pretiosam dignitatem*. See also at 14,21f.

Gratum acceptumque habuit: the same expression Plaut. Truc. 582; 617; Cic. Tusc. 5,45. Cp. Fronto 87,14.

223,3 *sibi apponi iussit*: but Herod. 3,42,2 σε (the fisherman) ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν.

Operae: 'the cook's boys'.

Contractantes: 56,17; 110,29; and 163,20 Fronto has *contrectare*. Τάμνοντες Herodotus, ἀνατμηθέντος Strabo.

223,4 *alvo*: νηδύι Herodotus, *praecordiis* Cic. Fin. 5,92.

223,5 *litteras*: βυβλίον Herodotus.

Ordine: 'point by point'.

Casu: 'the loss', 'perdita (Portalupi[1]), not 'sacrifice' (Haines) or 'caso' (Portalupi[2]). Cp. Novell. Iust. 7,11 *venditorem*... *damnificamus et rei casu* (ἐκπτώσει) *et pretii amissione*; 8,12,1 *emolumentorum et militiae sustinebunt casum* (ἔκπτωσιν). *Casus* in this sense and *postliminium* are both legal terms; they are not found in any other source of the story of Polycrates. *Postliminium* is the reversion to the former legal status, used of men (soldiers in captivity) but also of things, like here metaphorically. Cic. Top. 8,36 explains the origin of the word and continues: *postliminio redeunt haec: homo, navis, mulus clittelarius, equus, equa*. See H. Kreller, Postliminium, RE XXII (1953).

223,6 *magnum et maturum*: Ehrenthal 36 assumes that this alliteration was taken from Plaut. Pseud. 234 *mittam hodie huic suo die natali malam rem magnam et maturam*. *Maturum*: 'speedy' (Haines), 'imminente' (Portalupi).

Coniectans: Strabo 14,1,6 μαντικῶς πως ἀποφθέγξασθαι.

223,7 *amicitiam* ... *renuntiat*: Herod. 3,43,2 πέμψας δέ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. Diod. 1,95,3 τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ... διαλυόμενον. We have *amicitiam renuntiare* in Liv. 36,3,8; 42,25,1. *Hospitium renuntiare* Cic. Verr. II 2,89; Liv. 25,18,9. The combination *amicitia atque hospitium* also Cic. Fam. 13,78,2; 14,4,2; Quint. fr. 1,1,16; Caes. Civ. 2,103,3. *Amicos et hospes* already since Plaut. Mil. 674; 741.

223,7–8 *alieno* ... *ferret*: Herod. 3,43,2 ἵνα μὴ ... αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός. Diodorus οὐ γὰρ βούλεσθαι λυπηθῆναι συντόμως ἑαυτόν.

Alieno: 'a stranger' (Haines), depending on *commutatam*, The same dative of the person involved Carm. Nelei Fest. p. 352 *fortunae commutantur hominibus*.

Suo quam = *quam suo*, see at 21,8.

223,8–12 *somnium*: Herod. 3,124,1 ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου. In Herodotus, Polycrates goes to Oroetes, though πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορευόντων, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων.

223,9 *Polycrati* is genitive, see at 138,13; in line 6 it is dative.

Iam ante is not confirmed by other sources.

223,9–10 *videre sibi visa est*: a pun with alliteration and traductio. Εδόκεέ οἱ Herod. 3,124,1. Cp. Plaut. Epid. 62 *videor videre*; Most. 270, 820 and Persa 698 *videor vidisse*; Lucr. 4,418 *ut videare videre*.

223,10–11 *ungui* ... *manibus*: Herod. 3,125,4 ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, ὅκως ὕοι, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνιεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα. *Ungui et lavi*: in the care of the body, these two verbs belong together since Hom. Od. 4,252. See 137,7 where also the form *ungui* is used. *Lavi*: see at 58,6–17.

223,11 *harioli*: Periander of Corinth had a similar dream which was also interpreted as favourable: Artemid. Onirocr. 4.

There is a trocheic rhythm in this line: *hárioli autem laétam et pinguem fórtunam porténdier*, as Ehrenthal 43 n. 82 has noticed, but he does not believe that it is a quotation from a scenic poet. Yet *fortuna pinguis* ('comfortable') does not occur elsewhere, and *portendier* is certainly an archaic form; Fronto

himself has no such forms, but in scenic poetry they are found before the diaeresis or at the end of a verse, like here. The only other passage where *portendier* is used is Plaut. Poen. 749 *malum damnumque maximum portendier.* Evidently, we should not alter *portendier* with Klussmann and Haines.

Fortuna laeta also Ovid. Trist. 5,8,17; Liv. 34,4,3; Ammian. 17,12,4.

223,12 *contra evenit* also Cic. Div. 2,53; Hor. Sat. 1,3,28; Sen. Epist. 53,7; Plin. Nat. 2,163. See at 218,9.

223,12–13 *deceptus ... sublatus est*: Herod. 3,125,3 ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος (by skinning him?) Ὀροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε. Strabo 14,1,16 ληφθέντα γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ σατράπου τῶν Περσῶν κρεμασθῆναι. Cic. Fin. 5,92 *in crusem actus est*; Val. Max. 6,9 ext. 5 *in excelsissimo Mycalensis montis vertice cruci adfixit.*

Oroetes is his correct name; Cic. Fin. 5,92; Val. Max. 6,9 ext. 5 and his epitomator Iulius Paris call him Orontes.

Perse: this ablative also as a variant in Nepos, Alc. 9,5; Plaut. Persa 796 has *Persa*; see Neue-Wagener III 55 and at 7,7.

223,13–14 *crucianti ... expeditum*: Herodotus ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς θυγατρός. *Crucianti*: see at 180,24.

Expeditum of a dream is not found anywhere else; 'was fulfilled' (Haines) seems to be the most plausible translation. Della Corte: 'si chiarì a lui il sogno', and so, too, Portalupi. According to O. Hiltbrunner, TLL s.v., both translations are possible.

223,15 *huius* is not necessarily connected with *fabulae*. G. Meyer, TLL s.v. exorsus, does not accept *fabulae*, but cp. Varro, Men. 354 *exordia fabulae*. Meyer follows the reading by Haines, who inserts *felices* before *habent*, which is impossible, and explains: exorsus sc. in somniis.

223,16 Mai's suppletion before *nimia* faithfully reflects what is meant: Polycrates started well and ended badly, Marcus' war started badly but will end well.

223,17 *defetiscendum*: other forms than *defessus* are rare: Ter. Phorm. 589; Plin. Nat. 17,10; Augustin. Solil. 2,7,13.

223,20 *ita ... qui*: cp. 118,6 *nihil est ita durum ... quod ... facere ... possis*; Cic. Fin. 4,2 *ita multa dicunt, quae vix intellegam*; Lucull. 71; Div. 2,51.

Memoriarum: 'annals' (Haines), a metonymy, as 120,7, where it means 'traditions', as 241,2.

223,21 *non minus quam*: see at 66,7.

Cadendo ... caedendo: the same paronomasia Sil. 12,385 *caeduntque caduntque.*

224,2 *truces tauri*: alliteration.

Potuere: an empirical perfect, see at 178,18.

Praequam: 'in comparison with which'; it emphasizes *stulte*. *Praequam* is archaistic: Plaut. Amph. 634; Aul. 507; Merc. 23; Most. 982; 1146; Gell. 1,3,5; 16,1,3. I do not see why Haines altered the text. Gatti, TLL s.v. prae, proposes *peraeque* or *perquam*. See *praeut* 15,9.

224,3 *stulte*: see Liv. 9,2,3.

Sub iugum sc. *Caudinum.*

224,4 *sub iugum egerant*: *sub iuga agere* Prop. 3,11,9; Claudian. 20,290. See at 55,18f.

Ante triumphum: 'ahead of the triumphal procession'. Liv. 7,27,8 and Val.

Max. 4,1,8 speak of *ante currum agere*. It was the triumph of Q. Fabius Gurges in 290: Liv. Per. 11 *triumphavit*; Oros. 3,22,8f. *C. Pontium imperatorem Samnitium ductum in triumpho securi percussit.*

224,5 *sub corona vendidere*: see for this expression Gell. 6,4.

Poenus imperator: Liv. 23,12,1f. *effundi in vestibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit, ut metientibus dimidium supra tris modios explesse sint quidam auctores. fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus fuisse modio*; Val. Max. 7,2 ext. 16 *Magone enim Cannensis pugnae exitum senatui Poenorum nuntiante inque tanti successus fidem anulos aureos trium modiorum mensuram explentes fundente, qui interfectis nostris civibus detracti erant*; Plin. Nat. 33,20 *promiscui autem usus alterum (vestigium anulorum) secundo Punico bello, neque enim aliter potuisset trimodia anulorum illa Carthaginem ab Hannibale mitti*; Flor. 1,22,18 *modii duo anulorum Carthaginem missi*; Eutrop. 3,11,2 *tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus equitum Romanorum, senatorum et militum detraxerat*; Augustin. Civ. 3,19 *tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit. Tres modios* would be almost six gallons, or 26 litres; no wonder that Livy thinks that this is exaggerated. There is no reason to assume with Maria Cristofori, L'oratio di Frontone 132 n. 13, that Fronto is quoting directly from Livy. On the *anulus equester* see Hor. Sat. 2,7,53; Plin. Nat. 33,29ff.; Ed. Wölfflin, Philol. 27, 1868, 128; Mommsen, Staatsverwaltung III 2,893; 515; Ganschinietz, Ringe, RE I A 1 (1914); O. Reinmuth, Ringe, Kleine Pauly (1972).

224,8 *inditae*: cp. Plaut Capt. 112 *his indito catenas*; Men. 80 *servis indunt compedes.*

224,9 *pugna*: Zama 202. According to Polyb. 15,14,9 and Liv. 30,35,3, more than 20,000 men were killed and almost as many captured.

224,11 *inegisset*: 'to head', 'have sent' (Haines). *Inigere* can be said of a horse (34,9M), of men (Apul. Met. 4,12,7) and here of a ship. Apart from these passages, the verb is found only in Varro (of cattle).

224,13 *fac memineris*: see at 60,17.

Cum animo cogites: see at 25,2.

224,14 *cum . . . tum*: see at 55,21f.

Militaria: 'military memoirs', 'libri di carattere militare' (Portalupi), 'military works' (Haines). See at 210,20. *Multa* seems to indicate that the books De bello Gallico were written one after the other, or even published one after the other. See on this question Teuffel 1,449f.; Schanz I 337f. *Militaria* as a substantive is found only in Sall. Iug. 80,2 *militaria facere.*

Alia: 'besides' (Haines). Used in this way, *alius* is mostly put in second position, as e.g. Liv. 4,41,8 *missa plaustra iumentaque alia.* See Kühner I 651; TLL s.v. 1625, 75ff.; Hofmann-Szantyr 208.

224,15 *Analogia*: Varro, L.L. 10,74 *analogia est verborum similium declinatio similis non repugnante consuetudine communi.* To what extent Caesar would agree to *non repugnante consuetudine* is not clear, but one of his main points was: *tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum* (Gell. 1,10,4); Gell. 2,25,2 ἀναλογία *est similium similis declinatio, quam quidam Latine proportionem vocant*; Mart. Cap. 3,290 *analogia est, quae Latine proportio dicitur, observatio similium inter se loquellarum* ('words'). Cic. Brut. 253 of Caesar: *de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit*, where *accuratissime* corresponds to Fronto's

losissimos. *Scrupulosissimus* does not refer to purism, as G.L. Hendrickson, The De Analogia of Iulius Caesar, Class. Philol. 1, 1906, 104, states, comparing Fronto 262,22, however much of a purist Caesar may have been, cp. Cic. Brut. 261 *Caesar autem rationem* ('rational analogy') *adhibens consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat*. The superlative *scrupulosissimus* happens to occur here for the first time, but the adverb *scrupulosissime* we find in Colum. 1 praef. 3. See at 128,5.

Inter tela volantia may allude to Cato p. 86,4 Jordan *sub tela volantia* and to Sall. Iug. 60,2 *tela utrimque volare*. But Liv. 1,13,1 also has *inter tela volantia* and 26,44,7 *vis omnis generis telorum e muris volabat*. Fronto exaggerates here: Suet. Caes. 56,5 *in transitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia conventibus peractis ad exercitum rediret, . . . fecit*; Cic. Brut. 253 *in maximis occupationibus*. Late 57 Caesar returned from Gaul to Italy, which he left again after the conference of Lucca (April 56). It was during this period that he put the finishing touches to De analogia. See also at 262,33.

224,16 *de nominibus declinandis*: not only 'the declension of nouns' (Haines), but also the conjugation, the derivation of words and the degrees of comparison. Only late grammarians distinguish between *declinatio* and *coniugatio*.

Aspirationibus: 'the use of the letter *h*'. Quint. Inst. 1,5,19f. *illa vero non nisi aure exiguntur, quae fiunt per sonos: quamquam per aspirationem, sive adicitur vitiose sive detrahitur, apud nos potest quaeri an in scripto sit vitium, si littera h est, non nota. cuius quidem ratio mutata cum temporibus est saepius* etc.

Rationibus, 'systematics', 'classification' (Haines), a word chosen here to make a pun with *aspi-rationibus*.

224,17 *classica* (sc. *cornua* or *signa*) *et tubas*: this combination does not occur elsewhere; *classicum* and *tuba* are synonymous.

Ingenio: see at 87,30.

224,18 *ordine insignis*: 'noble in station' (Haines).

224,18–19 *exemplis . . . familiaribus*: 'examples and patterns' (Haines), 'in your own family' (Hadrian and Pius).

224,19 *negotia*: 'troubles' rather than 'duties' (Haines).

225,1 *praecepta sapientium*: Fronto humours Stoic principles, cp. e.g. Marcus, Medit. 2,16 (ἡ ψυχὴ) ὑβρίζει ἑαυτήν, ὅταν ἡσσᾶται ἡδονῆς ἢ πόνου. 9,41 τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας ἐν οἵοις δήποτε τοῖς προσπίπτουσι . . . πάσης αἱρέσεως κοινόν. And he goes even further: *syllogismos resolvendos*, though Marcus did not like it: Medit. 1,17 μηδὲ ἀποκαθίσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς ἢ συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύειν. 8,1 οὐδαμοῦ εὗρες τὸ εὖ ζῆν, οὐκ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς etc. It is out of the question that Fronto's *syllogismos* here means 'epigrams', as Berger, Fronton historien 460, suggests.

225,2 *ut* without a principal sentence: see 85,5M; 107,11V; 162,18; and Kühner II 233f.

225,3 *orationem*: in April 161 Marcus asked Fronto to send him some literature so that he might relax from his worries about the war in the East, see at 105,3; 175,20. Fronto sent him Cicero's De imperio Cn. Pompei, a very appropriate choice: the war against Mithridates required a strong personality with ample competence, and now the situation was very much

the same: Marcus had to decide whether or not he should give Verus the supreme command in the Parthian War. Unfortunately, the next lines are almost illegible, so we cannot see if Fronto actually recommended Verus; he does point out, however, that Cicero's speech contains everything appropriate to *praesentibus consiliis tuis*, notably the choice of military commanders. Cicero himself (Orat. 102) says of this speech *temperata oratione ornandi copiam persecuti sumus*. In modern times it finds less admiration, see Schanz I[4] 417. Not being a member of the consilium principis (see at 96,3), Fronto did not know how the deliberations passed off.

225,4 *ita* prepares the following acc. cum inf., as 77,16; see Kühner I 624f.; II 572f.

225,5 *facundius*: this comparative of the adverb happens to occur here for the first time, but Quintilian already has *facundior*.

225,7 *Magnus*: Pompeius was given this title in 61 on the occasion of his triumph: Liv. Per. 103.

225,8 *tum praeterea*: see at 59,9.

225,10 *artibus*: the qualifications which Cic. Imp. Pomp. 28f. and 36 enumerates could hardly be ascribed to Verus, but Fronto was blind to the practical use of his literary texts, see at 128,6; 128,19.

De . . . tum: Buttmann's *disciplina militum* (adopted by Haines and Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 175) is very unlikely and does not figure in Cicero's speech.

225,16 *adpositas ad orationem*: perhaps Fronto's notes on Cicero's speech; cp. 187,11.

225,20 *non mea manu*: see at 38,4 and 63,14.

226,1 *digitis invalidis*: in another letter of 161 Fronto writes 90,9 *vexat . . . manus dexterae dolor*. 234,11 Marcus returns to the subject.

Admodum: see at 57,16.

Tum: 'again', 'then' (Haines).

226,2 *multum verborum ingerebat*: we should leave alone the partitive genitive with *multum*, cp. 20,9 *multum mihi facetiarum contulit istic Horatius*. *Ingerebat* is more difficult but defensible. K. Schenkl, Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien 26, 1875, 32, thinks that *multum* stands for *multorum* and that *ingerebat* is a strong *inponebat*; Schwierczina, Frontoniana 52, interprets *ingerebat* as 'dicebat', 'continebat'; Novák, Zu Fronto 255, translates *multum verborum ingerebat* as 'bot reichlich Worte'; Della Corte: 'in questa lettera era necessaria certa prolissità'; Portalupi: 'questa lettera richiedeva molte parole'. Cp. Tac. Ann. 1,72,2 *nomen patris patriae . . . a populo saepius ingestum*; 4,42,1 *vocesque quae . . . coram ingerebantur*; Apul. Met. 5,6,9 *ingerens verba mulcentia*. Naber and Haines follow Buttmann's *multorum verborum indigebat*, though Fronto and Marcus always write *indigere* with ablative (163,10; 229,9; 240,1; 263,14). J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v., regards our passage as corrupt, but he does not quote the passages of Tacitus and Apuleius. See at 59,25f. For my suggestion *inferebat*, 'gave rise to', 'led to', cp. the expressions *moram, invidiam, iniuriam inferre*.

226,3 *tempestate* = *tempore*, as 67,26M.

226,4 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

226,7 Chronology: the ancient editor combined four letters which deal

with Marcus' stay in Alsium, thus creating a book De feriis Alsiensibus, because Marcus 234,6 mentions *litterae Alsienses*, see Proleg. LX n. 1. Marcus went to Alsium in order to work there undisturbed for four days; the other members of the imperial family were in Lorium.

Alsium lies on the coast of South Etruria; one of the many villas there belonged to the imperial house. Ruins are found near present-day Palo. The title of this book is misleading: Marcus worked there very hard without being able to indulge in the pleasures of the seaside, and he (226,9) and Fronto (227,8) mockingly speak of a 'holiday'. As to the date of these letters, we only know for certain that they were written in the spring, see at 228,24; it is plausible that they were written during the first, difficult years of Marcus' reign. Naber; Brakman; Brock, Studies 335; Haines, Chronology; and Friedländer, Sittengeschichte I 400, date them 161. In his edition Haines dates them 162, and so do Pepe, Portalupi and André, De otio 228ff. I follow them because 179,5 Fronto writes *graviter oculos dolui* in a letter of between 162 and 165. Fronto had many complaints, but eye trouble is mentioned only here and 226,13, so we may assume that it is the same ophthalmia, which means that Ad amicos I 13 and De feriis Alsiensibus were written in 162. See at 179,4 and 105,3. Birley, Mark Aurel 228, dates the letters to the first years of the 160s, Champlin and Cortassa want to be on the safe side, dating them 161–167. See at 226,10. Possibly Birley is right in assuming that Marcus 'benutzte ein Staatsfest zu einem viertätigen Urlaub in Alsium': in that case, feriae Alsienses could be an allusion to the feriae Latinae.

226,9 *ferias feriatas*: this etymological figure does not occur elsewhere. It is, of course, ironical, like *fortia facinora fecimus* 61,10M.

Apud Alsium: see at 6,8.

226,10 *Lorium*: halfway between Rome and Alsium, see at 35,12.

Domnulam points to a child, see at 73,10. As this letter was written after 7 March 161, she must be either Fadilla, who was born in 159, or Cornificia, born in 160. She is the *parvola nostra* of 234,4, who is then better, running up and down. So if the letter is of 161, it may be Fadilla; if it is of 162, Cornificia may be considered, with Haines; Pepe; Grimal, Marc Aurèle 293; and Portalupi. Mommsen, Chronologie, thinks that it is Lucilla, but in 161 she was already twelve years old and could hardly be called *domnula*.

226,11 *medicus*: according to Galenus 14,4, Demetrius was Marcus' archiater until c. 167. We do not know when he was appointed, but there is a fair chance that he was the man who treated Marcus' daughter: the archiater was in control of the medical staff of the imperial house, which may explain the singular *medicus*; elsewhere Fronto and Marcus always use the plural: 64,6M (in a letter of 145–146, before Demetrius); 80,22; 82,10; 84,9. See A. Stein, Demetrius 112, RE (1901); Demetrius 4, PIR III^2.

226,12 ... *tenstu*: perhaps *obtensui*, see at 196,3.

226,13 *oculis*: see at 179,4.

226,14 *vale mi magister*: see at 2,13.

226,15 Chronology: see at 226,7.

226,19 and 21 *cantetur, cantari*: 'to sing always the same song', 'to repeat something time and again', cp. Quint. Inst. 8,6,38 *id eius (metalempseos) frequentissimum exemplum est cano canto, canto dico, ita cano dico.* It is colloquial, e.g. Plaut. Most. 980 *vera cantas*: Ter. Haut. 260 *harum mores cantabat*; Cic. Quint. fr. 2,11,1 *istum canto Caesarem*; Quint. Inst. 8,3,76 *quae me iuvene ubique cantari solebant. Verbum cantari solitum*: 'a word in everyone's mouth' (Haines). *Novéllae quid cantétur vineaé* has an iambic rhythm, but with Ehrenthal 43 n. 82 I do not see here a quotation.

226,20 *Catonem* must be M. Porcius Cato, though Mai[1] doubted it. According to Niebuhr; W. Druman, Geschichte Roms I, Königsberg 1834, 3; and L. Lange, Roemische Alterthümer II, Berlin [3]1879, 263, it is a speech against M. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 187 and 175, censor 179. Meyer, Orat. Rom. frg. 70f.; H. Malcovati, Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta, Augustae Taurinorum [2]1955, 41; H. Sculland, Roman Politics 220–150 BC, Oxford [2]1973, 261; and Maria Sblendorio suggest that Lepidus is the son of M. Aemilius Lepidus. The whole question must remain unsolved since we have no other reference to the speech Adversus Lepidum. Moreover, we do not know what Fronto is driving at. Evidently it is not the use of *cantare*, as Höhne, Die Geschichte 39, thinks; nor the expression *magiras facere*. Meyer; B. Janzer, Historische Untersuchungen zu den Redenfragmenten des M. Porcius Cato, diss., Würzburg 1936, 42; and Sblendorio see a link between our fragment and Cato's speech De signis et tabulis (frgs. 52 and 53 Sblendorio): but is Cato really protesting against the erection of statues for living persons (see Plut. Cato 19,4), especially for Graeculi such as Ochas and Dionysodorus (Jordan follows Mai, writing *Dionysidoro*)? Fronto's point is *verbum* ('phrase') *cantari solitum* and what he means by that is lost in the lacunae of 226,16–18 and 227,1–4. And there is another problem: *qui magiras facerent*. Meyer; Georges s.v. magira; O. Hey, TLL s.v. facio; Ernout-Meillet, Dict. étym. s.v. magira; Haines; Della Corte; and Portalupi see in *magira* an adjective with the ellipsis of *ars*: 'who practised cooking' (Haines). But that is most unlikely, since μαγειρικὴ τέχνη would be *magirica (ars)*. Ellis, The Correspondence 28, saw the problem and altered it to the non-existent *magirias*, translating 'to profess the trade of a cook'. Liddell & Scott quote our passage under μαγειρεία, but they translate it by 'food'. A.F. Astin, Cato the Censor, Oxford 1978, 91, is of the same opinion, comparing frg. 131 Sblendorio *magna cura cibi, magna virtutis incuria*; he might have added Carm. de moribus p. 83,2 Jordan *equos carius quam coquos emebant*; Liv. 39,6,9 (187 BC) *tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium et aestimatione et usu, in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta*; cp. Sall. Iug. 85,39, where Marius says *neque pluris preti coquom quam vilicum habeo.* Such use of *magira*, however, is utterly unfounded: W. Heraeus, TLL s.v., has justly seen that *magira* can only be the feminine of *magirus*, though it does not occur elsewhere (but *magirus*, too, is found only twice). *Qui magiras facerent* means 'because they played the role of kitchen maids', and so *effeminatis* is explained, because Ochas and Dionysodorus were not cooks but actors. *Facere* in this sense is a theatrical term, 'to play the kitchen maids', cp. Ter. Eun. 37 *bonas matronas facere*; Rhet. Her. 3,33 *aegrotum*

in lecto cubantem faciemus; Suet. Nero 39 *ut (histrio Neronem) bibentem natantemque faceret.*

227,5 Chronology: see at 226,7. Leroy, Fronton et la philosophie 307ff., and André, Le de otio, completely misunderstand this letter by taking Fronto's ironical remarks seriously. The same mistake Dailly & Van Effenterre, Le cas 353 n. 5.

227,6 *ea mente*: 'with the intention' (Haines), cp. 140.9 (marg. d) *pro mea mente.*

Animo morem gereres: 'indulging yourself' (Haines). The same expression in Naevius, Ennius and several times in Plautus, Terentius and Cicero.

227,7 *otio libero* is slightly abundant, but it occurs also in Catull. 68,104; Hor. Epist. 1,7,36; and Ovid, Ars 2,729.

227,8 *fruendas*: see at 14,12. Note the alliteration *ferias* . . . *fruendas.*

227,9 *in sole meridiano*: 'at noonday' (Haines). Fronto suggests the imaginary situation (*oboedires*) that Marcus is taking a nap, whereas actually he was working hard even when the sun was high in the sky.

Nigrum: according to Haines and A. Stein, Niger, RE XVII (1936), a secretary or librarian or *anagostes* ('reader') of Marcus. He was, of course, not in Alsium.

227,11–12 Four of Fronto's favourite writers, but Marcus was not in the mood for them in 162.

227,12 *te Plauto expolires*: 'you would smooth down yourself with Plautus', not 'polish your style with Plautus' (Haines) or 'polish your character' (P. Schmid, TLL s.v. expolio). Cp. Cic. De orat. 2,40 *nox te* . . . *expolivit hominemque reddidit.* The *elegans, urbanus, ingeniosus Plautus* (Cic. Off. 1,104) would have dispelled Marcus' cares. *Se expolire* is not found elsewhere.

Expleres: 'satisfy yourself', an expression conformed to *se explere cibo.* Cp. 109,23.

Delenires: 'sooth yourself' (Haines). The worrying Stoic would have found some relief in the Epicurean philosophy of Lucretius. See A. Ronconi, Interpretazioni letterarie nei classici, Firenze 1972, 179. *Se delenire*, too, occurs only here, and it does not mean 'rendre plus charmant', as Marache, La critique 160, thinks.

Incenderes: 'set yourself on fire', 'muster up your courage'. *Se incendere* only here. Especially in his Annals, Ennius could have shown Marcus how Rome had overcome the same difficulties in the past. Marache, o.c. 156, wrongly assumes that Fronto here refers to Ennius as 'un poète passionné et ardent'.

Horam quintam is enigmatic after *in sole meridiano.* Is it *in horam quintam noctis*? For the times of study and reading see at 52,7. Ellis, The Correspondence 28, reads *istius* and translates 'the hour which properly belongs to his (Ennius') muses, the fifth', alluding to his praenomen Quintus. This interpretation has been adopted by Haines, who reads *istic* ('in that case'). But Hauler's *istam*, 'well known', makes such a pun impossible.

227,13–14 *quod quis si* = *quodsi quis.*

Sermonis = *sermones*: 'would bother you with some stories'.

Quantum poteras: see Index Latinitatis s.v. possum and quantum. *Poter* is certain, so the conjectures *potis ad* and *pote ad* are out of the question, but

I am obliged to add *ad* after *poteras*. If, with Mai, we read *in devium*, this *ad* is not necessary.

227,15 *pauc*: Mai's *raucas paludes* is very unlikely.

Ambires: 'you would lounge about'.

227,16 *ut*: given the uncertain text, we had better keep *vel* of the MS. Haines follows Buttmann.

Aethere tranquillo: 'in calm weather' (Haines). Both *aether* and the following *altum* are poetic.

227,17 *portisculorum*: Festus p. 266,23 L. *portisculus est, ut scribit Aelius Stilo, qui in portu modum dat classi; idem autem est malleus, cuius meminit Cato* frg. 145 Sblendorio; Non. p. 221,18 L. *portisculus proprie est hortator remigum, id est qui eam perticam tenet, quae portisculus dicitur, qua et cursum et exhortamenta moderatur*; Isid. Orig. 19,2,13 *porticulus* (sic!) *malleus in manu portatus, quo modo signum datur remigantibus*. The word *portisculus* is found in early Latin, in Livy, Apuleius, Ennodius and Symmachus, but this does not mean that it is an archaism, as Hofer and Marache, Mots 108, assume. CIL VIII represents the man with the word *portisculus* written over him.

Oblectares: if Ehrenthal's *te oblectares* would not be correct, we have *oblectare* with reflexive meaning, as *delectare* = *se delectare*, see at 87,25. Ebert, Synt. 29; Georges s.v. oblecto; Kühner I 94; and von Mess, TLL s.v. altus, keep the MS. reading *in altum* . . . *oblectares*, and so do Della Corta and Portalupi[1], but we cannot render *in altum* by 'andato in alto mare' (Della Corte) or by 'al largo' (Portalupi[1]). *Altum* is corrupt and we must choose between conjectures of Ehrenthal and Heraeus or the conjecture of Mai. Haines follows Mai; cp. 241,6f. Portalupi[2]: *in alto* <*te*> . . . *oblectares*.

Actutem, 'anon' (Haines), is an archaic and poetical word; before Fronto in prose only Liv. 29,14,5 and Quint. Inst. 4,3,13.

227,18 *sudorem*: Cels. 1,2,7 *exercitationis . . . finis esse debet sudor aut certe lassitudo*.

228,1 *regium*: 'a royal banquet' (Haines). Augustus in Suet. Vir. ill. p. 45 Reifferscheid (= Aug. fragm. XLVIII Malcovati) speaks of a *mensa regia* (Mommsen, Staatsrecht II 764 n. 4, thinks that it is a clerical error); Fest. p. 82 and Hieron. Epist. 69,9 *regiae epulae*; Sil. 11,42 *regales epulae atque . . . convivia*; Stat. Theb. 2,306 and Apul. Met. 5,2,4 *regales epulae*; Vita Columb. p. 103,25 Krusch *regiae dapes*; Plaut. Persa 31 *basilico accipiere victu*; Sall. Cat. 37,6 and Liv. 45,32,5 *regius victus*; Petron. 38,15 *solebat sic cenare quomodo rex*. Apparently, it is proverbial. See also at 67,14. What Fronto describes is a very copious dinner, as in the Cena Trimalchionis and in Mart. 10,48; 11,52; Iuv. 11,64ff. Marcus with his weak stomach would never eat that much, see at 62,15; 74,4.

Agitares: 'to launch into', 'to dish up', not 'discuss' (Haines), as in Plaut. Asin. 834 *agitemus convivium vino*; Mil. 165; Ter. Hec. 93; Ovid. Met. 7,431; Sil. 15,273; Suet. Claud. 32; Apul. Apol. 98,6.

Concheis omnium generum: hypallage.

228,1–2 *Plautini . . . hamatilli*: in Plaut Rud. 297f. the fishermen sum up what kinds of shellfish they hope to catch: *echinos, lopadas, ostrias, balanos captamus, conchas, marinam urticam, musculos, placusias striatas*, saying *postid piscatum*

hamatilem et saxatilem adgrediemur. In Fronto, *piscatus* is an apposition to *concheis*, 'a catch hook-taken, rock-haunted' (Haines), i.e. with a hook between the rocks. Plautus' use of the two adjectives was already meant jocularly: 'a hooked and rocky catch'. Colum. 8,16,8 *pisces... quod in petris stabulentur, saxatiles dicti sunt.*

228,2 *altilibus... saginarum*: 'fatting fowl long fed fat'. Sen. Epist. 122,4 *aves, quae conviviis conparantur, ut inmotae facile pinguescant, in obscuro continentur.* Geese, capons, cocks, doves and pheasants were kept to this purpose. See W. Richter, Geflügelzucht, Kleine Pauly (1967). Leroy, Fronton et la philosophie 308, wrongly translates 'des poissons tirés bien gras du vivier'. *Veterum saginarum* is remarkable and Ehrenthal 37 n. 77 may be right in assuming that Fronto quotes a poet, the more so because the expression *altilibus veterum saginarum* is slightly abundant, but cp. Varro, R.R. 2,1,20 *boves altiles ad sacrificia... saginati.*

Matteis: Varro, L.L. 5,112 *mattea ab eo quod ea Graece* ματτύη. *Mattea* is usually translated by 'delicacies' (Haines), 'Leckerbissen', 'friandises', but Pollux 6,70 (where the MSS have ματύλλη) calls it a δίψους ἐγερτικὸν βρῶμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο μεσοῦντος τοῦ πότου, and Athen. IV 141 c–d; XIV 663 c–d εἴτε ἰχθὺς εἴτε ὄρνις εἴτε λάχανον εἴτε ἱερεῖον εἴτε πεμμάτιον. It is an entremets (ἐπάϊκλον Athen. IV 141 d) between the *altilia* and the dessert, a highly spiced sausage filled with chicken meat (Petron. 65,1; 74,6), game (Mart. 13,92,2) or fowl (Sen. Contr. 9,4,20), cp. *mattiarius*, 'sausage maker'. In the Glossaria, *matteae* are explained by *intestinae.* The *venenatae matteae* of Suet. Cal. 38,3 must also be sausages, not 'poisoned cakes' (so J. Rolfe in his translation), though Arnob. Nat. 7,25 says *frustilla haec parvula pro suavibus mateolis sumunt, non quibus famen sedent.* Liddell & Scott s.v. 'a rich, highly flavoured dish, made of hashed meat, poultry and herbs, and served cold as a dessert'. See also Walde-Hofmann, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch s.v. and at 32,6 *particulas.*

228,3 *bellariis: bellaria* are a mixture of dried fruit, nuts and sweetmeat, not 'sweets' (Haines) or 'biscuits' (Leroy, l.l.). Varro, Men. 341 ap. Gell. 13,11,6f. *bellaria, inquit, ea maxime sunt mellita, quae mellita non sunt*; πέμμασιν *enim cum* πέψει *societas infida. quod Varro hoc in loco dixit bellaria, ne quis forte in ista voce haereat, significat id vocabulum omne mensae secundae genus. nam quae* πέμματα *Graeci aut* τραγήματα *dixerunt, ea veteres nostri bellaria appellaverunt.* (IG II[2] 1013,20 κάρυα καὶ καστάναια καὶ κυάμους Αἰγύπτου ... καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλα τραγήματα. Galen. 6,550 ὀνομάζω τραγήματα τὰ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐσθιόμενα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πίνειν ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα.) Prisc. Gramm. III 497,1 *a bello, quod bonum significat, bellaria dicuntur* τὰ τραγήματα (here the cod. Leidensis Vossianus adds: *vilia munuscula, ut sunt nuces et poma mensae secundae*). We have *bellaria* in Plaut. Truc. 480; Stat. Silv. 1,6,10; Suet. Nero 25,2; Acta Arval. A 15 (CIL VI 2104); Vita Hel. 8,3; Macrob. 3,18,1; 3,19,1.

Crustulis: 'confectionery' (Haines).

228,3–9 *vinis... appellare*: Fronto detests Seneca and his effiminate style, straining after effect by rendering *eandem sententiam milliens alio atque alio amictu indutam* (154,14f.; see at 153,12). Because *faustus* means the same as *felix*, Fronto calls *Faustiana vina*—as Seneca might have done—*vina felicia.* The

Faustinianum vinum is the same as the Φαυστανὸς Φαλερῖνος of Galen. 6,801. Plin. Nat. 14,62f. *secunda nobilitas Falerno agro erat et ex eo maxime Faustiano . . . Faustianum circiter IIII milia passuum . . . abest . . . summis collibus Caucinum gigni, mediis Faustianum, imis Falernum.* If *Sulla Faustus* is the dictator L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, as Portalupi thinks, Fronto makes the nonsense complete by calling him *Faustus* instead of *Felix*; but the dictator is never called *Faustus* (see Fröhlich, Cornelius Sulla, RE IV [1901]). So it seems more probable that the son or the grandsons of the dictator are meant, who were called *Faustus Cornelius Sulla.* See RE Cornelius 377; 378; 391; PIR Cornelius 1459; 1464. In any case, neither the father nor the son have anything to do with *Faustiana vina.* We should translate 'fortunate' or 'felicitous wines' (Haines)—which means nothing—not 'vins généreux' (Leroy) and certainly not 'freudebereitende Weine' (Georges).

228,3–4 *calicibus . . . nota*: in Senecian style it would mean 'translucent cups without a treacherous mark', i.e. without revealing any imperfection on the part of the glass-blower, 'in calici splendenti che non rivelano alcuna falla' (Portalupi[1], which is an explanation rather than a translation). In normal Latin it means 'translucent cups with no informer's brand' (Haines, which again is studied nonsense). Actually it is a *calix acentetus*: Plin. Nat. 37,28 *quae (crystalla) vero sine vitio sint, pura esse malunt, acenteta appellantes, nec spumei coloris, sed limpidae aquae.* Ἀκέντητος is 'without prick'; Fronto has in mind the *puncta* or small *guttae* in ordinary glassware. Apul. Met. 2,19,2 describes a luxurious dinner where *crystallum inpunctum* is used.

Delatorius is here found for the first time in the general sense of 'treacherous', whereas Ulp. Dig. 22,6,6 and Cod. Theod. 10,10,7 use it as an adjective of *delator*, 'informer'. See at 66,14.

228,5 *quid verbi*: the partitive genitive with *quid, hoc, id* is colloquial, see Hofmann-Szantyr 52. Cp. e.g. Plaut. Cist. 605 and Curc. 31 *quid istuc est verbi?* Pseud. 608 *quid istuc verbist?*

Multum facundus: Fronto mocks himself. See at 49,16.

228,6 *Senecae Annaei*: see at 108,14.

228,8 *Tam*: Klussmann's conjecture has been adopted by all modern editors.

228,9–10 *qua gratia*: 'why'. It introduces a Plautine passage and it is archaistic: Plaut. Amph. 664; Aul. 435; Cist. 234; 496; Curc. 454; Men. 150; Rud. 90; Truc. 9; 288; Ter. Eun. 99; 159; and then here and in a few later authors. So *mea gratia* Plaut. Bacch. 97; Curc. 154; Men. 697; Pseud. 1289; and then Marcus 54,23; Gaius, Dig. 17,1,2 pr.; and in a few later passages. The ablative *causa* is used in this way through all ages; in Fronto *qua causa* 153,9; *mea causa* 85,5M; 176,27; *ea causa* 67,12.

228,10 *voluptarium locum*: Plaut. Poen. 602 *liberum ut commonstraremus tibi locum et voluptarium*; cp. Sall. Cat. 11,5 *loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant.*

228,11 *locum lubricum*: Plaut. Mil. 853 *in cella erat paulum nimis loculi lubrici* (note the alliteration). As in Plautus, the 'slippery spot' (Haines) is the place where the wine is stored; 'un luogo ingannevole' (Portalupi) and 'un lieu dangereux' (André) are not correct.

Bene haberes genio: 'you would be doing well to your heart's content', rather than 'to indulge yourself' (Haines) or 'secondare la tua natura' (Portalupi). Intransitive *habere* stands for *se habere*, 'to be', see at 67,26; 87,25. *Genio* is an abl. respectus rather than a dative. *Bene habere* with ablative or dative is unusual; comparable expressions are Serv. Georg. 1,302 *quotiens voluntati operam damus, indulgere dicimur genio*; Eugraph. Ter. Phorm. 44 *fraudare suum genium dicitur, si quis parcius vivit, at vero bene genio facit, si quis vitam largius colit*; Plaut. Persa 263 *genio meo multa bona faciam*; Pers. 5,151 *indulge genio, carpamus dulcia*. The passages of Plautus and Eugraphius have influenced the reading *faceres* by Cornelissen and Heraeus. V. Bulhart, TLL s.v. genius, and Sinko, TLL s.v. bene, have not found a way out of the difficulty.

Utique = *et uti*, as 231,8; not 'e, comunque' (Portalupi).

228,11–12 *verbo vetere*: alliteration.

228,12–15 *volup*: in his Grammatocomastrix (Technopaegnium 14), Ausonius presents a number of *logodaedalia*, among them *gau* = *gaudium* (Enn. Ann. 574), *cael* = *caelum* (Enn. Ann. 575), *do* = *domum* (Enn. Ann. 576, cp. Homeric δῶ). See Marius Victorinus, Gramm. Lat. VI 56, and Neue-Wagener I 862. Plaut. Asin. 942 *suo animo fecit volup*; Cas. 784 *facite vostro animo volup*; Carmen Nelei Fest. p. 352 *matri faciemus volup*. *Volup* (*volupe*) is the neuter of *volupis*; originally it is found in the expression *volupe est* or *volup est* (Naev. Com. 12; Plaut. Amph. 958; 994; Men. 677; Mil. 277; 947; 1211; Poen. 1192; 1326; Rud. 892; Stich. 506; Ter. Hec. 857; Phorm. 610, where Donatus notes: *hoc volup nomen est, ut hoc facul; sic enim veteres per* ἀποκοπήν *loquebantur*. The archaism *volup* is found in Prud. Perist. 9,41; Augustin. Epist. 3,5; Mart. Cap. 9,888; 9,900; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 2,2,14. *Volup* is adverb in Enn. Ann. 242 *quocum multa volup* (*gaudia* is an incorrect gloss); Plaut. Most. 153 *victitabam volup*. The apocopated forms *vigil, labo* and *mole* are figments of Fronto's fantasy: he invented them as Ennius invented *gau, cael* and *do*. Cp. *vesperug* Quint. Inst. 1,7,12.

228,12 *qua, malum, volup*: 'how—the mischief!—pleasu?' (Haines), not 'ma quale volup, maledizione!' (Portalupi). Cp. Plaut. Bacch. 672 *qua, malum, parum*, where some MSS and some editors have changed *qua* into *quis* or *quam*. See at 135,1.

228,12–13 *dimidiatis verbis*: Min. Fel. 2,1 *(liberis) dimidiata verba temptantibus*; Hieron. Epist. 22,29,6 *(matronae) labiis dissolutis balbutientem linguam in dimidiata verba moderantur*; cp. Apul. Met. 5,18,5 *tertiata verba semihianti voce substrepens*. See at 104,1f.

228,13 Heindorf's *uti* has been adopted by Klussmann and all modern editors.

228,15 *volup* sc. *facis animo*.

Volpem . . . voluptatem: a not very successful pun; see Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-. The fox was regarded as an unpleasant animal, see at 16,1f.

Conciliaverit: see at 1,10f.

228,18 *esurires*: Marcus was a poor eater, see at 62,15; 74,7. Cp. *esurialis ferias* 230,14.

228,19 *apopsi* occurs in Latin only here; it is either 'in vista' (Portalupi), 'with a fine view' (Haines), or 'belvedere', as in Strabo 17,1,16; Plut. Comp.

Cim. et Luc. 1,5; Anthol. Pal. 9,412,5. See Cic. Verr. 5,96; Cael. 35; Plut. Mor. 668 B.

228,24 *alcedonia*: since Simon. frg. 12 Bergk (see also Aristot. Hist. anim. 5,8,2; Theocr. 7,57; Ovid. Met. 11,745ff.; and Plin. Nat. 10,89ff.), the legend goes that the *alcedo* or *halcyon* (alcedo ispida L.) broods during seven days before and seven days after the winter solstice, and that then the sea is calm. Actually the halcyon broods in May–June (Ps. Democr. ap. Geminus, Calend. 9, and Colum. 11,2,22). Fronto, too, seems to think so since he mentions the spring wind Favonius. The word *alcedonia* (sc. *tempora*?) is found only in Plaut. Cas. 26 *tranquillum est, alcedonia sunt circa forum*; cp. Poen. 355f. *iam hercle tu peristi, nisi illam mihi tam tranquillam facis quam mare olimst, quom ibi alcedo pullos educit suos. Alcedonia* corresponds to *halcyonia* in Varro, L.L. 7,88; Mythogr. Vat, 1,9; Hyg. Fab. 65. Columella l.l. speaks of *halcyonei dies* (ἀλκυονίδες or ἀλκυονιτίδες ἡμέραι). *Alcedo* is much less frequent than *(h)alcyon*: apart from the passages quoted, it occurs only in Varro, L.L. 5,79; Paul Fest. p. 7; and in the Glossaria. In Plaut. Cas. 25 it is a metaphor, hardly a proverb.

229,2 *liberis*: whether Marcus' eldest daughter Annia Aurelia Galeria Faustina had already married Cn. Claudius Severus in 162 is not certain, but Lucilla, Fadilla, Cornificia and the twins Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus and Aurelius Commodus were probably with their mother in Lorium. M. Annius Verus may not yet have been born.

229,4 *atenim*: as 139,13 and 154,11, *atenim* introduces a critical remark by the interlocutor; cp. e.g. Plaut. Poen. 1196f. (Hanno) *quid vis? expedi.* (Agor.) *atenim hoc agas volo.* (Hanno) *atenim ago istuc.* Cic. De orat. 3,47; 3,188.

229,5–6 *num* sc. *postulat.* Note the gradation of substantives and adjectives.

229,7 *arcus*: Hor. Carm. 2,10,20 *neque semper arcum tendit Apollo*; Phaedr. 3,14,10 *cito rumpes arcum, semper si tensum habueris*, and the other examples in Otto, in Nachträge zu Otto and TLL s.v. arcus.

Intenditus: tendo and its compounds have *tensus* and *tentus*, never *tenditus*, but *substrictae* requires a participle, not *intenditur*, as Klussmann; O. Plasberg, TLL s.v. fides; and Borleffs, Museum 60, 1955, 161, have proposed. Neue-Wagener III^3 531 reads *intenditur* or *intentus*. As both *intenditus* and *substrictae* are disputed, we should not change either word without reservations. The Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817, 177, regards *intenditus* as an archaism and J.F. Westermann, Woordkunst 112, regards it as a pseudo-archaism. Cp. *expergitus* 7,2 and at 196,3.

Substrictae: 'stretched' (Haines), 'tirate' (Portalupi). Modern editors since Haines have adopted Allen's conjecture which is very simple and takes into account the parallelism of the two sentences. *Substringere* is synonymous with *intendere*, meaning 'to brace the strings more and more'. *Perpetuo sono strictae* is rather bizarre, yet the conjecture of Philibert-Soupé 90 n. 6 has been accepted by Naber; Georges s.v. stringo; Th. Klee, TLL s.v. fides; and Anni Schmitt, Das Bild 76, who translates 'welche Saite wird ständig zum Klingen gebracht?'

229,8 *conivendo durant*: 'hold out by winking'. On the *nictatio* (*palpebratio*), σκαρδαμυγμός, see Aristot. Part. anim. 2,13 and Plin. Nat. 11,156.

Uno ... interissent: 'which could not but fail (rather: give out) if fixed in one unwavering stare' (Haines). W.D. Lebel, TLL s.v. obnixus, has mixed things up. Note the alliteration.

229,9–11 Cp. Cic. Brut. 4,16 *ager qui, cum multos annos quievit, uberiores efferre fruges solet*; Ovid. Ars 2,351 *da requiem: requietus ager bene credita reddit*; Sen. Dial. 9,17,5 *danda est animis remissio; meliores acrioresque requieti surgent; ut fertilibus agris non est imperandum—cito enim illos exhauriet numquam intermissa fecunditas—ita animorum impetus adsiduus labor franget, vires recipient paulum resoluti et remissi*; Sen. Contr. 1 praef. 15 *excitatur enim otio vigor*. See at 30,1.

229,9 *pangitur*: 'to plant' (Haines), as in Prop. 3,17,15; Calp. Ecl. 2,49. *Herbas et holuscula*: 'herbs' (not 'weeds' [Haines]) 'and stunted vegetables' (Haines). Note the alliteration.

229,10 *nihil* belongs to both substantives. This gen. pretii is usually connected with *homo* or *bestia*: see at 16,1f. See Neue-Wagener I³ 863; 871; Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 146.

229,10–11 Plin. Nat. 18,36 quotes a *vox antiquorum: nihil minus expedire quam agrum optime colere*; 18,38 *bene colere necessarium est, optime damnosum*; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,8,2 *agrum si mediocriter colas, possides, si nimium, possideris*.

Frumento ... frugibus: the same alliteration Cic. Verr. 5,137.

Solidis frugibus: 'staple crops' (Haines); cp. Tac. Dial. 9,4 *ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem*.

229,11 *soli otio*: Ebert, Synt. 7, and Tillmann, De dativo graeco 94, see in *soli otio* a Greek dative! *Soli* is, of course, a genitive.

229,12 *vestri*: Marcus and Verus.

229,13 *auctibus auxerunt*: 'make grow in growth', not 'who enlarged the state and empire' (Haines), because Hadrian and Pius did not enlarge the empire. Cp. e.g. Liv. 1,21,6 *ille bello, hic pace civitatem auxerunt*. Landgraf, De figuris etymologicis; Selvatico, Scambio 245 n. 92; and L. Holford-Strevens, Class. Rev. 1991, 79, assume that Fronto borrowed this figure from Ps. Sall. Caes. 1,7,4 *quaeque res populos nationesve magnis auctibus auxissent*, but if it is true that Ps. Sallust wrote in the second century AD, such a quotation is not very likely, the less so because Liv. 29,27,2 has in a prayer of Scipio *vos omnia bene iuvetis, bonis auctibus auxitis* (Schwierczina, Frontoniana 33, thinks that Fronto is quoting Livy). Moreover, we find in Lucr. 1,435f. *augmine vel grandi vel parvo ... corporis augebit numerum*. Ehrenthal 36 is probably right in assuming that Livy, Ps. Sallust and Fronto are quoting an ancient source.

Proavus (Trajan): see at 213,1; 213,7.

Summus bellator also Plaut. Trin. 723; Gell. 1,11,1; 18,2,8.

Histrionibus: 'mime artists', not 'actors', as Haines and E. Kroeke, TLL s.v., suppose. See at 213,10. Cass. Dio 68,10,2 (Τραιανὸς) ἐν τε τῷ θεάτρῳ μονομάχους συνέβαλε—καὶ γὰρ ἔχαιρεν αὐτοῖς—καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς ἐς τὸ θεάτρον ἐπανήγαγε. According to Plin. Pan. 46,2, Trajan put a ban on pantomimes, apparently not wholeheartedly, hence Fronto's *interdum*. Hadrian and Pius, too, liked pantomimes: Vita Hadr. 19,6; Pii 11,2.

229,14 *praeterea ... strenue*: Vita Hadr. 3,3 *(Hadrianus) indulsisse vino se dicit Traiani moribus obsequentem*; Cass. Dio 68,7,4 τοῦ τε οἴνου διακόρως ἔπινε καὶ νήφων ἦν. Because of the alliteration, Ehrenthal 36 n. 77 thinks that

these four words have been taken from an ancient poet, but *satis strenue* we find also 109,17.

229,15 *eius opera*: 'thanks to him' (Haines).

Mulsum: *in triumphis mulsum saepius bibit* is a trochee, and therefore Ehrenthal l.l. here too sees the words of an ancient poet. After a victory, citizens and soldiers received money to buy honey-wine (cp. the *congiaria* at 213,14): Plaut. Bacch. 972 *ut sit mulsum qui triumphent milites*. In inscriptions we often see that cake and honey-wine were supplied, e.g. CIL VI 29738; IX 39545; X 5714.

229,15ff. *Avom* etc. In the note I give Charisius' text to show how corrupt the reading of the cod. Neapolitanus is, cp. Testim. 21 p. 267. The main word, *avom*, is lacking and the genitive *duum* in *duum vestrum* is impossible because *duum* is only used to indicate a quantity: *duum milium, duum mensium* (so Fronto 11,17), *duum denariorum, duum cubitorum* etc. See Proleg. LXII n. 5. And *vespera* 29,1 does not prove that Charisius used a good MS of Fronto but that his MS and the *alius* of m^2 agreed with one another against a third MS used by the m^1. Yet Mai in his second and third editions follows Heindorf; Pepe in his edition 25 follows Timpanaro who still adheres to *avom duom item vestrum* in Il nuovo Frontone 373.

229,15 *doctum*: see Vita Hadr. 1,5; 14,8–10; 15,10; 16,1–10; 19,6; 20,10; 26,4.

229,17 *perambulandi*: see Vita Hadr. 10–14; 23,1; Cass. Dio 69,9,1ff.; Epit. De Caes. 14,4; B.W. Henderson, The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian 1903, 75ff.

Diligentem with genitive: see at 213,11.

Modulorum: 'music' (Haines), 'melodie' (Portalupi); see at 138,14. Vita Hadr. 14,9 *psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se ferebat*; 26,4 *sambucas . . . exhibuit*; Epit. De Caes. 14,2 *potitus . . . canendi, psallendi medendique scientia*; Cass. Dio 69,10,3 ὕμνους τινὰς ἐς αὐτὴν (Plotinam) ποιῆσαι. Athen. VIII 361f. ἀρίστου καὶ μουσικωτάτου Ἀδριανοῦ (where Cl. Gulich in his edition of Athenaeus translates 'the most enlightened of emperors'!). See at 49,19.

230,1–2 *prandiorum . . . optimum: esor* is found only here; according to Ehrenthal l.l., Fronto is quoting an ancient poet.

Prandium is 'luncheon', 'pranzi' (Portalupi), not 'banquet' (Haines); see at 62,15. Vita Hadr. 21,4 *inter cibos unice amavit tetrafarmacum, quod erat de fasiano, sumine, perna et crustulo.*

230,2 *pater vester*: see at 111,11.

Divinus: see at 111,11.

230,2–3 *providentia . . . sanctimonia*: see Vita Pii 2,1; 3,8; 13,2; Vita Hadr. 24,3f.; Vita Marci 8,1; Vita Av. Cass. 11,6; Marcus, Medit. 1,16; 6,30; Pausan. 8,43,5f.; Lucian. Mort. Per. 19; Cass. Dio 69,20,4; Ammian. 16,1,4; Eutrop. 8,8.

230,3 *omnis omnium*: polyptoton or traductio.

230,4 *palaestram*: the gymnasium in the public thermae, a place of social meeting and recreation. We need not conclude with Lacour-Gayet, Antonin 279, that Pius liked wrestling.

230,5 *hamum instruxit*: 'baited a hook' (Haines), cp. Sen. Herc. F. 156 *(piscator) instruit hamos.* Vita Pii 11,2 *piscando se et venando multum oblectavit et deambulatione cum amicis atque sermone* (these last words may also refer to the gymnasium). Some ancient critic disapproved of *hamum* and read *theatrum*, an adaptation of *scurras risit. Theatrum instruere* means 'to put on a play', cp. Vita Pii 11,2 *amavit histrionum artes.*

Scurras: 'buffoons' (Haines), cp. Iuv. 13,110f. *mimum agit ille, urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli*; Vita Veri 8,11 *adduxerat secum... histriones scurrasque mimarios*; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 1,5 *scurrilitates histrionum.* See at 9,9.

230,6 *acerrimo hoste* is ironical: Suet. Caes. 52 *dilexit... maxime Cleopatram, cum qua et convivia in primam lucem saepe protraxit.* The second hand, Haines and André, Le de otio 241, have misunderstood this, hence their addition *post moecho.* Cleopatra was declared *hostis* only in 32 BC.

230,7 *Liviae*: to the outside world, the marriage of Augustus and Livia was perfect: Tac. Ann. 5,1,3; Suet. Aug. 62,2. Here Fronto sneers at Livia's dominant character, cp. Cas. Dio 58,2,5 πυθομένου τινὸς αὐτῆς, πῶς καὶ τί δρῶσα οὕτω τοῦ Αὐγούστου κατεκράτησεν etc.

230,7–9 *hostium... fixit*: under Augustus an elogium Romuli was placed on the Forum Augusti, a copy of which has been preserved in Pompeii, CIL I^2 p. 189 n. 4 (= CIL X 809): *Romulus... primus dux duce hostium Acrone, rege Caeninensium, interfecto spola opima Iovi Feretrio consecravit*; Liv. 1,10,6 *'Iuppiter Feretri', inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero templumque... dedico sedem opimis spoliis'*; 4,20,3 *(A. Cornelius Cossus) spolia in aede Iovis Feretrii prope Romuli spolia, quae prima opima appellata sola ea tempestate erant, cum sollemni dedicatione dono fixit*; Val. Max. 3,2,3 *occiso enim Acrone... opima de eo spolia Iovi Feretrio retulit.* See also Monum. Anc. 19; Dionys. Hal. Ant. 2,33f.; Liv. Per. 20; Prop. 4,101ff.; Fest. p. 186M; Flor. 1,1,11; Sil. 1,133; 3,587; 12,280; Plut. Rom. 16,6; Marcell. 8,3; Cass. Dio 44,4,3; 51,24,4; Serv. Aen. 6,856; Anon. De viris ill. 2,4. *Feretrius* may have been derived from **ferere = ferire*, 'to strike by lightning'.

230,9 *fixit*: against all editors (with the exception of Portalupi[2]), I have now adopted Orelli's conjecture instead of *vexit*, which can hardly be defended considering Tac. Ann. 2,41,3 *vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra*, where *vecta* means 'carried along in procession'. *Arma, spolia figere* is the same as *consecrare*: Cato, Or. frg. 71 Sblendorio; Ovid. Met. 8,154; Liv. 24,21,9; Verg. Aen. 1,248 (Serv. ad loc.: *figere... consecrare hic debemus accipere*). With dative also Sil. 14,650 *armaque fixa deis.*

Scilicet is ironical: 'really'. See at 131,12.

230,10 *animum induxisset*: 'could have had the heart to', 'si sarebbe mai indotto a' (Portalupi) or 'could have conceived the idea of' (Haines). *Animum inducere* usually has *ut* or *ne*; with infinitive since Plaut. Bacch. 1191.

Virgines sc. *Sabinas.* See Varro, L.L. 6,20; Ovid. Fast. 3,187f.; Ars 1,101f.; Liv. 1,9; Gell. 13,23,13; Cass. Dio 56,5; Serv. Aen. 8,635f.; Anon. De vir. ill. 2.

230,11 *Numa*: Enn. Ann. 120f. Vahlen *mensas constituit idemque ancilia libaque fictores Argeos et tutulatos.* Liv. 1,21,5 only says *multa alia sacrificia locaque*

sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit, and other authors are even less specific. André, Le de otio 241ff., must be taken with some reservation; see K. Glaner, Numa Pompilius, RE XVII 1 (1936).

230,11–12 *inter ... profanandas: profanare* is used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ: 'offer cakes and tithes', not 'consacrare libagioni e offerte' (Portalupi). Fronto's argument rests on *epulorum dictator, cenarum libator, feriarum promulgator*, not on *inter liba est decimas profanandas*, so we should not translate 'putting sacred offerings and tithes to secular use' (Haines). In its original sense, *profanare* means 'to offer': Cato, Agr. 50,2; 132,2 (but Fronto did not borrow it from Cato, as Priebe II 1; Schwierczina, Frontonia 13; and Selvatico, Scambio 239 n. 59, assume); Nov. Com. 14; Varro, L.L. 6,54 *hinc profanatum quid in sacrificio† ad quae Herculi decuma appellata ab eo est, quod sacrificio quodam fanatur*; Mas. Sab. ap. Macrob. 3,6,11 *decimam Herculi profanavit*; Fest. p. 237 M. *Hercules, cum ad aram ... decimam bovum profanasset, genus sacrificii edocuit*; Ps. Aur. Vict. Orig. 6,5 *apud eam (aram) decimam sui pecoris profanavit*; CIL XIII 5708,2,10.

Liba: Cato, Agr. 75 *libum hoc modo facito: casei p. II bene disterat in mortario, ubi bene distriverit, farinae siligineae libram aut, si voles tenerius esse, selibram similaginis solum eodem indito permiscetoque cum caseo bene. ovum unum addito et una permisceto bene. inde panem facito. folia subdito, in foco caldo sub testu coquito leniter.* Slightly different recipes Ovid. Fast. 3,761f.; Serv. Aen. 7,109; Athen. III 125f. See at 246,7.

Decimas sc. *partes*.

230,12 *suovetaurilia mactare* is not found elsewhere.

230,12–13 *epulorum dictator* should not be altered: during the ludi Romani and the ludi plebeii (on the ides of September and the ides of November), an *epulum*, 'banquet', was offered to Iuppiter, and the Romans made merry. As the ludi plebeii are of a later date, Fronto must mean the ludi Romani or magni, which, according to Liv. 1,35,9f. were instituted by King Ancus. Liv. 25,2,8 *ludi Romani ... magnifice facti ... et congi olei in vicos singulos dati*; 25,2,10 *ludi plebei per biduum instaurati et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa*; 30,39,8 *cum ludos ludorumque causa epulum Iovi fecissent*; Arnob. Nat. 7,32 *Iovis epulum cras est; Iuppiter enim cenat magnisque implendus est dapibus.* Since 196 BC *tresviri epulones* organized the festivities: Cic. De orat. 3,73 *ut pontifices veteres propter sacrificiorum multitudinem tresviros epulones esse voluerunt, cum essent ipsi a Numa, ut etiam illud ludorum epulare sacrificium facerent, instituti* etc.; Liv. 33,42,1 *Romae eo primum anno tresviri epulones facti C. Licinius Lucullus tribunus plebis, qui legem de creandis his tulerat, et P. Manlius et P. Porcius Laeca.* We should not read *epulonum* with Niebuhr (though an *epulo* can also be a gastronome) because of *cenarum* and *feriarum*, which is why his conjecture has been rejected by Orelli and G. Bannier, TLL s.v. epulum. *Epularum* (Novák and Haines) is simply wrong. The *dictator* played an important part in religious matters; he was in charge of the *ludi* and the *feriae*: Liv. 4,27,1 (431 BC) *dictator praeeunte A. Cornelio pontifice maximo ludos magnos ... vovit*; 7,28,7 (346 BC) *senatui placuit dictatorem feriarum constituendarum causa dici*; 8,40,20 (321 BC) *id ambigitur, belline gerendi causa creatus sit an ut ut esset qui ludis Romanis ... signum ... daret*; 9,34,12 (257 BC); 27,33,6 (208 BC); Fasti cos. Capit. CIL I[2] p. 24 (256 BC). Yet we should not take *dictator* too literally: for the occasion, Fronto invents

here two new words, *libator* ('is qui libat') and *promulgator* ('is qui promulgat'), which is how we must understand *dictator*. 'is qui dictat' ('dictates', 'proclaims'). *Libator* does not occur elsewhere: a 'spender', an 'offerer', rather than an 'inaugurator' (Haines); not 'dedicando cene' (Portalupi). *Promulgator* is also a new word, later used by Augustin. In psalm. 50,8 and Ennod. Epist. 7,12. *Feriarum* is here also used in jest: 'holy days and holidays'.

Saturatum et feriatum: 'a gourmand (or rather "a gastronome") and a holidaymaker' (Haines). Again Fronto plays on the words 'saturated' and 'celebrator', a wordplay lost in the translation 'un uomo satollo e libero dal lavoro' (Portalupi). Of course, *saturatus et feriatus* is not borrowed from an old poet, as Ehrenthal 37 n. 77 thinks.

230,14 *esurialis ferias*: an oxymoron, for Marcus was not on holiday. *Esurialis* occurs only here and Plaut. Capt. 468 *venter gutturque resident esurialis ferias*. See at 228,18.

Tuum: mockingly; Marcus mentions Chrysippus Medit. 6,42; 7,19. Diog. Laert. 7,7,183 ἐν μέντοι ταῖς οἰνώσεσιν ἡσύχαζε παραφερόμενος τοῖς σκέλεσιν, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν τὴν δούλην 'Χρυσίππου μόνα τὰ σκέλη μεθύει'.

230,15 *madescere*: 'to get mellow' (Haines). In this sense the word occurs here for the first time, but *madere, madefacere* and *madidus* already since Plautus.

Pleraque: adverb: 'mostly', see at 59,6.

230,15–16 *de prelo . . . referto*: 'to have tapped his wine in abundance from the winepress and to have let it flow in a large quantity' (?); 'averli spruzzati con abondante miele' (Portalupi, who notes that *examine referto*, 'con lo sciame pieno', alludes to the use of improving the wine by plenty of honey).

230,16–19 Socrates was not a frivolous man, but we should not forget that he was the pupil of a courtesan and the teacher of a man who was given to drinking.

230,17 *Socraticorum*: in the first place the Symposia, dialogues and letters of Plato and Xenophon. Portalupi thinks of the dialogues Aspasia and Alcibiades of Antisthenes, cp. Diog. Laert. 2,61. See R. Hirzal, Der Dialog I, Leipzig 1895, 359ff.; Sykutris, Epistolographie; Hug, Symposion-Literatur, RE IV A 2 (1932); G. Bardy, Dialog, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1957). Aristotle is the first to speak of Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι (Rhet. 3,16,8; Poet. 1,8) and of Σωκρατικοὶ διαλόγοι (Fragm. 72 Rose). Already in an early stage there was a discussion about the authenticity of these dialogues: Diog. Laert. 2,60 διεβάλλετο δ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης . . . ὡς τοὺς πλείστους διαλόγους ὄντας Σωκράτους ὑποβάλλοιτο λαμβάνων παρὰ Ξανθίππης. See also 2,64. According to Cic. De orat. 3,61f., the notion *Socratici* embraces all early Peripatetici, Academici, Cynici, Stoici and Cyrenaici; see also Cic. Acad. 1,16f. and Quint. Inst. 5,7,28 *quod ex dialogis Socraticorum maximeque Platonis duci potest*. It seems that Fronto, like Cicero, uses *Socratici* in a broad sense, because of the following *Socraticorum epistulae*, for these are not necessarily the letters published by R. Hercher in his Epistolographi Graeci (1873) and Liselotte Köhler. These letters are only referred to by a Petersburg papyrus of the third century AD (L. Mitteis & U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie

der Papyruskunde, Leipzig/Berlin I 2, 1912, 183) and by Stob. Flor. 17,10. Their date is uncertain. Obens, Qua aetate, dates them to the second century AD; Ch. Huit, Les épistolographes grecs, Rev. d. Étud. grecques 2, 1889, 159f., and F. Pavlu, Charisma, Festgabe z. 25. Stiftungsfest d. Vereins klass. Philologen, Wien 1924, 33f., date them to the Alexandrian period or later; Köhler and Sykutris, Sokratikerbriefe, and Die Briefe des Sokrates 121, to the early third century AD; H. Dörrie, Sokratikerbriefe, Kleine Pauly (1973), to the first century BC. It seems that Fronto has Plato's letters in mind. See at 24,5f.

230,17–18 *multum scitum*: see at 49,16.

230,18 *intelleges*: 'the Socrates, mark you, who' etc. (Haines). For the fut. pro imperativo see at 19,7.

Aspasiae discipulum according to Plato, Menex. 235 e; Xen. Mem. 2,6,36; Plut. Pericl. 24,3; Lucian. Salt. 25.

230,19 *Alcibiadi*: see at 138,13.

230,20 *iam si*: see at 166,12.

Indixtei: syncopated forms of *(in)dicere* are frequent since Plautus; see Neue-Wagener III^3 500. There is no reason to assume with Ehrenthal 36 that this is a quotation from an ancient poet. The official term *indicere* also 269,6.

Dormi: see at 9,12.

230,21 *intensius*: see at 196,3; 229,7. The adverb *intense* does not occur elsewhere. Adjective *intensus* Chiron 360 and Avian. Fab. apol. 4.

Requies: Marcus used to work after supper until late into the evening; *lucernuidi* in the next line refers to lamplight, but it is not a *lucubratio*, as most conjectures suggest, for the lubrication took place in the early morning and not before midnight; see Roller, Das Formular 311 n. 113 H.

231,1 *ain tandem*: the conjecture of Kiessling and O. Hey, TLL s.v. aio, is most convincing, the more so because *an tandem* does not make sense and cannot be translated by 'prithee' (Haines). See at 59,11. Yet all previous editions (except Portalupi^2) and F. Vollmer, TLL s.v. an, keep *an tandem*.

231,2 *surrupuisset* is an archaic form of *surripuisset*. Plautus has it several times; further in the Lex Atinia of 195 BC ap. Gell. 17,7; Manil. 3,352; CIL I 663,14; XII 756. The myth of Prometheus bringing fire from heaven since Hesiod. Erga 51.

Non: see at 42,20.

Iudicandum: in the imperial age the sessions of the courts started early in the morning, after the salutatio: Mart. 4,8,1f. *prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora, exercet raucos tertia causidicos*. They ended normally at sunset: Lex XII tab. 1,6 *solis occasus suprema tempestas esto* (see Censorin. 24,3 and Macrob. Sat. 1,3); Lex. col. Gen. Iul. 102 *ne quis eorum ante horam I neve post horam XI diei quaerito neve iudicium exerceto*; Paul. Sent. 4,6,2 *inter horam secundam et decimam diei*; Marcus 35,6 *causidicos in undecimam horam audio*; Novell. 82,3 εἰς δείλην ὀψίαν. Cp. Cic. Verr. II 2,41 *ne cogat ante horam decimam . . . iudicare*; Sen. Dial. 9,17,7 *maiores . . . novam relationem post horam decimam in senatu fieri vetabant*. Scrupulous emperors, however, transgressed this convention: Suet. Aug. 33,1 *ipse ius dixit assidue et in noctem nonnumquam*. See also Plin. Epist. 2,11,14 and at 266,11, where Fronto pleads ἑσπέρας βαθείας

under Hadrian. As to Marcus: Vita Veri 8,9 *(Marcus) quinque diebus in eadem villa residens cognitionibus continuis operam dedit aut convivante fratre aut convivia comparante*; Cass. Dio 71,6,1 ὁσάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου σχολὴν ἦγεν, ἐδίκαζε καὶ ὕδωρ πλεῖστον τοῖς ῥήτορσι μετρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάς τε πύστεις καὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐποιεῖτο, ὥστε πανταχόθεν τὸ δίκαιον ἀκριβοῦν. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἕνδεκα πολλάκις καὶ δώδεκα ἡμέραις τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην, καίπερ νυκτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε δικάζων, ἔκρινεν. Cp. Vita Marci 10,8 *comitiis . . . etiam usque ad noctem frequenter interfuit neque umquam recessit de curia, nisi consul dixisset 'Nihil vos moramur, p.c.'*; 10,10 *fastis dies iudiciarios addidit ita ut ducentos triginta dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque disceptandis constitueret.* See also at 139,17. Schwartz, Avidius 144 n. 35, wrongly assumes that in Dio we should read ὥραις instead of ἡμέραις and that both Dio and the Vita Marci 10,8 took their data from this letter of Fronto. See Proleg. LXII n. 4.

231,3 *nec*: if we keep the adverb *ne*, 'indeed', we should read *reputes*, but this *ne* is only used before pronouns, hence Brakman's conjecture *ne* <*tu*> (Haines *nae* <*tu*>). Heindorf's emendation *nec . . . nec . . . reputas* presents the best solution, since *reputas* is more likely than *reputes. Cum animo reputas*: see at 25,2.

Cotidiano . . . adstringi: 'tu ogni giorno, ti rendi colpevole di mendacio' (Portalupi) rather than 'that you are tied to a daily falsehood' (Haines). Plautus uses *astringere* with genitive: *furti*, Poen. 737; Rud. 1260; but since Cicero the verb is always used with ablative: *scelere, crimine* etc.

231,4 *diem*: note the pun. The legal expression is *diem dicere*, so 61,15M.

Et = et tamen, see at 50,18.

Sive . . . sive: see at 37,5–7.

231,5–6 *parum cavisse videtur* contains two legal expressions: *videtur* is the word used by the judge when he passes judgement; so in *fecisse videtur* (Lex Acilia repetundarum 42; Cic. Pis. 97; Verr. II 5,14; Att. 4,17,5). See Kleinfelder, Sententia, RE II A (1923); W. Kunkel, Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des römischen Kriminalverfahrens in vorsullanischer Zeit 1962, 85, n. 319; W. Stiegler, Sententia, Kleine Pauly (1972). At the same time it is a pun: 'he seems', 'he is seen'. Cp. Cic. De orat. 2,33 *videor videre*; Fin. 5,4 *videre videor. Parum cavisse* also is a legal term used in contracts and title-deeds: 'to provide insufficient guarantees' (not 'there appears to have been gross negligence' [Haines]): Paul. Dig. 19,1,53,1f. *si eum fundum vendidisti in quo sepulcrum habuisti, nec nominatim tibi sepulcrum excepisti, parum habes eo nomine cautum . . . si cui in ea insula, quam vendideris, gratis habitationem dederis . . . parum caveris . . . itaque eos habitatores emptor insulae habitatione impune prohibebit*; CIL IX 4786 *cum venditor . . . parum cavisset emptori de aqua.* The expression is also found in Fest. p. 238 *parum cavisse videri.* Heindorf and Mayor, Parum cavissse videtur, also refer to Festus and Hor. Ars 351f. *verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit aut humana parum cavit natura*, but Fronto is not quoting Horace, see at 29,5.

231,6 *istuc*: 'that' (of *istic*) rather than 'where' (Haines) or 'dove tu stai' (Portalupi); cp. 9,1 *omnia istaec*; 149,12 *puteus istic*; and in quotations from Cato, see at 90,25.

Nihil is adverb.

231,7 *ioco . . . serio*: see at 21,10f.

231,8 *defrudes*: see at 92,24. On Marcus' lack of sleep see at 9,12.

Agere: 'are having a lawsuit' (Haines); see at 82,14.

231,9 *puta*: 'imagine' (Haines).

231,9–10 *utrique* is often used in the case of two persons or things since Ter. Andr. 287. In Fronto 212,20; *utraque* 139,1. For *quisque* in apposition to *utrique* cp. e.g. Sall. Iug. 58,2 *nostri . . . sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt*; Liv. 2,7,1 *ut . . . ambo exercitus . . . suas quisque abirent domos*. See at 36,19f.; 212,20.

231,10 *demonstrationem*: 'description' (Haines). The word is used when a plot of land has to be delimited: Val. Max. 7,3,4 *Nolani ac Neapolitani queri nihil potuerunt secundum ipsorum demonstrationem dicta sententia*; Pomp. Dig. 8,1,13; Paul. Dig. 10,1,12; Iavol. Dig. 18,1,63,1 *demonstratione fundi facta fines nominari supervacuum est*; 45,1,106 *fundum sine ulla nota demonstrationis stipuletur*; Mod. Dig. 50,1,36,1 *propter mensurae agri demonstrationem*; Apul. Met. 9,35,5 *amicos . . . ad demonstrationem finium . . . corrogarat*. So we cannot say with Ebert, Synt. 45, that *demonstrationem ostendere* is an abundant expression, as in Tert. Prax. 11,4.

Cognitioni: 'judicial inquiry'.

231,11 *postulat*: see at 50,1.

Somnus: cp. Quint. Inst. 3,7,28 (in his chapter *De laude et vituperatione*) *erit et (laus) rerum omnis modi. nam et Somni et Mortis scriptae laudes*; Apul. Socr. 16 *quorum (daemonum) e numero Somnus atque Amor diversam inter se vim possident: Amor vigilandi, Somnus soporandi*. See at 152,2. I have not seen Ramírez, La fabula de Somno. See at 215,1–3.

Adfinem: 'a party to'. It has not been borrowed from Plaut. Trin. 331 *publicisne adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis*, as Priebe II 5 assumes.

231,12 *adtingi iniuria*: 'that he suffers prejudice' (Haines).

Studii: 'literary ambition'.

231,13 *olim*: more than twenty years ago, see at 215,1–3.

Nugalia, 'trifles' (Haines), represent the παίγνιον of Gorgias, Hel. 21. *Nugalis* occurs here for the first time, then Gell. 1,2,6 and Mart. Cap. 1,2. The substantive *nugalia* also in Gell. 4,1,1 and 6,17,3. See at 215,1–3.

Laudem: 215,2 *Laudes*.

231,14 *ne conscripsissem*: an unfulfilled wish; *ne*, 'verily', stands for *utinam ne*. See at 10,3. So it is clear that Fronto never wrote a *laus somni*, see Proleg. LVII n. 5 and at 5,21; 219,14–220,4. It seems rather silly to suppose with Niebuhr and Naber that, in 162, it had slipped Fronto's mind that he ever wrote such a *laus*.

Ex summis opibus: see at 113,16f.

231,15 *si tibi libenti* is a Graecism: βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστιν, ἀσμένῳ μοί ἐστιν (since Hom. Il. XIV 108). It was introduced by Sall. Iug. 84,3 *neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*; 100,4 *ut militibus . . . labor volentibus esset*; Liv. 21,50,10 *quibusdam volentibus novas res fore*; Tac. Agr. 18,2 *quibus bellum volentibus erat*; Hist. 3,43,2 *Maturo ceterisque . . . in verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit*; Iul. Val. 2,19 *ut parere eis libentibus sit Aegyptiis*; Ammian. 1,59,1 *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat*; Macrob. Sat. 6,1,3; 6,6,1; and 7,13,11 *si volentibus vobis erit*; 7,7,2 *si tibi volenti erit*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 100 and at 261,11.

231,16 *res humanas*: 'the world', as in Plin. Nat. 27,3 *(dei) Romanos velut*

alteram lucem dedisse rebus humanis videntur; Tac. Hist. 4,54,2 *possessionem rerum humanarum transalpinis gentibus portendi... Druidae canebant*; Arnob. Nat. 2,49 *et boni... sunt in rebus humanis.*

A primordio is not 'at the beginning of things' (Haines) but 'immediately after the origin of things'.

231,16–17 *aevum vitae*: 'the span of (human) life', 'the continuity of man's life' (Haines). *Vitae* is an unedited reading by Hauler, already conjectured by Heindorf. Cp. Carm. Epigr. 362,2 *non aevo exsacto vitai.* Our passage has nothing to do with the Orphic world egg (Fröhner, Kritische Analekten), but it shows a curious resemblance to Genesis 1,3–5 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς... καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα. Mai had already noticed this resemblance, but we can hardly believe that Fronto is referring to the Bible. The solution may be found in Ps. Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους 9,9 ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε καὶ κἀξέφηνεν εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων 'εἶπεν ὁ θεός', φησί· τί; 'γενέσθω φῶς καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ καὶ ἐγένετο'. This quotation differs from the text of the Septuagint and is much disputed. It was suggested that Ps. Longinus had his information on the Bible from his opponent, the Jew Caecilius Calactinus, but it seems that we are dealing with a common source of both Ps. Longinus and Fronto: Theodorus of Gadara. Περὶ ὕψ. 3,5 quotes him with the imperfect ἐκάλει, which indicates that Ps. Longinus was Theodorus' pupil. Theodorus lived in the first half of the first century AD, as did Ps. Longinus. Theodorus' rhetorical works had much influence on Fronto, see at 6,3; 41,20; 157,1; and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Hermes 35, 1900, 49 n. 2; O. Jahn & J. Vahlen in their edition of Ps. Longinus, Lipsiae [2]1910, 19; H.F. Müller, Die Schrift über das Erhabene, Heidelberg 1911, 67; J. Börner, De Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae dispositione, diss., Lipsiae 1911, 52; Schmidt-Stählin, Griech. Lit. Geschichte II 476 n. 1.

231,17 *diffidisse*: Kempf, TLL s.v. aevum, has *effudisse*, which must be a misprint.

231,18 *partem* sc. *aevi vitae*, 'human life', not sc. *mundi*, as Gudeman, TLL s.v. amicio, thinks.

Amicisse: the normal perfect of *amicio* is *amicui* or *amixi* (hence *amixisse* P. Rasi, not Beltrami, as stated in the crit. app.). Augustin. C. Iul. 5,2,7 has *amicierint*, so *amicisse* is the syncopated infinitive of *amicii.*

231,22 *vespere*: see at 29,1.

232,1 *otium... negotium*: this opposition is frequent since Enn. Trag. 183 R. *Tum necdum*: see at 212,21.

232,4 *inquieta*: cp. Sall. Hist. 1,7 Maur. *nobis primae dissensiones vitio humani ingenii evenere, quod inquies atque indomitum semper in certamine libertatis... agit.*

232,5 *exercebant*: cp. Verg. Aen. 10,808 *ut possint (agricolae)... exercere diem*; Sen. Contr. 2,5,4 *sic vir et uxor noctes exercebant.* It is not a direct quotation from Vergil but poetical language.

Inpertibant: this form only here, but *-ibam* for *-iebam* is frequent in old Latin.

232,6 *iurgia . . . sisti*: 'that quarrels and recognizances were fixed for the night' (Haines). *Sistere* is a legal term: Cato, Or. frg. 184 Sblendorio *quid si vadimonium capite obvoluto stitisses?*; Cic. Quinct. 30 *vadimonium sistit*; Nepos, Att. 9,4 *ut nullum illa stiterit vadimonium*; Gaius, Inst. 4,184 *vadimonium ei faciendum est, id est ut promittat se certo die sisti*; Apul. Met. 9,22,2 *amatorem illum alacrem vadimonium sistam.*

232,6–7 *noctes comperendinari*: there are two legal expressions: *aliquem comperendinare*, 'summon to appear in court on the third day', and *iudicium comperendinare*, 'adjourn judgement'. Fronto plays on the words *nox* and *dies*: *comperendinare* derives from *perenDIE*, 'that even nights were adJOURNED'. Cp. Ambros. Epist. 6,4 *quartum quoque diem comperendinavit.* 'Suits were even put off from one night to another' (Haines) does not do justice to the phrase.

232,7 *videat*: subjunctive of the oblique oration. Especially in *ubi videt* and in *ubi intellegit* the praes. historicum is used, e.g. Ter. Eun. 260 *ubi . . . videt . . . coepit*; see Kühner II 361.

Cum . . . agitasse: see at 25,2.

De: see at 21,1.

Germanis fratribus is used since Plautus. Serv. Aen. 5,412 *germanus est . . . de eadem genetrice manans.*

232,8 *nocti atque otio*: hendiadys; cp. line 22.

Curaret with dative is archaistic: Plaut. Rud. 146; 182; Trin. 1057; Truc. 137; Acc. Trag. 143; then here and in Gellius and Apuleius. *Procurare* with dative: see at 79,26. See also at 110,28.

232,9 *maritumas* is archaistic. It is found particularly in the MSS of Plautus, Sallust and Livy.

Ne: the subordinate clause is only loosely connected with *causatum*, as shown by line 11 where *causatum* is followed by an acc. cum inf. (so since Livy). Cp. Ulp. Dig. 36,1,13 pr. *causari quid non poterit, ne condicio deficiat*; Ammian. 31,7,5 *morbum causante, ne ferventibus proeliis interesset.*

Totas: in the plural, *toti* often is *omnes*, e.g. Plaut. Mil. 212 *totis horis*; Verg. Ecl. 1,11 *totis . . . agris.* It does not seem to be a colloquialism, as Hofmann-Szantyr 203 suggest. There is a trochaic rhythm in *venti cuncta funditus percellerent*, though apparently it is not a quotation: the whole passage has a strong poetic colour.

232,10 *funditus*: Robbert, TLL s.v., connects *funditus* with *cuncta*, but it depends on *percellerent*, cp. 54,6.

232,11 *silvas et sata*: alliteration.

Radicitus haurirent: cp. Lucr. 6,141 *(ventus) arbusta evolvens radicibus haurit ab imis.*

232,12 *templa infera*: 'the nether precincts' (Haines). *Templum* (τέμενος) in its original meaning. Enn. Trag. 70 Klotz *Acherunsia templa alta Orci. Acherunsia templa* also in Lucretius; Carm. Epigr. 1058,6 *Pluto rapuit me ad infera templa.*

Coerceri: cp. Verg. Georg. 4,480 *novies Styx interfusa coercet.*

232,13 *stagnis Stygiis*: Verg. Aen. 6,323 *Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem*; 6,374 *Stygias . . . aquas amnemque severum Eumenidum*; Hor. Carm. 4,8,25 *ereptum Stygiis fluctibus*, but see at 29,5.

Commoeniri: the archaic form occurs only here, but *moenire* for *munire* is found since Plautus. Gramm. Suppl. 214,13 *moenia dicuntur a verbo munio, i. firmo, quod antiqui dicebant moenio per oe diphthongem.*

232,14 *umbris territandis*: dat. finalis depending on *custodem apposuisse* or on *custodem* alone; cp. Cic. Top. 43 *finibus regundis adigere arbitrum non possis.* See Kühner I 748; Hofmann-Szantyr 377.

Aufugere: Lucr. 4,37f. *ne forte animos Acherunte reamur effugere.*

232,15 Cp. Verg. Georg. 4,483 *tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora*; Aen. 6,417f. *Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci personat.* Note the epanaphora of *trinas*, see at 97,4.

Hiatus: Stat. Theb. 2,27 *Cerberus . . . omnes capitum subrexit hiatus*; 7,783 *tergeminosque mali custodis hiatus*; Apul. Met. 4,20,2 *faucibus ipsis hiantis Cerberi.* Ovid. Met. 4,450f. *tria Cerberus extulit ora et tres latratus semel edidit*; Prop. 3,5,43 *tribus infernum custodit faucibus antrum*; 3,18,23 *exoranda canis tria sunt latrantia colla.*

232,16 *formidines*: 'terror' (Haines). Cp. Cic. Tusc. 1,36 *ignoratio finxit inferos easque formidines*; Sil. 13,522 *Stygiaeque aperi formidinis aulam.* The plural is very frequent.

232,17 *gratiam*: 'charm' rather than 'a liking for' (Haines) or 'favore' (Portalupi).

Iunonem: Iuno Lucina, Εἰλείθυια.

232,18 *ciere*: a medical term, cp. Plin. Nat. 20,115 *semine urinam (apium) ciet, menstrua ac secundas partus.*

232,18–19 *Minervam . . . velle*: note the alliteration and the wordplay *artium—artificum.*

232,19 *mature locare*: according to the unedited readings by Hauler, *locare* is certain, so we must assume a poetical zeugma because *eruptiones locare* alone is not used for *eruptiones facere*. Cp. 39,16f. *si armis vel palaestrica ludas.* Then there is the problem of *mutare*: in my first edition I followed Brakman; J. Schmalz, Kritische Kleinigkeiten 127; and Haines: *muta re*, 'by the silence of the surroundings'; but such a singular is suspect and cannot be defended by 1,7, where Naber reads *laeta re* instead of *laetare*. So I have adopted the conjecture of Allen and Eussner, *mature*, not in the sense of 'early' (because of *nocturnas*) but in that of 'at the suitable moment', rather than 'si affrettava a disporre' (Portalupi[2]); Hauler suggests (with Allen's *maturare*) *maturare locare*, 'hasten to launch'.

232,20 *multo maxime*: see at 56,22.

Pernoctantibus: 'those who turn night into day'.

232,21 *somni procreandi: capio consilium* is used with an infinitive or a gerund. The infinitive cannot be used when it has an object; in that case, the gerundive has to be used. Not quite correct Kühner I 743; Hofmann-Szantyr 351. The first hymn of praise of ὕπνος is found in Soph. Philoct. 827ff. See also Verg. Aen. 1,680ff.; Sen. Herc. F. 1066ff.; Sil. 10,340ff.; Stat. Theb. 5,186ff.; and Jolles, Hypnos, RE IX (1914).

232,22 *claves oculorum*: a bold metaphor.

232,23 *sucos*: Ovid. Met. 11,605f. *ante fores antri fecunda papavera florent innumeraeque herbae, quarum de lacte soporem Nox legit*; Sil. 10,352 *portat medicata*

papavera; Stat. Theb. 10,107 *soporifero . . . flore*. Note the *s* alliteration. It is out of the question that Fronto here and Marcus 43,6 (*medicina*) have in mind Marcus' use of theriac, as Africa, The Opium Addiction, suggests. See at 64,4.

Somnus sopiret seems to be an etymological figure; cp. e.g. Verg. Aen. 1,680; Curt. 8,3,9. It is not a pleonasm (against R.G. Austin, P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos liber primus, Oxfrod 1971 ad loc.).

Sopiret: enallage temporis, because *temperat* is a praes. historicum. See at 55,13f.

232,24 *temperat*: 'mixed' (Haines).

De caeli nemore advectae has an iambic or trochaic rhythm, but this does not mean that it is a quotation. It is not clear what Fronto is referring to. In his inedita, Hauler thinks that it may be the journey of Hera and Hypnos to the top of the Ida: Hom. Il. XIV 283f. Ἴδην δ' ἱκέσθην . . . ἀκροτάτη δὲ ποδῶν ὕπο σείετο ὕλη. Later Zeus joined Hera but no herbs are mentioned. Φάρμακα ἐσθλά come from heaven, the Olympus, φάρμακα λυγρά from the nether world.

233,1 *Acheruntis prateis*: the ἀσφοδελὸς λείμων of Hom. Od. 11,539; 11,573; 24,13. Cp. Od. 4,563 Ἠλύσιον πεδίον; Lucian. Iup. conf. 17 ἐν τῷ Ἠλυσίῳ λειμῶνι.

Leti: Fronto adopts the etymology of Varro, L.L. 7,42 *(ollus) apparet in funeribus indictivis, quo dicitur 'ollus leto datus est', quod Graecus dicit* λήθῃ, *id est oblivioni*; Fest. p. 115 M *letum ab oblivione, quam Graeci* λήθην *vocant, dictum.*

Eius leti: short for *eius herbae letalis.*

Aspersisse still depends on *Iovem ferunt* 232,5, and there is no reason to add *ferunt* here with Brakman and Consoli.

233,2 *dissimulantis lacrima*: 'of one who would hide his tears' (Haines). The expression does not occur elsewhere.

233,3 *soporem . . . inriga*: Hom. Il. XIV 164 τῷ δ' ὕπνον . . . χεύῃ ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν. Lucr. 4,907f. *somnus per membra quitem inriget*; Verg. Aen. 1,691 *Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem inrigat*; Georg. 1,78 *lethaeo perfusa papavera somno*; 4,545 *lethaea papavera*; Aen. 3,511 *fessos sopor inrigat artus*; 5,854f. *deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat tempora*; Furius ap. Macrob. Sat. 6,1,44 *mittemque rigat per pectora somnum.* A statue in Madrid represents Hypnos instilling sleeping-drops from a horn: Stat. Theb. 2,143f. *illos . . . cornu perfuderat omni Somnus*; 5,197ff. *cum consanguinei mixtus caligine Leti rore madens Stygio morituram amplecitur urbem Somnus et implicito fundit gravia otia cornu*; Sil. 10,352 *curvoque . . . portat medicata papavera cornu*; Serv. Aen. 1,692 explains *inrigat*: *quasi cornu infundat.*

Oculorum repagula: 'the locks of the eyes', not 'gateways' (Haines) or 'occhi chiusi' (Portalupi).

233,4 *fusi* is Hauler's reading in his Verhandlungen 1896, 79, but in the TLL s.v. ilico he reads *profusi*. Considering what Mai, Naber and Brakman read, *profusi* is unlikely. Cp. e.g. Verg. Aen. 9,316 *somno vinoque per herbam corpora fusa.*

Pro mortuis: Hom. Il. XIV 231 ὕπνος κασίγνητος θανάτοιο. Verg. Aen.

6,278 *consanguineus Leti Sopor.* Tennyson, In Memoriam, 'Sleep, Death's twin-brother'.

233,5 *ne timeto*: a solemn imperative, mainly used in legal language. Cp. *ratum habeto* 37,23; *scito* 174,14; *existimato* 174,20. See at 37,23; 44,7f.; 107,5–8.

Vivent: cp. Cic. Div. 1,115 *viget... animus in somnis liber a sensibus... iacente et mortuo paene corpore.*

233,6 *post id*: whereas *post hoc* and *post haec* are frequently used, *post id* is very rare; it is found only here and in Cels. 7,22,5 and Sulp. Sev. Chron. 1,7,6. For *postid* in *postid locorum* see at 3,4. *Post illud*, too, is rare and *post illa* is found only in Ovid. Epist. 12,117, cp. Fronto 97,14 *post illa Sallusti.* For *postilla* see at 167,2. *Post ista* is first used by Fronto 59,24, then by Apul. Apol. 89,1 and a few later authors.

Alas: 'winged sleep', e.g. Callim. Del. 234 ληθαῖον ἐπὶ πτερὸν ὕπνος ἐρείσει. Orphica, Argon. 1011; Tibull. 2,1,89; Sil. 10,344; 10,351; Nonn. Dionys. 7,141. In Fronto they are the wings of a swallow, in Nonn. Dionys. 5,411 those of a nightingale. Vergil and Silius give him wings on both temples: Aen. 5,855, Sil. 10,356, and so has the statue in Madrid.

Mercurio: vases, statues and gems show a great variety: wings attached to the ankles (*talaria*), to the temples, to his hat and sometimes to his staff.

Umeris exaptas: Mai[1] and Mai[2] kept the MS reading *umeros exaptos*, which is not possible. Niebuhr, Orelli and Schwierczina, Die Abundanz, read *humeris exaptos*, which also is impossible. Allen, Naber (p. 294), Hauler and Burckhardt, TLL s.v. exaptus, read *humeris* or *humero exaptas*, Mähly *umeris exaptas*, and so Haines, Della Corte and Portalupi. Hildebrand reads *humeros exaptas*, an acc. Graecus, which is also considered possible by Hauler and Burckhardt, cp. Verg. Aen. 1,589 *os umerosque deo similis*; Hor. Carm. 1,21,12 *insignemque (Apollinem) pharetra fraternaque umerum lyra*, but it does not seem to fit here. See at 74,23; 179,5. *Exaptus* is very rare: Lucil. 536 *pellicula extrema exaptum pendere onus ingens (testium)*; Varro ap. Plin. Nat. 36,92 *ex quo (petaso) pendeant exapta catenis tintinabula.* In Lucr. 4,829 we are faced with an anastrophe of *ex: bracchia... validis ex apta lacertis esse*, so it is not impossible that here, too, we should read *umeris ex aptas.*

233,7 *soleis*: for the sake of clarity I write, with Mai, *soleis* instead of *solis*, from *solea*, 'sandal', not *solum*, as Hauler thinks: *solis* = *soliis* = *soleis*, see Proleg. XXXIV sub 1.

Talari ornatu: 'outfit attached to the ankles'. Cic. Nat. deor. 3,59 *pinnarum talaria*; Schol. Iuv. 3,117 *talares pinnae.*

233,7–8 *pupulas—palpebras*: alliteration.

233,8 *incurrere* is usually constructed with *in*, which would not be suitable here. Stat. Silv. 5,4,16f. *nec te (Somne) totas infundere pennas luminibus compello meis.*

Curruli: 'of chariots'; the word occurs here for the first time, but Liv. 24,18,10 already has *curules equi.* Apul. Met. 4,2,3 *equus currulis*; 9,9,3 *cohibita equorum curruli rabie*; Vita Comm. 2,9 and Vulg. III Reg. 4,26 *equi currules.* Strictly speaking, *currulis* and *curulis* are the same word, see Gell. 3,18; Serv. Aen. 11,334; Isid. Diff. 1,108; Orig. 20,11,11.

Cum: possibly used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, cp. Ter. Haut. 40 *clamore summo, cum labore maxumo*, but even there the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is not certain: *cum* may mean 'attended by', 'coupled with'. An abl. instrumentalis is found in Lucr. 5,1316 *fremitu perterrita*; Cic. Verr. I 45 *non strepitu, sed maximo clamore suam... significavit voluntatem*; Liv. 39,15,9 *strepitibus clamoribusque... attoniti*; but an abl. modi Enn. Ann. 487 *cum magno strepitu Volcanum ventus vegebat*; Cic. Att. 2,19,3 *cetera magno cum fremitu et clamore sunt dicta*; Har. resp. 24 *nemora cum quodam strepitu fremituque peragrare*: Frontin. Strat. 1,8,9 *agi mulos cum strepitu fremituque et sono iussit*. Sometimes, however, the two ablatives merge: Verg. Aen. 9,54 *clamore excipiunt socii fremituque sequuntur horrisono*; Sall. Iug. 53,2 *magno clamore concurritur*; 53,7 *strepitu velut hostes adventare*; Ammian. 29,5,38 *fremituque minaci... ruentes in pugnam*.

233,9 *equestri*: 'of steeds' (Haines), and so Rehm, TLL s.v.; better perhaps 'of cavalry', because of *curruli*. Cp. Liv. 40,31,4f. *omnis equitatus effunditur castris..., ubi primum fremitum equestrem audivit* (*equestrem* Gronov, *equestrium* codd.).

Pinnis: see at 155,2.

Teneris: 'delicate' rather than 'gentle' (Haines). A correction is not necessary.

233,10 *ut columbae* sc. *facere solent*. Ebert, Synt. 35, wonders why Fronto did not write *columbas*, but *ut columbae* does not depend on *oportet* and there is no question of a neglected attraction (against Kühner I 719). 134,21f. *ut Menelaum* is quite different.

Fronto liked pigeons, see at 178,20.

Alis plaudere: Verg. Aen. 5,215f. *in arva volans plausumque... pennis dat... ingentem*; 5,515f. *alis plaudentem... columbam*; Mart. 3,58,18 *sonantque turres plausibus columbarum*.

233,11–14 Accius, Praetext. 29ff. (from Cic. Divin. 1,45) *quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt, minus mirandum est*; Lucr. 4,962–1013 *et quo quisque fere studio devinctus adhaeret..., in somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire... induperatores pugnare ac proelia obire... cernere saltantis et mollia membra moventis et citharae liquidum carmen... auribus accipere... videbis equos fortis... quasi de palma summas contendere viris... reges expugnant, capiuntur, proelia miscent*; 4,453ff. *cum suavi devinxit membra sopore Somnus... tum vigilare tamen nobis et membra movere nostra videmur*. On dreams see at 43,5. Note the parallelism with homoioteleuton. The first *ut* is repeated in line 12 because of the parenthesis, as in 174,22–25. For the epanaphora of *ut* see Hofmann-Szantyr 808 and at 97,4.

233,11–12 *studio devinctus* also Lucr. 4,962; Cic. Fam. 3,13,2; 15,4,16; Fronto 178,21; 230,1.

233,12 *histrionem*: 'mime artist', see at 47,1; 154,15.

In somnis (not *somniis* with Haines): 'in the dreams of sleep'. *Videre in somnis* (never *in somno*) is a very frequent expression; in Fronto also 66,11 (where, again, Haines reads *somniis*) and 43,5M, where m^1 has *somnis* and m^2 *somniis*. See Löfstedt, Syntactica I^2 55–58; Hofmann-Szantyr 18; and Neue-Wagener I^3 633. *Spectare in somnis* is found only here; *cernere in somnis* Lucr. 3,431; 4,789; and Cic. Div. 1,121.

Fautor: 'supporter', cp. Plaut. Amph. Prol. 67 *si cui (histrioni) favitores*

gatos viderint; Tac. Ann. 13,25,4 *(Nero) ludicram quoque licentiam et fautores histrionum velut in proelia convertit.*

233,13 *agitandi monstraret*: 'point out how to drive', a gen. finalis of the gerund(ive), as 215,22f. Reichmann, Fronto, has shown that our passage is not corrupt (against O. Hey, TLL s.v. agito) and that we should not supply a substantive. The same genitive depending on a verb can be found several times in Tacitus: Ann. 2,59,1 *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis* (see comment of K. Nipperdey & G. Andresen ad loc.); 13,26,4 *nec grave manumissis ... retinendi libertatem*; 15,5,3 *infixum erat arma Romana vitandi*; 15,21,3 *maneat provincialibus potentiam ... ostentandi.* In all these passages critics have inserted a substantive. See also e.g. Ter. Ad. 270 *ne id adsentandi ... facere existimes*; Sall. Cat. 6,7 *regium imperium, quod conservandae libertatis fuerat*; Donat. Aen. 6,200 *(columbas) quaesisse transeundi*; Donat. Praef. Ter. Ad. *admonitus abeundi.* See at 215,22f.

On the behaviour of such supporters see Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 49. In Sil. 16,342 one of them cries to the driver: *quo nimius, quo, Cyrne, ruis?* In the Anthol. Lat. I 652,1f. we find a poem *De Somniis: omnia quae sensu volvuntur vota diurno, pectore sopito reddit amica quies: ... aurigae, somnia, currus.*

233,13–14 *somnio*: 'in their dreams' (Haines), a remarkable ablative, like *bello* and *in bello*, *tempore* and *in tempore.*

233,15 *ad verum*: just like Fronto, Marcus believed in dreams (see at 43,5; 265,28); the reading *adversum* cannot be correct. Mai's emendation has been adopted by all editors. For reflexive *convertere* see at 63,7.

233,16 *hinc*: 'hereafter' (Haines).

Censeo with subjunctive: 'I advise' (Haines); see at 153,10.

Dormias: Marcus was a bad sleeper, see at 9,12.

233,17 *tantisper dum*: see at 194,12.

Quodque: Mai's correction was adopted by Naber; it is better than m²'s reading *quaque* ('as you wish' [Haines]), which is accepted by Haines and by myself in my first edition.

234,1 Chronology: Brakman and Hanslik, Anordnung, seem to be right in assuming that this letter is a direct reply to the so-called De bello Parthico of 161, cp. line 11 *in fine epistulae manum condoluisse dicis* with 226,1 *I digitis admodum invalidis nunc utor.* Mai[1] linked 234,11 with 146,11, a letter of 161–162, but see at 146,11. Champlin, Chronology, thinks that it is a bit rash to link up 234,11 with 226,1, since Fronto was constantly suffering from arthritis. This letter is also a reply to the preceding one, De feriis 3: *modo recepi epistulam tuam* and, in line 5 *litteras Alsienses.* See Proleg. LX n. 1 and at 105,3. Fronto had advised Marcus to have a good night's rest (233,16), an advice Marcus followed (234,7ff.). Naber, Brakman and Haines, Chronology, date the letter 161; Haines in his edition, Pepe, Birley (Mark Aurel 228) and Portalupi date it 162; Champlin 161–167; Cortassa 161 or later. See at 234,3 and 234,4. Apparently, Marcus has returned from Alsium to Lorium, where his family is staying.

234,2 *recepi*: 'I have received' (Haines), as Ovid. Epist. 15,13; Plin. Epist. 2,12,6; 5,11,1; 9,28,1. It is not 'zurückhalten' (Hauler in his inedita).

Imminebant: imperfect instead of perfect, see at 55,24. Marcus is oppressed by state affairs.

234,3 δυσπαραίτητα: 'inesorabili' (Portalupi), 'that can hardly be begged off' (Haines).

Quod cupis: neither in De bello Parthico nor in the preceding letter, Fronto has mentioned Marcus' *parvola*. But the present *cupis* shows that Marcus takes it for granted that Fronto wants to hear how she is doing. For Hauler in his inedita, this *quod cupis* was reason to believe that this letter is not the answer to the preceding one.

234,4 *parvolam* is the *domnula* of 226,10. *Intra cubiculum discurrere* shows that she is about two years old. If this letter was written in 161, it must be Fadilla; if written in 162, it could also be Cornificia. See at 226,10.

234,6 *dictatis his* does not mean that the rest of this letter was written by Marcus himself, as in Cic. Quint. fr. 3,1, where 17–18 is autographic and the rest written by his secretary. For *dictare* see at 63,14, and for autographic letters at 38,4.

Meo tempore: 'at a moment convenient to me' or 'at a moment I had for myself', rather than 'at my leisure' (Haines) or 'con mio agio' (Portalupi), because of the position of *meo*. V. Bulhart, TLL s.v. meus, thinks that *meus* here means 'usual', but there is no reason to believe that Marcus used to read letters while others were eating. He only used to eat little while his family enjoyed a copious meal. See 62,15f. For *meum tempus* cp. Cic. Leg. agr. 2,3 *honos ad mei temporis diem petitus*; 2,4 *hoc honore ... me ... adfecistis ... anno meo*; Ovid. Pont. 1,4,20 *me ... ante meum tempus cogit ... esse senem*. This use of the possessivum is more frequent with *suus*, e.g. Cic. Tusc. 1,70 *quae est ei natura? propria, puto, et sua*; Sall. Iug. 54,7 *sua loca defendere*; 61,1 *suo loco pugnam facere*; Liv. 22,39,21 *neque occasioni tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des*.

234,7 *cenarent*: Marcus rose from the table and went to his cubiculum, while his family continued their dinner.

Secunda: so this letter was written about eight o'clock, see at 62,15f.

Tenui cibo: see at 62,15 and 74,7.

Multum: ellipsis of *id fecisti*, not of *profeci* or *adsecultus sum*, as Heindorf, Hauler (inedita) and J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v. cohortatio, assume. Birley, Mark Aurel 229, too, has misunderstood this passage: 'so wenig hast du dir also meine Ermahnung zu Herzen genommen, wirst du sagen, aber ich habe sie doch sehr beherzigt'. The whole preceding letter urges Marcus to take a rest and relax. See at 61,12f.

234,8 *inquis*: see at 36,15.

234,8–9 *verbis tuis adquievi* may be a pun, intended or not: 'I have rested upon your advice' (Haines), literally and metaphorically. In a metaphor the verb is used with *in* (see at 103,12) and with ablative (see at 237,27).

234,9–10 *verecundia offici*: 'senso del dovere' (Portalupi). All editors (except Portalupi[2]) and Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 375, are wrong in omitting *quae* (*que*). *Verecundia offici* is an emphatical isolated nominative, see at 86,22. And there is nothing against *quae quam*, cp. 8,2M *quem qui*; 13,18 *quibus quanto opere*; Cic. Tusc. 1,39 *quem tu quanti facias*; Orat. 82 *quod quale sit*.

On Marcus' sense of duty, Cass. Dio 71,6,2 φιλόπονος γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀκριβῶς πᾶσι τοῖς τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσι προσεφέρετο and passim in the Meditations.

234,11 *in fine epistulae*: see Proleg. LXIII n. 3.

234,12 *illatenus*: 'as far as that' (and not further). This adverb is found here for the first time, and then in Apul. Apol.82,3.

Dolueris: see at 1,10f.: 'you will not have suffered pain since' (Haines). Gell. 16,19,11 has *illactenus*. *Eatenus* and *hactenus* do not occur in Fronto, but the unusual *quadamtenus* (130,9) does. See also *tenus* 151,3.

Di: Allen, Coniecturae, thinks that *di* is superfluous; he reads *boni*, but such a use of *boni* cannot be corroborated.

234,13 φιλόστοργε: see at 111,17.

234,14 *legi*: see Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

235,1 Older editions, up to and including Haines, contained only two letters De nepote amisso, and these two letters seemed to refer to only one grandson. Since Hauler's publication in Wien. Stud. 57, 1939, 172ff., we know that there are four letters: first a letter of consolation by Marcus, and, second, Fronto's extensive answer; then a third letter, another letter of consolation by Marcus, answered by the fourth letter. Neither Hauler nor the modern editors Pepe, Portalupi and Cortassa have realized that the letters deal with the loss of two grandsons (the title De nepote amisso does not contradict this, and it is not Fronto's). Niebuhr XXV, Stein (see below), Murray (Fronto to my Lord 28), Birley and Champlin have mixed up Fronto's grandsons, see at 178,7. We know four of them: M. Aufidius (Victorinus) Fronto, cos. 199; see the Index nominum (add 101,24) and Testim. 15. He stayed in Rome with his grandfather when in 162 his parents went to Germany. See R. Hanslik, Aufidius 4, Kleine Pauly (1963). The second grandson, C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. 200, was too young to be left in Rome and went with his parents to Mainz, see at 86,16. The third grandson was born in Mainz and Fronto never saw him (237,24; 240,17); he died at the age of three (113,4) in 165. It is this Aufidius over whose death the first two letters mourn. It strikes us that Fronto in his letter does not mention the death of his wife Cratia: 113,4 says that he lost *in paucissimis mensibus* his wife in Rome and his grandson in Germany; however, he does mention her death 240,17 (in the third letter), which proves that De nepotis amisso 3 and 4 were written after 1 and 2. On Fronto's grandsons see also at 178,7 and 102,1.

Chronology: the first two letters were written during Aufidius Victorinus' stay in Germany (162–165); they are correctly dated 165 by Naber; Watson; P. von Rohden, Aufidius 41, RE II (1896); A. Stein, Decumanus, RE IV (1901); Brakman; Brock; Haines; Pepe; Portalupi; and Birley, Mark Aurel 258: Fronto is old and weary of life (237,6; 238,6). Niebuhr, Champlin and Cotassa date the letters 164–165, Schanz III 94 shortly after 165. Those who erroneously believe that Fronto was still alive after 167 (see at 153,1f.; 159,12) date them 166–169: Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, and A. Stein, PIR IV I^2 (1952). The letters 3 and 4 were written a couple of months later, so we must date them 165–166. Proleg. LXII shows that Fronto's letters were edited in the late third or early fourth century. Mai believes

that Hieron. Epist. 60,5 has read De nepote amisso, because he cites the names of those well-known men who suffered a great loss, among them the Aufidii. But Jerome has his information from Cicero's lost Liber consolationis, and there are good reasons to believe that he never saw any of Fronto's writings, see at 269,25. The gens Aufidia is mentioned since the second century BC.

235,3–4 *cum . . . cum*: the first *cum* is causal, the second temporal; see at 66,16; 92,2.

235,3 *articulorum*: in the case of gout the diminutive is used more frequently than *artus*.

235,4–5 *animum doles*: see at 74,23.

235,6 *solacia*: one of the rare passages where Marcus' gloom—so evident in later years—becomes apparent.

235,7 *huius*: see at 78,21.

Quam quae: Naber followed Mai, but all later editions have *quam quae*.

235,9 *mea manu*: see at 38,4; 63,14.

Vesperi: see at 29,1.

Loto: 'after my bath'. We should not, with Pepe, supply *mihi*: it is an abl. absolutus without pronoun or substantive, as often in Livy and Tacitus; see Kühner I 778; Hofmann-Szantyr 141. The bath was taken before supper, see 63,4f. Usually Marcus wrote his letters after supper, see at 52,7. On the form *lotus* see at 58,6–17 and 74,6.

Tremebat manus: see at 64,1.

Etiam: not 'even' (Haines) or 'anche' (Portalupi), but 'still', see at 12,4.

235,9–10 *Vale . . . magister*: see at 2,13.

235,11 Chronology: see at 235,1. This is one of Fronto's better writings; it expresses the feelings of a man who is profoundly unhappy, let down by philosophy and religion, a man to whom ἀταραξία was completely strange. Yet it is an elaborate piece of work, with a dignified tone and here and there an etymology, a pun, an alliteration, a gemination, a homoioteleuton and even one or two archaisms, but no colloquialisms. See Ramírez de Verger, La consolatio. Niebuhr, Über die zu Mailand 69, does Fronto an injustice by stating that he 'scheint die Pflicht als Rhetor pathetisch traurig zu seyn, fast zu übertreiben', for this letter is more than 'un tessuto di luoghi topici' (Cova, Problematica 474). It is beyond doubt that this emotional and at the same time literary letter was influenced by Cicero's Liber consolationis, a self-consolation on the occasion of the death of his daughter Tullia. In the fragments preserved by Lactantius, Inst. 1,5; 3,14; 3,18–19, we find the same considerations as are found in Fronto: how is it possible that evil men lead a happy life and that good men are unhappy? What is the part played by the gods and what the part played by *fortuna, fatum*? Lact. 3,14,20 *sed nescio quis nos teneat error aut miserabilis ignoratio veri*, and Fronto 236,14f. *forte alius quidem nos error iactat et ignari rerum, quae mala sunt, quasi prospera concupiscimus*.

235,13 *exercuit*: 'has afflicted' (Haines), as Cic. Tusc. 5,3 *casus, in quibus me fortuna vehementer exercuit*.

Liberos are daughters, a synecdoche. Fronto had no sons, see at 166,21f.; 174,23; and in line 16 *filius* means 'child', as already in the Lex XII tabularum 4,2. Paul. Dig. 50,16,84 *filii appellatione omnes liberos intellegimus*; Quint. Inst. 9,3,63 *medium . . . iungit . . . diversos sexus, ut cum marem feminamque 'filios' dicimus*. The singular *filius*, 'child', is exceptional; it is found e.g. Varro, Men. 543 *si . . . mihi filius unus pluresve . . . gignantur*. See A. Funck, Was heisst 'Die Kinder'?, Archiv 7, 1892, 76ff. It seems that Cratia was the youngest of his daughters, for she was born c. 142 (see at 61,5) when Fronto was in his late forties. This enables us to determine the approximate birth date of Fronto's wife Cratia: if five daughters died when they were babies before Cratia minor was born, Cratia maior must have had her first child about eight years before 142, in c. 134. If she was sixteen years old at the time, she must have been born c. 118 (Fronto was born c. 95) and have died late 165 or early 166 in her late forties.

235,15 *has . . . ut*: 'suffering this series of bereavements in such a way that' (Haines); see at 93,12f.

235,16–17 *semper . . . residuo*: note the *s* alliteration.

235,18 *egomet ipse solus*: this forced combination does not occur elsewhere. Charis. Gramm. 355,15 B. disapproves of *egomet ipse*. Pomp. Gramm. V 294,21 *'ego perfeci' mala clausula est; illi* (sc. *scholastici*) *addunt et dicunt 'egomet ipse perfeci'*. *Egomet ipse* is found since Terence, *egomet solus* since Plautus. In Fronto we only find the accusative *memet ipsum* 43,3M; *semet ipsum* 157,10; 222,9.

235,19 *meomet*: Mai reads *memet* with m[1], but *meomet* may be the reading of m[2], and Allen's conjecture has been adopted by Hildebrand, Haupt and the editors since Naber. See at 150,9 and Index Latinitatis s.v. -met.

Obnixe oppositus: alliteration, 'in unflinching resistance'. *Obnixe* seems better than the asyndeton *obnixus oppositus*. In my first edition I had *obnixus*, like Mai[2 3]; Hauler, Wien. Stud. 43, 1922–23, 218; and F. Burger, TLL s.v. certamen.

Solitario certamine is found here first, then in Dictys 2,18 and 2,39.

235,19–20 *unus uni, par pari*: for this polyptoton cp. Cic. Top. 43 *una res uni, par pari comparatur*; Rufus ap. Diomed. Gramm. I 378,2 *uni una ostentata est*; Augustin. Civ. 1,14 p. 30,6 *uni unum hominem homini coniugem coniugi . . . credidisse*. For *par pari* see at 21,4.

235,21 *meum . . . ferre* is Hauler's reading; Mai[1] had *et cumulum. . . . . . meorum luctuum ferre*. Mai[2 3] and Naber left out the lacuna after *cumulum*, a reading followed by O. Hey, TLL s.v. cumulus, and Haines.

Motum: 'feelings'.

235,22 *tabesco, conliquesco*: 'I waste away, I melt away' (Haines). Fronto is the only one to use *colliquesco* metaphorically. Note the homoioteleuton.

235,22–23 *expostulo cum*: 'complain to', see at 114,15. Before Fronto the expression is only found in Cic. Fam. 3,10,7 and Ps. Cic. Epist. ad Oct. 2. Cp. Ammian. 26,9,9 *Procopius . . . cum Fortuna expostulabat*.

235,23 *deis*: Fronto and Marcus had one problem in common: why do the gods make no difference between good men and bad men? For Fronto

this is reason to doubt providence, but not for Marcus: he wonders if for good men there is life after death, see Medit. 12,23–24 and Rutherford, The Meditations 212ff. On Fronto's religiosity see at 43,2.

Iurgio compello: 'give a good scolding', 'upbraid with reproaches' (Haines). See at 113,9.

Victorinum: on his character see at 176,5.

235,25 *artium*: 'qualities', not 'accomplishments' (Haines), and certainly not 'belle arti' (Portalupi). See at 54,1.

Praecipuum with genitive, as e.g. Tac. Ann. 6,4,1 *praecipuus . . . circumveniendi Titii*; Apul. Met. 4,11,4 *vir sublimis animi virtutisque praecipuus*. See at 21,8 and 204,5 (marg. c).

235,26 *hoccine*: in Fronto only here. Ending in *-ne* see at 48,7 and Index Latinitatis s.v. -ne.

Fuit: see at 178,18.

235,26ff. *Providentia* and *Fatum*: ever since Marcus had become emperor, Fronto had tried again and again to dissuade him from his Stoic ideas, see at 133,1. Now that his grandson had died, ἀταραξία horrified him and he knew Marcus' standpoint, though Marcus had always avoided a discussion on the subject. See Medit. 2,3; 3,16; 4,26; 5,8; 12,14. The Meditations were written years after Fronto's death and their aphorisms tend to radicalism. Fronto was not in touch with Marcus' deepest and sometimes confused thoughts on this matter, but in 165 he at least knew what they were aiming at, and this letter is more or less an attack on such philosophy. On the subject as a whole see e.g. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte III 309; Otto, Fatum, RE VI (1909); A.D. Sertillanges, Le problème du mal I, L'Histoire, Paris 1949; H.O. Schröder, Fatum, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1967); Birley, Mark Aurel 394. Some statements on the matter by non-philosophical writers: Ovid. Amor. 3,9,35f. *cum rapiant mala fata bonos—ignoscite fasso—sollicitor nullos esse putare deos*; Consol. ad Liv. 130 *iam dubito, magnos an rear esse deos*; Plin. Nat. 2,20 *agere curam rerum humanarum illud, quicquid est, summum ac tam tristi atque multiplici ministerio non pollui credamus dubitemusve? vix prope est iudicare, utrum magis conducat generi humano, quando aliis nullus est deorum respectus, aliis pudendus*; 2,26 *verum in his deos agere curam rerum humanarum credi ex usu vitae est*; Quint. Inst. 6 prooem. 4 *nullam in terras despicere providentiam tester?* Tac. Ann. 6,22,1f. *mihi . . . in incerto iudicium est, fatone res mortalium et necessitate immutabili an forte volvantur. quippe sapientissimos veterum quique sectam eorum aemulantur diversos reperies ac multis insitam opinionem non initia nostri, non finem, non denique homines dis curae; ideo creberrime tristia in bonos, laeta apud deteriores esse. contra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e vagis stellis, verum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum.* See also Gell. 7,2; Sallustius Cynicus 9 Nock.

Providentia—provisum: etymological pun.

236,1 *hoc idem*: 'this too'.

236,2–3 *nullum . . . discrimen*: Sall. Cat. 52,22 *inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum.* Cic. Nat. deor. 3,79 quotes Enn. Scen. 318 '*nam si (dei) curent, bene bonis sit, male malis*'; 3,81 *dies deficiat, si velim numerare, quibus bonis male evenerit,*

nec minus si commemorem, quibus improbis optime; 3,82 *videsne igitur deorum iudicio, si vident res humanas, discrimen esse sublatum?*; Lucian. Iupp. trag. 19 τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς αὐτῶν ἀμελουμένους... παμπονήρους δὲ καὶ μιαροὺς ἀνθρώπους προτιμωμένους.

236,3 *deis... fatis*: a frequent combination, cp. Serv. Aen. 8,398 *notandum quod hic Iovem a fatis separat, cum alibi iungat, ut* (3,375) *'sic fata deum rex sortitur'*. So in Verg. Aen. 4,614; 4,651; 5,784; 6,376; 8,398; but 8,574 *si numina vestra... si fata reservant*; Hor. Carm. 4,2,38 *fata donavere bonique divi*; Liv. 2,44,12 *cetera... fata et deos gesturos*; 25,6,6 *non deum ira nec fato*; and in many other authors. For the Stoic doctrine cp. Sen. Benef. 4,8,3 *si hunc (deum) naturam voces, fatum, fortunam, omnia eiusdem dei nomina sunt varie utentis sua potestate*; Nat. quaest. 2,45,2 *vis illum (Iovem) fatum vocare? non errabis*.

Diiudicatio: before Fronto this word only occurs in Cic. Leg. 1,56, where it means 'point of discussion'; in the lemma of Gell. 2,23 it means 'comparison'. Here it is 'distinction', 'discrimination' (Haines). Gudeman, TLL s.v., lists the passages of Cicero and Fronto under 'iudicatio', 'disceptatio', and Gellius under 'discretio', 'distinctio'. Schwierczina, Frontoniana 30, erroneously assumes that Fronto borrowed the word from Cicero.

236,4 *alioqui*: the readings by Hauler and Miltner show that we should not write *aliqui*; moreover, Fronto does not use *aliqui*, either as substantive or as adjective. *Alioqui* means 'for that matter', 'indeed', as 64,7M; 87,12; and as the *facinerosus mortalis* is opposed to Victorinus we may translate here 'on the other hand'. 26,10M it is 'altrimenti' (Portalupi); 62,2 'at all times' (Haines) or 'generalmente' (Portalupi); 67,7 'in other respects' (Haines) or 'poi' (Portalupi). Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 381, and Portalupi[2] read 236,4 with Haines *aliquis*.

Mortalis: see at 261,30.

236,5 *nasci*: see at 7,19.

236,6 *cuius*: see at 35,22.

236,7 *optimum publicum* is found only here; *bonum publicum* since Plautus. Varro, R.R. 1,13,7, and Liv. 2,1,3 have *pessimo publico*.

Fuerit: 'sarebbe' (Portalupi), not 'would have been' (Haines), see at 1,10f.

236,8 *malum*: see at 135,1.

Providentia prospicit: alliterating pun.

236,8–9 *fata... aiunt*: Varro, L.L. 6,52 *ab hoc* (sc. *fari*), *tempora quod tum pueris constituunt Parcae fando, dictum fatum et res fatales*. The same etymology Augustin. Civ. 5,9 p. 205,15; C. Faust. 2,5; Priscian. Gramm. III 486,13; Schol. Lucan. 1,599; Isid. Orig. 8,11,90. Cp. Enn. Ann. 1,18f. *Anchisesque Venus quem pulchra dearum fari donavit*; Verg. Aen. 1,261f. *fabor enim... longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo*; Serv. Aen. 2,777 *fata sunt quae dii fantur*; 7,50 *'fato' autem dicit voluntate, nam dii id fantur quod sentiunt*. See W. Pötscher, Das römische Fatum, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 16,1,393ff. On fate in Marcus' Meditations see H.O. Schröder, Fatum, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1967).

236,9 *recte fari*: 'un parlare rettamente' (Portalupi), 'to destine rightly' (Haines). Mai[2] and Philibert-Soupé 17 n. 1 are wrong in assuming that *recte*

fari means 'ius dicere'. They base this on Suet. Prat. ap. Priscian. Gramm. II 387,3 (see also Macrob. Sat. 1,16,3 and 14; Isid. Nat. 1,4) *fasti dies sunt quibus ius fatur, id est dicitur.*

Poetae: Hom. Od. 7,197 πείσεται, ἅσσα οἱ αἶσα κατὰ Κλῶθές τε βαρεῖαι γιγνομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ. Hesiod. Theog. 218; 905; Verg. Aen. 10,815 *extremaque Lauso Parcae fila legunt*; Ovid. Am. 2,6,46; *et stabat vacuo iam tibi Parca colo*; Met. 2,654 *triplicesque deae tua fila resolvent*; Ib. 242; Pont. 1,8,64 *nerunt fatales fortia fila deae*; Fast. 6,757 *(Clotho dolet) fila reneri*; Catull. 64,312; Stat. Theb. 3,241f.

Fila fatis: alliteration.

236,10 *inportuna et insciens*: alliteration.

Erili: because of *servilei* it is not 'for her master's toga' (Haines) but 'per la toga del padrone' (Portalupi), as W.H. Friedrich, TLL s.v., has justly seen: 'quae domino convenit'.

236,11 *solidum*: 'heavy' (Haines). Note the alliterations *solidum servilei subtile* and *tenue subtemen.* Cp. Plaut. Merc. 518 *possin tu . . . subtemen tenue nere?*; Ter. Haut. 293 *anus subtemen nebat. Subtemen* seems to be a household word; of the Parcae Hor. Epod. 13,15; Catull. 64,327.

236,12 *nerit*: see at 1,10f. The syncopated form also in Ovid. Pont. 1,8,64.

236,12–13 *neque . . . duco*: 'I take neither for a just measure nor for a just weight of the wool-spinning Destinies'. Haines tries to render the assonance: 'such a spinning performance by the Destinies I hold to be neither by weight nor rate' (or 'neither in rhyme nor reason'). For the *pensum* of the Parcae cp. Calpurn. Buc. 4,139 *di, . . . mortale resolvite pensum*; Sen. Herc. F. 181 *durae peragunt pensa sorores*; Petron. 29,6 *tres Parcae aurea pensa torquentes.* The substantive *mensum* is only found in Sen. Nat. quaest. 4,4,1 *bene mensum* (var. lect.: *emensum*) *dabo.* For the combination *mensum—pensum* cp. Apul. Mund. 3 *cuius (partis) mensa pensaque distinctio est* ('clearly defined'); Gaius Dig. 18,1,35,5 *in his, quae pondere, numero mensurave constant, . . . ut . . . non tamen aliter videatur perfecta venditio quam si admensa, adpensa adnumeratave sint*; Quint. Inst. 8 praef. 27 *inventa ponderant ac dimetiuntur. Mensum—pensum* sounds like a business phrase, not an old formula, as Ed. Wölfflin, Der Reim im Lateinischen, Archiv 1, 1884, 360, thinks. See at 25,3f.

Lanificum: of *lanifex*, here used as an adjective, as e.g. *artifex.* Georges s.v. lanificus thinks that it comes from *lanifica. Lanifex* occurs only here and Ps. Augustin. Serm. Migne, Suppl. 1,295 *lanam nostrae vestis nec sordidus* (R. Heine, *sordibus* cod.) *lanifex duxit.* Cp. Mart. 4,54,5 *lanificas . . . tres exorare puellas*; 6,58,7 *lanificae . . . sorores.*

236,14f. Here Fronto turns against the Stoics, using the Stoic terms *concupiscere* and *aversari*, see at 139,11.

Alius is often used in the sense of 'quite different', so 181,6; 200,1.

236,15–16 *adverseis aversamur*: assonance.

236,16 *mors*: whereas Cicero believed in life after death, most intellectuals of the first century BC and the first two centuries AD had their doubts. See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte III 301f., and the article Jenseits, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1994–1995).

Pausam: see at 30,11.

236,17–18 *corporis . . . liberatos*: a Platonic idea (Phaedo 114 b ἀπαλλατόμενοι ὥσπερ δεσμωτηρίων), cp. Cic. Scaur. 4 *animus vinclis corporis liberatus*; Rep. 6,14 *qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt*; for the Stoic idea see Sen. Quaest. nat. praef. 12 *(animus) velut vinculis liberatus in originem redit*; Apul. Plat. 2,20 *vinculis liberata corporeis sapientis anima remigrat ad deos.*

236,19 *animarumque*: Buttmann defends *-que* by taking *tranquilla*, *amoena* and *referta* for substantives. It was deleted by Georges s.v. conciliabulum; Schwierczina, Die Abundanz; Borleffs; Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 378; and by Portalupi². Haines keeps *-que* but does not translate it. We should not delete it because *-que* can be explicative: 'i.e.' Val. Flacc. 1,843 imitating Vergil (see below) also uses *amoena* as a substantive: *donec silvas et amoena piorum deveniant.*

Conciliabula: 'assemblies' (Haines), 'assembling places'. Fronto imitates Verg. Aen. 5,734 *amoena piorum concilia Elysiumque colo*; cp. Cic. Senect. 85 *o praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar!* (the variant *animarum* is also probable here). At the same time Fronto seems to have in mind Plaut. Trin. 314 *damni conciliabulum*, 'a place where all evil accumulates'. See also at 136,9 (marg. c.).

Travehit: Fronto always has *trado*, but 87,3 *transdidi*; *translatus* 57,13; 58,2; 65,26; 145,14, but *tralatus* 123,4; 145,11 (bis); *translatio* 59,12; 66,1; *transmitto* 73,25M; 114,4, but *tramitto* 30,18M.

Crediderim: see at 1,10f.

236,20 *cuncta . . . regi*: there is no reason to believe with Frassinetti, L'orazione 251, that this has anything to do with Min. Fel. 11,6 *iniquum iudicem fingitis, qui sortem in hominibus puniat.* See at 259,8.

236,22 *deis acceptior*: see at 47,1.

236,23–24 *exutus . . . excitus*: paronomasia.

236,24 *licet*: see at 37,11.

236,26 *istum statum*: 'their very stature', not 'the well-known gate' (Haines), nor is *iste* here 'former', as W. Ehlers, TLL s.v. iste, thinks.

237,1 *animam liberum*: 'the mentality, nature, the little ways of our children'. According to Mai², the first hand has *animam*, the second *auram*; *liberum* is an unedited reading by Hauler. Mai reads *auram liberam*, 'the free air' (Haines); Heindorf proposes *animam liberam*, which Dorothy Brock translates by 'the free spirit'. Both *auram* and *liberam*, however, seem out of the question. For *liberum*, 'children', see Index Latinitatis s.v. liberi.

Quaerimus: 'we try to imagine', not 'we miss' (Haines). Fronto never saw his grandson, see 237,22f.

237,1–2 *miserandum . . . obseratum*: the alliteration is no reason to assume that this is a quotation from an old comedy (?), as Ehrenthal 38 thinks. *Os obseratum*: 'the mouth shut tight', 'the lips sealed' (Haines).

Eversos: 'turned' (Haines).

Undique: 'all' (Haines), 'del tutto' (Portalupi).

Si maxime: 'even if quite', see at 118,7.

237,3 *philosophis*: cp. e.g. Cic. Senect. 77ff.; Amic. 10ff.; Tusc. 1,32ff.

Disserendi argumentum: 'a theme for disputation' (Haines); see at 66,11 and 76,1.

237,3–6 *disserendi—desiderandi* and *divitus—diutinam*: paronomasia.

237,7 *olim*: 'a long time', not 'once' (Haines) or 'finalmente' (Portalupi).

237,19–20 *prae fletu ac dolore* also Cic. Att. 11,7,6.

237,20 *iam hinc: iam* is 'now indeed' and *hinc*, 'in consequence', refers to what preceeds; cp. 38,12M, where *hinc* refers to what follows. Haines accepts Heindorf's conjecture. See at 66,14–16; 118,13.

237,20–21 *me* is repeated because of the parenthesis and the emphatical *hic est profecto*. See Kühner I 625; Hofmann-Szantyr 189; 807.

Nepos: M. Aufidius Fronto, see at 178,7; 235,1.

237,21 *sinu meo educo*: 'bring up with loving care', 'Io allevo teneramente' (Portalupi). He is now six or seven years old. Both *educere* and *educare* are used in a material and in a spiritual sense (see at 178,22), but with *(in) sinu* and *in gremio* it is always *educare*: Cic. Brut. 211; Suet. Claud. 39,2; Tac. Dial. 28,4 *non in cellula emptae nitricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur*, Agr. 4,2 *in huius (matris) sinu indulgentiaque educatus*; Vita Marci 4,1. The original meaning of *in sinu* is a locative; without *in* it tends to be an instrumental ablative, as here in Fronto and Tac. Dial. 28,4.

237,22 contemplor: 'behold' (Haines), 'vagheggio' (Portalupi).

Exemplum: 'image'.

237,23 *imaginor ... fingo*: cp. Quint. Inst. 12,1,21 *(Cicero) tantum imaginatur ac fingit (vere eloquentem)*. In this sense, *fingo* is mostly used without *animo*, but Cic. Mil. 79 has *fingite animis* and *fingite cogitatione*; Varro, L.L.6,44 *finguntur in mente*.

237,24 *verum*: 'il vero volto' (Portalupi), not 'but' (Haines).

237,25 *dum*: see at 161,22.

Veri similem: see at 35,22.

Maceror: see at 63,9.

237,26 *vir* with possessive pronoun has since Terence the meaning of 'husband'.

Quantum with genitive: see at 104,11.

237,27 *adquiescit*: Ebert, Synt. 15; Kühner I 399; Fr. Vollmer, TLL s.v.; and Hofmann-Szantyr 121f. regard *viro suo* as a causal ablative, which cannot be correct. *Acquiescere* is here used with dative: 'she is used to put her trust in her husband', as e.g. Bell. Afr. 10,4 *huic (imperatori) adquiescebant*; Ulp. Dig. 24,3,22,6 *patri ... adquiescere debere praetorem*. See at 234,9.

237,27f. For the epanaphora of *pariter* see at 97,4.

238,1 *senex* and *iuvenis* are often used as adjectives since Terence.

Indigne: 'it will scarce befit me to comfort her' (Haines), not 'miseramente mi consolerò' (Portalupi).

238,3 *promoverint*: 'would avail' (Haines), see at 48,24 and 1,10f.

238,4 *ex: proficiscor* is used with *ex* and with an ablative. I follow Haines, so does Portalupi. Fr. Walter (1924) follows Allen.

238,6 *edita*: 'spent' (Haines). *Aetas edita* occurs only here and Gell. 3,15,2 *aetate iam edita ... repente mortuus est*. Cp. the expression *vitam* or *animam edere*. Fronto is now about seventy years old; see at 87,12.

238,7 *si noctis, si lucis*: a similar epanaphora (see at 97,4) and asyndeton in Enn. Ann. 431 *si luci, si nox, si mox, si iam data sit frux*. Asyndetic *si* ...

si (instead of *si* . . . *sive* or *sive* . . . *sive*) is archaistic, cp. e.g. Plaut. Rud. 1257 *si aurum, si argentum est*; Gell. 2,28,3 from an old pontifical decree: *si deo, si deae immolabant.* See Kühner I 434f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 670. In Fronto, adversative *si* . . . *si* occurs only here. He once has *si* . . . *sive* (111,21f.), elsewhere always *sive* . . . *sive (seu)*; see at 37,5–7 and Index Latinitatis s.v. si.

238,8 *quae: conscius, nescius, memor* and *ignarus* can have a pronominal accusative: Ter. Eun. 199 *quae mihi sum conscia*; Oros. Hist. 5,21,2 *securus nihilque sibi conscius.* See at 47,9; 179,2.

Protestabor. 'I will testify' (Haines).

238,9 *admissum*: see at 141,1.

Dedecori . . . *flagitio*: a predicative dative, cp. e.g. Plaut. Asin. 571 *ubi eris damno, molestiae et dedecori saepe fueris*; Cic. Dom. 88 *non dignitati potius quam dedecori putaret esse*; Quint. Inst. 1,11,18 *neque id veteribus Romanis dedecori fuit.*

Probro est is rather frequent, *flagitio est* occurs only here. See Hofmann-Szantyr 99.

238,10–11 *nullum* . . . *extitisse*: an acc. cum inf. not depending on a verb is not necessarily an exclamation; it can also continue the line of thought: 'indeed, there has not been a single act' etc., or 'I venture to say that'. Iustin. 8,2,12 describes the attitude of the Athenians towards Philippus of Macedonia, and then continues: *tantum facinus admisisse ingenia omni doctrina exculta*; 14,5,7 the Spartans wall their city, and Iustinus concludes: *tantum eos degeneravisse a maioribus.* Cp. the acc. cum inf. after *scilicet* 131,12. See at 215,6 and the Grammatical Index s.v. acc. cum inf.

In aetate agunda: see at 222,6.

238,11–12 *multa* . . . *consulta*: on Fronto's fidelity to his friends see at 4,2–5,14.

Cum periculo capitis: as Champlin, Fronto 96, has remarked, this must refer to Hadrian's last years, and we may assume that some of Fronto's senatorial friends were put to death by the unpredictable emperor. See at 25,3–9; 93,12; 162,24ff.; 266,12. Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 456, unjustly doubts this.

238,12 *quom*: see at 53,17 and Index Latinitatis s.v. cum (prep.).

Frartre: the Fasti Ostienses (Inscriptiones Italiae XIII 1 p. 206) have his full name: Q. Cornelius Quadratus; he was cos. suff. (*summos honores*) in 147. So, born towards 100, he was Fronto's junior by four years. *Consulem nostrum saluta* (64,23) enables us to date Ad M. Caes. IV 10. In the 140s Quadratus was on friendly terms with Marcus and his family (31,21; 35,3; 55,24; 63,23; 64,21), but whether he was an amicus Caesaris in the technical sense of the word—as J. Crook, Consilium Principis, Cambridge 1955, 161, and Champlin, Fronto 9, assume—must be doubted. Quadratus lived together with his brother in the palazzo on the Esquiline (see at 20,11), as can be concluded from 55,24; 64,21; 110,28; 260,2–5. We do not know if he was married. 240,12 *illo amisso* refers to him, and he must have died in 165. Nothing is known about his career; he may have been legatus in Numidia. The quaestor of 26,23 is probably not Quadratus (against Haines and Portalupi). He is one of the senators from Cirta mentioned by Fronto 200,8. See CIL VIII 18081; XV 7438; E. Groag, Cornelius Quadratus, RE VII (1900); E. Klebs, PIR I^1 p. 461 no. 1166; A. Stein, PIR II^2 Cornelius

1426; A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano, Roma 1952, 42; E. Birley, Journ. of Roman Stud. 52, 1962, 255; R. Hanslik, Cornelius 43, Kleine Pauly (1964); A. Birley, Mark Aurel 145; Alföldy, Konsulat 249; Champlin, Fronto 9.

238,14–15 *quietum et securum*, 'carefree', means that Quadratus had retired and was granted a pension.

Multum: see at 49,16.

238,16 *rationibus*: 'means' (Haines).

238,17 *studia doctrinae*: 'the pursuit of learning' (Haines), as e.g. Cic. S. Rosc. 46 *eo accessit studium doctrinae, ut ne a litteris quidem alienus esses*; Balb. 3 *litteris ac studiis doctrinae deditis*; Fam. 13,30,1 *studiis litterarum doctrinaeque praeditum.*

Pauperem: see at 111,1. Note the *mire* in the margin; see at 90,28. So Fronto did not appeal to the public treasury as poor senators used to do, see at 111,12.

Adiutum . . . malui: see at 182,8f.

238,18–19 On these abl. qualitatis see at 194,4.

Quaestu interdum necessario: 'if I was sometimes out on profit, it was only when it was necessary', not 'sometimes I earned only enough to live upon' (Haines). It may refer to his contubernium (see at 172,5) and, by way of exception, to his advocacy (see at 178,13).

238,19 *verum dixi*: see at 44,24. On the epanaphora of *verum* see at 97,6.

238,20 *neglegi*: an example 46,18–22.

238,21 *infrequens*: cp. 3,24 *sectator vel is satis infrequens.*

Amicus . . . adsentator: Cic. De orat. 3,117 *comparationis autem duo sunt modi: unus, cum idemne sit an aliquid intersit quaeritur . . ., ut rex et tyrannus, ut adsentator et amicus*; Top. 85 *quid intersit inter amicum et adsentatorem, regem et tyrannum.*

238,22 *potui* sc. *commodare.*

238,23 *immerentibus audacius: audacius* is not the opposite of *promptius*: it requires some boldness to defend those who are guilty; therefore, it is not 'more quixotic' (Haines). We have two examples: the will of Niger Censorius 162,6ff. and the case of Volumnius Serenus 189,9ff.

238,25 *offensior*: 'somewhat resentful towards', not 'I have been vexed by the ungrateful' (Haines) or 'ho mai recato danno agli ingrati' (Portalupi).

238,26 *nominibus*: 'debits of debtors'. The debtor's name was at the head of the page of the ledger.

239,1 *deputavi: deputare* here seems to mean 'to assign', 'to impute', a meaning which is very frequent in Tertullian and later authors.

239,8 *nemini . . . invidi*: see at 54,6f.

239,12 *acerbo leto*: 'premature death', a poetical expression, cp. e.g. Plaut. Asin. 595 *acerbum funus filiae faciet*; Verg. Aen. 6,429 and 11,28 *quos (infantes) . . . funere mersit acerbo* (Servius: *acerbo: inmaturo*; Gloss. Verg. p. 454,38 *acerba mors quae infantibus venit*); Carm. Epigr. 93,5 *me mors acerba . . . aetate immatura abstulit.* In prose since Sen. Dial. 6,17,7 *acerbum funus.*

Statu mentis: Fronto is the first to use this expression; after him Gell. 6,3,12; Apul. Socr. 12; Tert. Scorp. 9,13; and others. Cp. Cic. Parad. 15 *(voluptas) mentem e sua sede et statu demovet.*

239,15 *neniam funebrem*: 'dirge'. Quint. Inst. 8,2,8 *carmen funebre proprie 'nenia'*; Paneg. 12(2),37 *funebres nenias et carmen exequiale*; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 2,8,2.

239,17 Chronology: see at 235,1. This is the last letter Marcus wrote to Fronto. It seems that Fronto's son-in-law Aufidius Victorinus is back in Rome; otherwise Fronto would not have written *nepotem in Germania amisi* (240,17); see at 178,7.

239,19 *personam induere*: 'to act like a player'. Cp. *persona* 143,2 (marg. a).

240,1 *e conexu veritatis*: 'in view of the bonds of sincerety between you and me', 'in relazione alla schiettezza dei nostri rapporti' (Portalupi), rather than 'auf Grund (gemäss) der uns verknüpfenden Wahrheitsliebe' (E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 57, 1939, 173).

240,2 *nepotes*: in 165–166 Victorinus and Cratia had two sons left, M. Aufidius (Victorinus) Fronto and C. Aufidius Victorinus.

240,5 Chronology: see at 235,1.

240,12 *illo amisso* could refer to the grandson in question, but it could also be Fronto's brother Cornelius Quadratus because of *vastitatem domus meae odi*, since the two brothers were living together, see at 238,12.

240,16 *multum . . . male valui*: 109,6 and 113,2, letters from the same period, Fronto complains of serious weak health.

240,17 *uxorem*: see at 113,4; 235,1.

Nepotem: see at 178,7; 235,1.

Miserum me: see at 2,3.

240,18 *Decimanum nostrum*: the climax indicates that the grandson is meant, not some unknown friend, as A. Stein, Decimanus, RE IV (1901), thinks. Mai[2 3]; Brock, Studies 336; Haines; and Portalupi have their doubts about his identity. It is not the grandson's real name, as assumed by Mai[1]; Peyron; the Anonymus, Leipzig. Lit. Zeit. 1816; Eichstädt; Astarita, Cronologia; and Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 381, but a nickname, as Niebuhr and Philibert-Soupé 16 n. 2 have seen; see also P. von Rohden, Aufidius 41, RE II (1896). The little boy was born in Mainz; he was called Decimanus after the *porta decimana* of the camp or after the *legio decimana*. Compare the names Britannicus, Germanicus, Caligula, Caracalla and, in Fronto, Naucelius (174,21) and Contuccius (188,7).

Ferreus: cp. Cic. Phil. 8,25 *ferrei sumus*; Plin. Epist. 2,3,7 *saxeus ferreusque es*. Cp. Ovid. Am. 1,11,9 *nec silicum venae nec durum in pectore ferrum*.

240,19 *isto in tempore*: 'in questa circostanza' (Portalupi), not 'just now' (Haines); cp. 257,8 *hoc ipso in tempore*. When *tempus* is 'time', Fronto always uses the ablative without *in*: *hoc tempore, omni tempore* etc., fifteen times. For *in tempore*, 'in season', see at 110,6. *Isto*: 'miserable', see at 60,23.

Librum: 'letter', see at 50,15.

Misi: epistolary perfect, see Grammatical Index s.v. perfect.

Omnibus = *ceteris omnibus*, as in *ante omnes, post omnes*; see Hofmann-Szantyr 203 and at 10,7.

240,20 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

241,1 Herodotus' narrative of Arion was widespread: in Greece since Plato, in Rome since Cic. Tusc. 2,67. None of these writers follow Herodotus verbatim: they all give free adaptations. The most important of them are Strabo 13,2,4; Ovid. Fast. 2,83ff.; Hygin. Astron. 2,17; Fab. 194; Plin. Nat. 9,28; Plut. Conv. sept. sap. 18; Lucian. Dial. marit. 8; Gell. 16,19; Favorinus (= Ps. Dio Chrys. Or. 37,1ff.). Other sources only give a succinct version

of the story, see Eunice Burr Stebbins, The Dolphin 67ff. Strabo, Pausanias 3,25,7 and Gellius explicitly refer to Herodotus, and all authors tell the story of Arion for the sake of the story itself; only Fronto and Gell. 16,19 try to narrate it in a style that is even simpler than Herodotus' own version, which does not mean, however, that Gellius imitates Fronto, see at 260,6. Most sources follow Herodotus, but there has been a different source which on three points deviates from the established tradition: Hygin. Fab. 194 and Serv. auct. Ecl. 8,55 relate that Arion's slaves made common cause with the seamen and that Apollo came to Arion's rescue, and they have a different version of Arion's statue in Taenarum (see at 242,5–7). If we compare Fronto's Arion with his story of Orpheus (53,10ff.), his Laudes Fumi et Pulveris (217,4ff.), the Laudes Neglegentiae (218,2ff.) and the Fabula de Somno (231,16ff.), we see that the Arion is a much simpler and less complex narrative with only one or two archaisms and without any rhetorical embellishment, and also without the colloquialisms so often found in his letters. That is exactly what Fronto aimed at: he wanted to imitate Herodotus' λέξις εἰρομένη, as was justly seen by Volkmann, Die Rhetorik 511. An unkind critic might call it 'affektierte Naivität' (Norden, Kunstprosa I 365 n. 3) or say with Haines I, XXXII that 'where he affects the staccato style, and the historical present, as in Arion, the result is as unpleasing as it is in modern English'. Marache, Mots 44, passes a more righteous judgement: 'alors qu'Aulu-Gelle, suivant Hérodote, se laisse aller à un certain bavardage qui a son charme, Fronton, voulant donner le modèle d'une narration brève, conçoit son récit dans un style très sobre qui en souligne la splendeur. Il ne s'écarte pas de cette sobriété pour insister sur le moment pathétique où Arion va être obligé de se jeter dans les flots'. A similar judgement in Ussani, Frontone 51, who ranks him with Lucianus. See at 216,12 (marg. c) for Herodotus' uncorrupted style and the words of Gell. 16,19,1 *celeri admodum et cohibili oratione vocumque filo tereti et candido fabulam scripsit Herodotus super fidicine illo Arione.* Sometimes modern critics do not seem to read what they review, so M. Schuster (in A. Kappelmacher & M. Schuster, Die Literatur der Römer, Potsdam 1934, 363), who states that the Arion was written in 'dichterisch gehobene Sprache'. Fronto's version strikes us by its use of the historic present and the historic infinitive, as well as by a number of short, witty additions, suppression of what is irrelevant and avoidance of difficult expressions in Herodotus (se at 241,13; 16; 21). Unlike Haines I do not believe that Fronto's style here has anything to do with the *genus siccum quod Frontoni adscribitur*, see at 272,4, nor that it is an example of the *elocutio novella* (see at 151,4), as Portalupi thinks.

The ancient editor found the Arion among the papers which Fronto left to his daughter Cratia and her husband Aufidius Victorinus (see Proleg. LIXf.); this means that Gellius had no access to it (against Leroy, La conception 251 n. 1). The editor put it at the end of his edition because he did not really know what to do with it. It is not a letter and there is no reason to believe Haines that Fronto intended it to be a model of narrative style for Marcus Aurelius. It is a literary production by a man who is not a writer in our sense of the word: he was a lawyer, an orator and a

student of ancient literature. His own literary ambitions were very limited: in 161 he wrote (231,12f.) *vellem autem tantum mihi vigoris aut studii adesse, quantum adfuit cum illa olim nugalia conscripsi laudem Fumi et Pulveris. Olim* here means at least twenty years ago, when he was about forty-five years old. And there is no reason to contest the possibility that the Arion was wriiten even before 139, when Fronto became Marcus' teacher. However, it may just as well be 139 or c. 140, the dating of Haines' Chronology; in his edition, Haines dates it 140–143, so do Champlin and Portalupi. See Kretschmer, De Auli Gellii fontibus 103f.; G. Busolt, Griechische Geschichte I² 1893, 652 n. 6; Crusius, Arion; K. Klement, Arion, Wien 1898; R. Kukula, Wien. Stud. 25, 1903, 312ff.; F. Bölke, Tainaros, RE IV A; Beltrami, Le tendenze; E. Hauler, Wien. Stud. 58, 1940, 133ff.; Barigazzi, Favorino 302f.; Stebbins, The Dolphin; E. Diez, Delphin, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum III (1957). I have not seen J. Yvette, Fronton, Histoire d'Arion: du mythe à l'affaire judiciaire, Mélanges R. Marache 323–338.

241,2 *proinde quod*: 'according to'. *Proinde* and *perinde* are usually followed by *ac* or *atque*, by *ut* (260,14) and by *quam* or *tamquam*. With the universal particle *quod* only here, but Hofmann-Szantyr 581 compare Lucr. 2,453 *papaveris haustus itemst facilis quod aquarum*; Varro, R.R. 1,31,4 *similiter quod ocimum in horto*. See at 46,26.

Memoria: 'tradition' (Haines), see at 223,20.

241,2–3 *cithara . . . primus*: Herodotus: ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ, and so Favorinus. Other sources mention Arion only as a player of the lyre.

Primus with ablative as *excellens* and *insignis*; cp. Cic. Verr. 4,50 *primum hominem genere, virtute, pecunia*; Verg. Aen. 11,238 *primus sceptris*.

241,3 *frequens*: 'mostly'; Herodotus: τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου. *Frequens* is used in particular with such verbs as *vivere, versari, adesse*.

Incolebat: intransitive.

Secundum quaestum: 'in pursuit of gain' (Haines). This final meaning of *secundum* is associated with *sequi* and in the sense of 'in favour of' is found several times in Cicero and other writers. See Kühner I 536; Hofmann-Szantyr 248f. *Secundum quaestum* is not a Graecism (κατὰ κέρδος), as Leopardi, Scritti 90f., thinks. *Quaestus* also in Plin. Nat. 9,28; Hygin. Astron. 2,17; cp. Ovid. Fast. 2,96 *quaesitas arte ferebat opes*.

241,4 *partis*: there are two expressions: *divitias parere* and *divitias parare*; MSS sometimes confuse them, but here the reading of m² is unlikely because of the following *parabat*, 'made preparations'.

241,5 *potissimum*: Herodotus: πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι.

241,6 *audacter*: see at 122,15; 'boldly' (Haines) rather than 'imprudentemente' (Portalupi).

Re bona: 'valuable property'; the singular, as in *res familiaris*; not 'sue belle cose' (Portalupi).

Heindorf and Haines read *maxima* because Herodotus has χρήματα μεγάλα and Gellius *grandi pecunia* and *re bona multa copiosus*. Hauler rejects this conjecture: *maxime* = 'zu höchst'.

241,6–7 *nave... provecta* as Gellius; Herodotus: ἐν τῷ πελάγει.

241,7 *quae* (see Proleg. XXVIII n. 8) is kept by Eussner, Schwierczina and editors since Haines.

Cupidos with infinitive since Augustean poets; in prose here for the first time.

241,7–8 *necem sibi machinari*: ἐπιβουλεύειν Herodotus.

241,8 *precibus fatigari*: this expression is first found in Hor. Carm. 1,2,26, then in Livy. With a subjunctive only here; see at 37,11; 47,12.

241,9 *postquam* with historical present is mostly used with verba videndi.

241,10 *posset*: the MS reading *possiet* (= *possit*) is not possible.

241,10–11 *in lucro ducere*: cp. for this predicative *in* Cic. Rep. 4,10 *in probro ducerent*; Flacc. 40 *hoc in lucro ponere*; Pis. 44 *in fortuna quadam est illa mors, non in poena putanda*; Plin. Nat. 31,60 *in gloria ducunt.*

241,12 *umquam postilla: (n)unquam postilla* is an archaism: Plaut. Capt. 118; Curc. 529; Men. 1117; Ter. Phorm. 1018. See at 167,2.

Auscultaret: see at 189,12.

241,12–13 *vestem... citharam*: see the comprehensive description of a citharoedus in Rhet. Her. 4,60. Herodotus: ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λάβοντα τὴν κιθάρην. Gellius: *induere permitterent sua sibi omnia indumenta et fides capere*; Ovidius: *induerat... pallam. Induit cytharam* after *vestem induit* seems to be an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. On the other hand, *induere* can also mean 'to take in hand', as e.g. Sen. Dial. 3,17,1 *si (affectus) velut bellica instrumenta sumi deponique possent induentis arbitrio*, and—most noteworthy—Ovid. Met. 14,650 *induerat scalas: lecturum poma putares.* Another possibility is that a shoulder-strap was attached to the lyre, see Albert, Saiteninstrumente, RE (1920).

241,13 *pro puppi*: 'on the front of the prow', not 'before the prow' (Haines), cp. *pro rostris*; see at 25,24. Herodotus: ἐν τοῖσι ἑδωλίοισι. Gellius: *in summae puppis foro*; Ovidius: *puppem conscendit*; Plutarchus: παρὰ τὸν τοῖχον ἐν πρύμνῃ.

Aperto maxime: see at 108,4.

241,14 *sociis... despersis*: Herodotus: ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. Not in Gellius.

241,15 *scilicet*: see at 131,12.

241,16 *commemoramentum*: this word occurs only in Caecil. Com. 166 *pudebat, credo, conmemoramentum stupri*, where it means 'mention' (J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v., takes it in this sense in Fronto too). However, considering the datives *mari ac caelo* I do not believe that this is a quotation, as is generally accepted. Modern translators have difficulties with these datives: 'he began to sing, for sea and sky, the last reminder of his skill' (Haines), 'rivolgendo, naturalmente, al cielo e al mare l'ultimo ricordo della sua arte' (Portalupi). But it seems that we have to take *commemoramentum* in the sense of 'homage'; such datives of purpose are used frequently with verbal substantives, see Kühner I 346; Hofmann-Szantyr 91; and at 110,28. Other sources of the Arion have no comparable elements.

Carminis: Fronto avoids Herodotus' difficult term: διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον ('a high-pitched melody'); Gellius: *carmen quod orthium dicitur voce sublatissima cantavit*; Favorinus: μέλος; Lucianus: θρῆνόν τινα. *Carminis fine*: 'at

the end of his song', 'his song ended' (Haines). It is not the preposition *fine*; this *fine* with genitive is rare: Liv. 30,1,10 *non temporis, sed rei gerendae fine*; Tac. Ann. 2,41,1 and 3,30,1 *fine anni*; Cod. Theod. 4,13,1 *triennii fine*; Augustin. Civ. 3,15 p. 116,29 *lunae fine*. The same meaning has *in fine* with genitive, which is rare too: Plin. Nat. 27,143 *in fine earum* (sc. *herbarum*); Quint. Decl. 248 p. 19,1f. *in fine... quinquennii*; Plin. Epist. 2,11,19 *in fine sententiae*; Augustin. Civ. 15,14 p. 86,5 *in fine diluvii*. See Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus s.v. finis.

Cum verbo: in later Latin we often find *cum dicto*: Apul. Met. 1,6,4 *cum dicto... faciem suam... obtexit* (cp. Plaut. Pseud. 310), and so in Apuleius, Minucius Felix and others. Iul. Val. 1,3 *cum verbis tabulas promit*; Apul. Met 5,24,5 *cum termino sermonis... in altum se proripuit (Cupido)*.

241,16–17 *delphinus... praevortit*: here Fronto cuts the story short. *Praevortit*: 'outstripped' (Haines), an archaic form used since Plautus; 107,6 Verus has *praeversus*. In this sense, *praeverto* usually has an accusative, as e.g. Verg. Aen. 7,807 *cursu... praevertere ventos* (see also 12,345), but in a metaphor it can have a dative: Plaut. Capt. 460 *ei rei primum praevorti volo*; Merc. 113; Mil. 1093; Pseud. 293; Caes. Gall. 7,33,1 *huic rei praevertendum existimavit*. See R.P. Langen, Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus, Leipzig 1880, 78ff.

241,17–18 *quantum... erat*: 'as far as it was possible for a dolphin', 'as a dolphin might' (Haines). For *fas* in the sense of 'the possibility lying in the nature of things' cp. e.g. Ovid. Met. 9,385 *mihi* (sc. *arbori*) *fas ad vos incumbere non est*; Ps. Quint. Decl. 8,18 *an fas putatis, ut suam servent viscera nudata faciem?*; Ennod. Epist. 8,21,1 *non est fas hominem non errare*.

Erat: for the descriptive imperfect in combination with the historical present or the narrative perfect see Kühner I 127f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 317.

241,18 *in extimo litore*: 'sull'estremo limite della spiaggia' (Portalupi) = 'near the shore' (Haines). *Extimus* for *extremus* is rather rare: it occurs once or twice in Varro, Cicero, Lucretius, but several times in Pliny's Nat. Hist. and in Apuleius. There is no reason to assume with Frassinetti, L'orazione 251, that Min. Fel. Oct. 3,3 *harenas extimas* borrowed the word from Fronto, see Proleg. LXII n. 3 and at 259,8.

241,19–20 *et homo... incolumis*: whereas *homo* could be regarded as an apposition to Arion, the other substantives make it clear that we are dealing with a nom. absolutus instead of an ablativus, *et homine et veste... incolumi*. Such a nominative has more emphasis than the ablative. Hofmann-Szantyr 143f. regard it as a colloquialism, which seems uncertain, see at 241,1.

241,20 *regem*: Gellius also calls him *rex*, Herodotus ἐτυράννευε.

241,20–21 *per artem... acceptusque*: not in Herodotus; Gellius: *amicum amatumque habuit artis gratia*.

Acceptus: 'dear', see at 81,18.

241,21 *fuerat* instead of *erat*: see at 37,11.

Accedit with accusative: 'he turned to Periander (for help)' rather than 'presented himself before Periander' (Haines). *Accedere aliquem* before Fronto

only in Sall. Iug. 97,3 *Bocchus... Iugurtham adcedit* and Stat. Theb. 2,189 *soceros accedere talis*; after Fronto, Apul. Apol. 48,2 *qui me accessere* and in a few later authors.

Ordine: 'in order' (Haines), 'point for point'.

Navi: note the assonance *in navi—in mari*. Elsewhere Fronto always uses the ablative *nave*: 12,17; 222,14; 241,6. See Neue-Wagener I^3 330f.

241,22 *credere*: the wit of Fronto's version is that 'the king believed the man but did not know what to think of the miracle' (Haines). In spite of Herodotus' Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης 'Αρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων, and Gellius' *regem istaec parum credidisse, Arionem, quasi falleret, custodiri iussisse*, we should not add *vix* before *credere* with Mai; Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 382; and Portalupi. Fronto did not approve of Herodotus' story: why should Periander keep his friend in prison until the ship arrived? Plutarchus, too, has changed Herodotus' version: there the seamen were arrested before they knew that Arion had been saved, but Fronto's solution is much more elegant.

Addubitare usually has an accusative, see at 37,15; hence the reading of m^2, but the plural is unlikely here. Hauler prefers Studemund's conjecture *miraculom*.

241,23 *reciperent* = *se reciperent*, see at 61,12; 87,25. So <*se*> *reciperent* of P.K. Marshall, Gnomon 62, 1990, 557, is wrong.

Invectos sc. *eos*: see at 55,28. Livy has several times *invehi urbem* and 28,17,13 *portum invectus*; Frontin. Strat. 3,10,8 *portum*; Tac. Hist. 2,43,2 *latus hostium*, but Cic. Mur. 4 *in portum ex alto invehuntur* and Liv. 35,43,5 *in portum... est invectus*.

241,24 *acciri*: the reading of m^2 is confirmed by Herodotus' κληθέντας.

Voltu... verbis: the same alliteration in Cic. Dom. 133 *oculi, voltus, verba cecidissent*; Mil. 4 *quae voltu et verbis saepe significassent*; Tac. Ann. 2,28,3 *non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior* 12,36,6 *aut vultu demisso aut verbis misericordiam requirens*; Anthol. Lat. I p. 55,142 Riese *haerent... vultus verbaque*. For *voltus* see at 186,1 and Index Latinitatis s.v. vul-.

241,24–25 *percontatur... comperissent*: this is, of course, not a reminiscence of Naev. Bell. Pun. 24 *blande et docte percontat, Aeneas quo pacto Troiam urbem liquerit*, as Pieri, Una reminiscenza, and Selvatico, Scambio 261 n. 157, try to make us believe.

Num introduces here—and here only in Fronto—an indirect question to which the answer is neither negative nor positive; see at 49,3; 75,19; and Index Latinitatis s.v. num.

241,25 *super*: see at 26,23.

Facile: 'readily', 'prontamente' (Portalupi), not 'glibly' (Haines). *Facile respondere*, 'to have an answer ready', also 4,2 and Cic. Cael. 3; Att. 8,11 D 8; Quint. Inst. 7,2,31; Ps. Quint. Decl. 17,15.

241,26 *vidisse* sc. *se*; see at 55,28.

Mortalem: see at 261,24.

Secundo rumore: 'standing in high repute', 'well reputed as he was', not 'secondo la sua prospera fama' (Portalupi); see at 1,10. Herodotus has only ὡς... μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι.

Pretia quaerere: 'that he was aspiring after prizes'. Gellius: *studiis delectationibus urbium florere atque in gratia pecuniaque magna opulentum fortunatumque esse*. The plural *pretia* does not allow a translation 'money' (in spite of *secundum quaestum profectus* in line 3); it seems te refer to the winning of prizes in a contest.

241,27 *laete esse*: see at 67,22; 68,18.

Quo: 'therefore'; it does not seem to be an abl. mensurae, nor can it be 'là' (Portalupi).

Amore... laudibus may be a hendiadys: 'his love of profit and praise'. Haines translates *amore* by 'popularity' or 'by love of his art'; Portalupi by 'favore'. Unlikely is Della Corte's 'l'amore di altri paesi'.

242,2 *ab puppi*: 'on the side of the stern' (cp. *pro puppi* 241,13 and *a tergo, a parte, a dextra*). The original meaning of *ab* in *a puppi* is still visible in Verg. Aen. 5,777 *surgens a puppi ventus* and in Stat. Theb. 3,29 *fert ingens a puppi Notus*, but cp. Curt. 4,3,2 *navem... saxis harenaque a puppi oneratam*; 7,9,4 *maior pars a puppe nantes equos loris trahebat*. On *ab* before *p* see at 9,11.

Veste... insigni belongs to *steterat*, an ablative of attire, as e.g. Plaut. Trin. 852 *eo ornatu advenit*; Cic. Pis. 93 *veste servili navem conscendit*; Tac. Hist. 4,36,2 *servili habitu... evasisset*. See Hofmann-Szantyr 115.

242,3 *cum* temporale, 'whilst', sometimes comprises the main thought: 'and so'; cp. *cum interim* at 67,3. In modern languages such a *cum* sentence is rendered by a principal sentence: 'I pirati, sbigottiti alla vista inattesa, non osarono... scolparsi: si stupivano' etc. (Portalupi). Hauler, Wien. Stud. 58, 1940, 137, erroneously thinks that it here is a causal *cum* with indicative.

Neque: 'not even'.

242,4 *deprecari*: see at 162,13.

242,5 *tale* is pregnant: 'such a strange action'.

Amico... visitur: 'he can be viewed safely leaning on his friend the dolphin', not 'si ammira uno scampato, in groppa all'amico delfino' (Portalupi). *Amico delphino* is a dative, as in Verg. Aen. 12,92; Tac. Ann. 3,61,1; Priscian. Gramm. III 14,6. In other passages *annitor* can have a dative or an ablative.

242,5–6 Herodotus: Ἀρίονος ἔστι ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δεφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος. Hygin. Astron. 2,17 *cuius memoriae causa quae ibi statua statuta est Arionis, in ea delphini simulacrum adfixum videtur*; Gellius: *esse fabulae argumentum, quod simulacra duo aenea ad Taenarum viserentur, delphinus vehens et homo insidens*; Pausanias: ἀναθήματα δὲ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς χαλκοῦς ἐπὶ δελφῖνος. Favorinus: Ἀρίων ποιησάμενος μίμημα χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Ταινάρου, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐεργέτου καθήμενον. Philostr. II p. 323,21 Kayser: Ἀρίων δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ δηλοῖ τοὺς δεφῖνας ἑταίρους τε εἶναι ἀνθρώποις καὶ ᾠδῆς φίλους. Nicolaus, Prog. 1,7 καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖσε χαλκοῦς Ἀρίων καθέστηκεν ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ δεφῖνος ὀχούμενος. Serv. auct. Ecl. 8,55 *ad Taenarum... provectus est ibique ad memoriam casuum suorum in templo Apollinis delphini signo insidentem se cum cithara posuit*. Hyg. Fab. 194 has a different version: the dolphin dies and *iussit Periandrus delphinum sepeliri et ei monumentum fieri*. The testimonies, with the exception of Gellius', pretend that the statue was still in Taenarum at their time. Nicolaus of Myra (fifth century) even says so explicitly, but there is no reason to believe them and we cannot state that in Pausanias' time the statue was still

there (against Bowra, Arion). Aelian. Anim. Nat. 12,45 presents the epigram (Poet. Lyr. Graeci III 79f. Bergk) that is said to have been inscribed on Arion's statue:

Ἀθανάτων πομπαῖσιν Ἀρίονα Κυκλέος υἱὸν
ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.

This epigram is of a later date.

242,5 *residens* with ablative since Valerius Maximus.

242,6 *parva figura*: apposition to *homo*. Haines erroneously regards it as an abl. qualitatis.

242,6–7 *rei ... composita*: 'executed as a subject-piece rather than as a likeness' (Haines). *Argumento* and *simulacro* are final datives; cp. Cic. Att. 4,9,1 *gratias agebat, quod signa componenda* ('put up') *suscepisses*.

242,8 See Proleg. XXXVIf. and at 187,10.

242,11–13 It seems that the ancient editor or someone after him came across a different edition of Fronto, in which he found a few unedited letters and letters arranged differently from those in his own edition. Thus Greek letters, except Ad amicos I 2 p. 171, were edited twice (see crit. app. 32,17 and Proleg. LVIII). The two letters of this Additamentum 4 and 5 came from a collection which differed considerably from the one we have: the indices pp. 169 and 186 show that they do not form part of the letters Ad amicos. Moreover, the letters Ad amicos only comprise letters of Fronto, not of his friends. Δεύτερα shows that there has been another letter of Appianus, the one that accompanied his gift of two slaves (247,1), and 245,3 εἰς παράδειγμα ἐκάλεις refers to it. Fronto sent the slaves back, also with an accompanying letter: 245,1 τὸ μὲν ἀμφισβητούμενον ... ἦν. Then Appianus wrote the letter we have here. This letter and Fronto's answer are παίγνια (248,10; see at 231,13). The forms of address 242,12 and 244,1 are not the original ones, see Proleg. LIXf. and Exler, The Form 49f.; Roller, Das Formular 423. It is generally accepted that Appianus here is the historian with whom Fronto was on intimate terms (see at 168,7f.). His gift to Fronto may have been an expression of thanks for the procuratorship he had obtained through Fronto's mediation, or for Fronto's assistance in writing his history. If the gift is connected with Appianus' procuratorship this letter must be dated 158–160 (see at 168,1). Haines, Chronology, dates it 159–165, in his edition 157–161, as do Viereck & Roos in their edition of Appianus I 537 and Portalupi. Even if there is no such connection, as Champlin thinks, Appianus' letter seems to date from close on 160. It was written in Rome (242,13). Champlin dates it before 167. H.F. Clinton, Fasti Romani II, Oxford 1850, 286, does not believe that our Appianus is the historian, because to him this letter has nothing worthy of Appianus in the matter of style. However, it is a letter, and his history is certainly not an example of a refined style either. Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur II 2^6, München 1924, 751 n. 3, also have their doubts.

242,13 γαστέρα: 'gastric trouble' (Haines) or 'dolori di ventre' (Portalupi).

242,14 ἕως ἄρτι: 'till now'. By chance it only occurs in later Greek, since the New Testament, but ἕως ὀψέ is already found in Thucyd. 3,108,2.

Κατέσχον οὐδ' ἀνεβαλόμην: epistolary aorist.

242,15 γέγραφα: a resultative perfect, as in Thucyd. 5,26,1 γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης. See at 59,25f. and Grammatical Index s.v. perfect.

242,16 σχολαστικά ... ἁπλοῖς: 'if they are pedantic, as sincere' (Haines), but σχολαστικός may also be 'puerile', not 'ozioso' (Portalupi).

'Αλλ': 'at least'.

242,19–20 ὀκνοῦσι λαμβάνουσαι differs slightly from the usual ὀκνέω with infinitive (243,1; 243,4).

242,20 ἀναθήματα: 'votive gifts', 'offerings' (Haines), not 'ornamenti' (Portalupi).

Χρήματα: 'treasuries' rather than 'property' (Haines) or 'ricchezze' (Portalupi).

242,21 αὐτοπολιτῶν: it is very unlikely that we should write with the editors up to and including Haines αὐτὸ πολιτῶν. Αὐτοπολῖται means 'true-born citizens', not 'citizens of a free state', as our lexica say. The word is only found in Xen. Hell. 5,2,14 βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολῖται εἶναι, where αὐτοπολῖται is a conjecture by Schäfer. Thucyd. 5,79,1 has αὐτόπολις, 'independent state'.

Ἤδη ... ὑποδιδόντας: 'and also certain persons who somehow even pledge themselves', 'e persino alcuni che donano se stessi' (Portalupi), rather than 'and in some cases even a free gift of their own persons' (Haines). In this sense, ὑποδίδωμι is not registered in our lexica.

Appianus alludes to the λειτουργία, cp. Demosth. 21,165 τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοὶ λῃτουργεῖν ἠξιοῦν. Aristot. Athen. Pol. 29,5 τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν λῃτουργεῖν.

243,1 δὲ: in their edition of Appianus, Viereck & Roos adopt Haines' δὲ δή.

Ὅτι: the reading οἱ of the MS (defended by Niebuhr, Mai[2], von Wilamowitz, Haines and Viereck-Roos) is improbable because of καὶ δεικνύουσιν. Ὅτι οἱ is very likely.

243,2 προστίθενται: Jacobs and Heindorf proposed simultaneously προσίενται for the impossible προσθεναι and it has been adopted by all editors until now. However, 'the gods too by the law of cities accept these gifts from men' (Haines) is not logical and does not do justice to τῷ νόμῳ, which cannot mean 'alla legge' (Portalupi). If we accept προστίθενται, it means that the gods transfer it from men to the custom of the cities: citizens have their obligations towards the cities, the cities towards the gods. 246,7 Fronto replies φῄς δὲ ξένια μὴ πέμπεσθαι θεοῖς. Cp. Plato, Leg. 674 a προσθείμην ἂν τῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νόμῳ. As often, ἄνδρες here stands for ἄνθρωποι.

243,3 φίλιοι: Viereck & Roos have φίλοι with Naber.

243,4 περιόντων: 'those who are still alive'.

243,5 ὁπότε: 'since'.

Καὶ μεῖζον: predicative.

Τοῦτ': I now prefer to keep ταῦτ' with Viereck & Roos.

243,5–6 οἱ μὲν: the testators.

243,7–8 μαρτυρῆσαι . . . ἀμείψασθαι: 'for a living person it is possible to bear witness and to do in turn', not 'it is possible both to acknowledge it to a living person and' etc. (Haines). Jacobs (1816) punctuated ἀμείψασθαι πάλιν· ξένιον. Editors rightly have not adopted it.

Πάλιν: 'again' (Haines), 'on the other hand'.

Ξένιον: 'a friendly gift', 'a gift as will be given among friends', hence 'a trifling gift' (Haines). Fronto does not want to compare Appianus' gift with gifts to cities and to gods.

243,9 αἰεί is the older form used in poetry and early Attic. 17,7 Fronto has ἀεί.

243,10 βαρύτερα with infinitive: 'grievous', 'difficult'. In the next line Appianus plays with the different meanings of the word.

243,11 ἄρειον: this comparative is rare in prose.

Ἦν: this imperfective is often used where we use a present or an imperfect.

Ὅλως: 'at all' (Haines), not 'totalmente' (Portalupi).

243,12 ἂν βαρὺ ἔχοιμι: 'to consider burdensome'. Ἔχειν with double accusative occurs several times in later Greek.

Ἐργασαίμην: 'traffic' (Haines).

243,13 μισθὸν: 'requital'.

Ἐξ . . . μετατεθέν: 'when a thing is passing, as they say, from house to house'. φασίν indicates that it is more or less proverbial. See at 48,3.

243,14 ληφέντων sc. αὐτῶν, in this case the slaves. A gen. absolutus without pronoun or substantive is often found since Herodotus. See at 246,15.

243,15 εἰσγίγνεται: 'come to'. Liddell & Scott only have Aeschin. Epist. 11,8 and a few papyri for this word, in the sense of 'to arrive'. Ἐγγίγνεται and ἐπιγίγνεται are improbable.

243,17ff. φίλων etc. The reading φίλων remains uncertain. Haines reads with Jacobs οὐ τοσοῦτον and translates 'but as friends do not parade such a forwardness of goodwill', but the reading οὐχ ὡς τούτων by Mai[1] and Ellis is certain, so we must translate with Ellis, The Correspondence 28, 'not supposing the slaves to exhibit any confident good will on my part', not 'ma degli amici, non quelli che mostrano la sfrontatezza della benevolenza' (Portalupi).

Θράσος εὐνοίας: 'an insolent friendliness'. In the following, Jacobs and Ellis have correctly stated that we must read ὑπὸ δέους εἰ. This, too, refers to the slaves: 'but they also <do it> for fear'. It is only natural that the two slaves did not like to go to their new master without knowing that they were welcome, which is expressed by εἰ . . . ἐπιτρέψῃς, 'give permission' (Haines).

τώ: the two. Until now, all editors have τὸ πρίν, which, however, is not possible because τὸ πρίν is an adverb. In the third century BC the dual became extinct, but in later times antiquaries and pedants kept using it. Appianus, familiar with Fronto's taste, is using it here in an intellectual tilt, and so does Fronto in his letter to Marcus' mother 23,15f.

243,19 μὴ δευτερώσῃς, 'do not do a second time', is only a guess. Μηδ' ἀντείπῃς would approximate Hauler's reading, but ἅπαξ seems to require

a δεύτερον. Niebuhr and Viereck-Roos read δεύτερον ἀποπέμψῃς, which is too long.

Ἔδει: δεῖ with a dative is found in tragic poetry but also in Plato, Xenophon and others.

244,1 Chronology: see at 242,1–3.

244,2 λόγων: 'arguments' (Haines).

244,3 ἐνθύμηματα: see at 150,1.

Ἐνίσταιτο: ἐνίσταμαι, 'to raise objections', is used absolutely and with dative; so πρός does not mean 'to' but 'in regard to', cp. Plut. Aristid. 3,1 Θεμιστοκλέους . . . πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐνισταμένου.

Μή with strong emphasis.

244,4–5 ταῖς πόλεσιν and τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον depend on οὐχ ὅμοια, not on κοινῇ and ἰδίᾳ, as Haines and Portalupi think.

244,5 προσέχων sc. τὸν νοῦν.

244,6 ἀγῶσιν: 'trials'.

244,7–8 ἡ τάξις . . . κλήσεων: 'the order of the charges and the summonses'.

Φάσεων (φαίνω): 'le accuse' (Portalupi). Mai[1] had already seen that it is here 'delationes', not 'pleas' (Haines, of φημί). The word occurs only in classic Attic orators.

Τὸ μέτρον: of the κλεψύδρα. Aristot. Ath. Pol. 67,2 registers how many χόες could be used by the counsel in different cases.

Τὰ προστιμήματα: 'l'elevazione della pena' (Portalupi).

244,9 πλεῖστον ὅσον: 'to the last degree', as e.g. Lucian. Tox. 12 φιλίας δὲ πλεῖστον ὅσον ἀποδέοντας.

Διήνεγκεν: an aor. empiricus as 17,5; 245,16; 246,15; 251,8.

244,10 ὅτι: 'and (then we have) the fact that'; it does not depend on μάθοις ἄν.

Ἀναπεπετάσθαι: Niebuhr, Naber and Haines erroneously have ἀναπεπτάσθαι. The perf. passivum πεπετάσθαι is found since Herod. 1,62,4.

244,12 ἐγρηγοροίη: see P. Chantraine, Histoire du parfait grec, Paris 1927, 217.

244,13 τοὺς μηδὲν προσήκοντας: 'those who have no business there' (Haines).

Οἰκέταις: Haines translates 'inmates', changing the following οὐκ into αὖ, but they were house slaves who were not allowed to leave the house without permission.

244,14 οὐκ ἀδεῶς: 'freely' (Haines).

244,14–15 ὀρθῶς οἰκουροῖτο has been proposed simultaneously by Niebuhr and Jacobs.

244,15 ἄλση: 'parks' rather than 'groves' (Haines); cp. the Latin *nemus*.

244,16 λουτρά were not free in Rome: visitors had to pay a small *balneaticum*, Vita Pii 7,6 *balneum, quo usus fuisset, sine mercede populo exhibuit.* See Blümner, Die römischen Privataltertümer 422.

244,17 θυροφύλακι: this word occurs only here and in the Schol. Hom. Il. 22,69.

244,19 πρυτανείῳ: those who had deserved well of the city were regaled

with a banquet. Aristophanes and the Attic orators often mention such banquets.

Ἵππος: Fronto seems to have in mind the Roman distinction between *equites equo privato* and *equites equo publico.*

244,19–20 πορφύρα . . . δημοτῶν: again Fronto is thinking of Roman usage: magistrates had the toga praetexta and emperors wore purple.

Δημοτῶν: 'ordinary people', not 'townsmen' (Haines). See at 9,3; 19,4f.

244,21 Ὀλυμπίασιν: 'at Olympia' (Haines), not 'delle Olympiadi' (Portalupi).

244,22 ἀλλά: proposed simultaneously by Niebuhr and Jacobs.

Ἐάσειν: 'drop', 'waive' (Haines).

Μοι δοκῶ: 'I am willing', with inf. fut., as μέλλω, βούλομαι, οἶμαι.

Χαριεῖσθαι: 'concederti' (Portalupi).

245,2 προστάσσων: 'postulating', not 'justifying' (Haines).

245,3 ἐκαλεῖς refers to Appianus' first letter, see at 242,11f.

245,4 σφετεριζόμενος: 'taking for granted' (Haines).

Ὦ φιλοτής: 'my dear friend' (Haines); the same metonymy e.g. Plato, Phaedr. 228 d.

Ὅ is relative, object of φάσκων.

245,7 ὡς belongs to προσῆκον.

Λαβών: 'begging the question' (Haines).

245,9 φήσαις ἄν: 'you will agree', not 'you must admit' (Haines), as 245,27.

245,13–14 ἐν ζητήματος μέρει: 'as a point of discussion', not 'as part of the question' (Haines). Cp. Plato, Resp. 348 e εἰ ἐν ἀρετῆς . . . τιθεὶς μέρει τὴν ἀδικίαν. Demosth. 23,148 οὐ τίθημι ἐν ἀδικήματος μέρει.

Διαλείψεις ἀμφισβητήσιμον: 'you should leave aside as being disputable', fut. pro imperativo, see at 19,7. Διαλείπειν usually means 'to intermit'.

245,14 οὐδὲ . . . οὐδ': not a gemination: 'for I think that even of that you are not aware that', a litotes = 'I even think that you know very well that'.

245,16 ἐδέξαντο: empirical aorist, see at 244,9.

245,17 πολλὰ πολλάκις: polyptoton, traductio, as Aristoph. Eccl. 1105. Note the alliteration.

Οὐ προσήκατο: for instance, Liv. Per. 70 *Ptolemaeus Cyrenarum rex . . . mortuus heredem populum Romanum reliquit et eius regni civitates senatus liberas esse iussit.* But Fronto forgets Attalus III!

245,18 Ἀθηναίων: Mai rightly refers to the confederacy of Delos whose funds were transferred to Athens in 453, which resulted in the defection of Athens' allies, see Thucyd. 1,99. Portalupi thinks of Herodes Atticus, whose gifts to the city sometimes produced a preposterous effect.

βαρύτερα . . . ἐκλέγουσα: 'levying heavier tributes than befitting'.

Ὤνατο: in later Greek, the aorist ὠνάμην becomes more frequent than ὠνήμην.

245,19 τὸ . . . παράδειγμα refers to 243,1ff.

245,21 προσκυνεῖσθαι is a passive infinitive (though προσήκει usually has an active infinitive), so we should translate 'non mi spetta (spettava Portalupi[1]) d'essere venerato' (Portalupi), not 'it was not fitting even to pay me homage' (Haines); besides, it is not a matter of προσκυνέω with dative.

The imperfect προσῆκεν indicates an action which is also valid for the present, cp. 247,9 τὰ δῶρα κιρνάναι προσῆκεν, 'so should gifts be a blend' (Haines), and Xen. Anab. 7,7,18 εἴθ' ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπιέναι εἴθ' ἡμᾶς. De re equ. 12,14 ἃ δὲ ἱππάρχῳ προσῆκεν εἰδέναι. A Byzantine grammarian was struck by this imperfect: Thom. Mag. p. 287 Ritschl τὸ προσῆκεν ἀντὶ τοῦ προσήκει λαμβανόμενον Ἀττικόν ἐστιν. In Fronto 244,10 the imperfect would be out of place. On the Persian προσκύνησις see Herod. 1,134,1; 3,86,2; 7,136,1; 8,118,4; Xen. Anab. 1,8,21; Cyr. 8,3,14.; Paroemiogr. Graeci I 126 Πέρσαι . . . τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ὡς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσι.

245,23 τὸ τῶν διαθηκῶν: see 243,3ff.

Ὑπήνεγκας: 'you brought forward' (Haines).

245,24 τηλικαῦτα = τοσαῦτα, 'altrettanto grandi' (Portalupi); also 247,21.

245,25 φθάνεις ὑποβάλλων: 'the reason is suggested already by yourself' (Haines).

245,26 κατὰ διαθήκας: 'by will'.

246,1 ἐν δευτέρῳ τιθείς: cp. Plut. Fab. Max. 24,2 ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδας ἀεὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος καλῶν τιθέμενοι. Iulian. Or. 8,242 B οὐκ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐθέμην τὰ σά.

246,3 δή: 'then'. Leopardi's conjecture has been adopted by editors since Haines (who suggests that we should read βαδίζοι if δέ is kept). Mai and Naber have δέ.

Ἀξιοίη: the optative because ἀφ' οὗ contains a condition ('if the rider dismounting . . . asked me to ride' [Haines]).

246,4 ὑπανισταμένου: 'rise to show respect', as e.g. Herod. 2,80,1; Aristoph. Nub. 993.

246,5–6 οἰκειότερος . . . αὐτῷ: charity begins at home. Paroemiogr. Graeci II 740 πᾶς τις αὐτὸν τοῦ πέλας μᾶλλον φιλεῖ (= Eurip. Med. 86). Cp. e.g. Plato, Leg. V 731 e φίλος αὐτῷ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φύσει τέ ἐστιν. Cato, Dist. 1,40 *semper tibi proximus esto*; Ter. And. 636 *proxumus sum egomet mihi*. The same meaning has γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον (Paroemiogr. Gr. I 57; 229; and e.g. Cic. Fam. 16,23,2) and *tunica propior pallio est* (Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. pallium 1). Fronto seems to follow the Latin versions of Cato and Terence.

246,7 ξένια to the gods are especially food and drink.

Ψαιστὰ πόπανα: the Roman *liba*, see at 230,11f. Iuv. 6,541 *popanum*: cakes of ground barley and honey or cheese baked in oil. Aristoph. Plut. 138; 1115 and other authors use τὰ ψαιστά as a substantive, and Mai and Naber put a comma between ψαιστά and πόπανα, but the articles show that these words belong together.

246,8 τὸ μέλι . . . γάλα: libations (λοιβαί, χοαί) of honey, wine and milk are often mentioned.

Νηφάλια or νηφάλια μειλίγματα are offerings of water, milk and honey without wine. Cp. Varro, R.R. 3,16,5 *favus venit in altaria*; Verg. Georg. 1,344 *lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho*; Tibull. 1,10,24; Ovid. Fasti 2,652; Calp. Ecl. 2,16; Plin. Nat. 25,107 *favis ante et melle terrae ad piamentum datis*; Sil. 7,181 *lacte favisque distinxit dulcis epulas*. Further we have οἰνόσπονδα or σπονδαί and μελίσπονδα.

Σπλάγχνα: cp. e.g. Verg. Aen. 6,254 *pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis*; Ovid. Epist. 20(21),94 *fumosis ingerit exta focis*.

246,9 λιβανωτός: cp. e.g. Herod. 1,183,2; Aristoph. Nub. 426; Ran. 871ff.; Cato, Agr. 134,1 *ture, vino Iano, Iovi, Iunoni praefato.*

246,10–11 πάνυ is often used in postposition. Περί in postposition in Fronto only here.

246,11 ἐνθυμήματα: 'argumentazioni' (Portalupi) rather than 'propositions' (Haines), see at 150,1.

Τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ is adverbial: 'as far as I am concerned', 'for my part'; cp. e.g. Demosth. 18,247 ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

246,12 ταῦτα: 'this' (Haines).

246,13 ἀναιδοῦς etc.: 'is characteristic of' (Haines), a gen. qualitatis.

246,15 δέ: Haines keeps δή.

Διήνεγκεν: aor. empiricus, see at 244,9 and Grammatical Index s.v. aoristus.

Παρέχοντος: 'someone who offers'. There is no reason to read with Naber and Haines παρ' ἑκόντος. As λαμβάνω τινός can hardly mean 'to take from someone', παρέχοντος and ἀρνοῦντος must be gen. absoluti without a pronoun. See at 243,14.

246,18 ἀποδείξει: 'will make', synonymous with παρασκευάσει.

247,1 ἀποτιμήσεις: 'valuation', as in Iustin. Nov. 2,4. Fronto refers to the assessment in Athens, where the citizen who thought that he had been assessed too highly could ask for an ἀντίδοσις. The usual word is τίμησις. Plut. Crass. 13,1 and Ioseph. Ant. Iud. 18,2,1 have ἀποτίμησις for the Latin *census.*

Σὺ μὲν ὁ was also conjectured, after Ellis, by Studemund; it has been adopted by all editors since Haines.

247,2 ἀποφανοῦμαι: 'declare' (Haines), as e.g. Demosth. 42,11 ἀποφανεῖν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τὴν οὐσίαν, where the antidosis is also brought up.

247,3 εὐκαταφρόνητος: 'negligible' (Haines).

247,4 ἀπογραφῇ τέλους: 'tax declaration', as in Berliner Griechische Urkunden II 47,26.

Καταβολῇ φόρου: 'pagamento di imposte' (Portalupi).

247,5 βαρύτερα and βαρεῖαν: 'difficult to return'. Βαρεῖαν sc. σφαῖραν. Apparently a ball game between two persons (συμσφαιρίζοντα) who keep the ball going as long as possible. A similar simile Plato, Euthyd. 277 b ὥσπερ σφαῖραν ἐκδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον πάλιν ἐστοχάζετο.

247,6 συμσφαιρίζοντα: this word is found only in Plut. Am. mult. 3 and Antyll. ap. Oribas 6,32,2. Συσφαιριστής already Plato, Epist. 13,363 d.

Κύλην: 'cup'. The word occurs in Alexis ap. Athen. XI 470 e, where Schweighäuser changed it into κύλικα.

Προπίνοντος: 'drink to someone's health'; here with the intention to drink ad fundum.

247,8 σώφροσιν: 'temperate' (Haines).

Κιρνάμενον: κίρνημι is often used instead of κεράννυμι when wine is concerned. It is not poetical.

247,9 κιρνάναι: the same metaphor e.g. Plato, Phil. 50 a κεραννύντας ἡδονὴν αὖ φθόνῳ, λύπῃ τὴν ἡδονὴν συγκεραννύναι.

Προσῆκεν: see at 245,21.

247,13 τὸ συνεχές: 'great gifts cannot be given continuously' (Haines).

Cp. Pittacus ap. Nepot. Thras 4,2 *parva munera diutina, locupletia non propria esse consuerunt.*

247,13–14 ἐκπεσεῖν . . . ὑπαρχόντων: 'he must come to the end of his resources' (Haines). The same expression in Philodem. Ira p. 51 Wilken.

247,15 ἀμετάγνωστον: 'with no compunction' (Haines). The word is only found in Ioseph. Ant. Iud. 16,10,1 and Max. Tyr. 1,4.

247,21 τηλικαῦτα: see at 245,24.

Τοῖς μικροῖς τῶν δώρων: the gen. partitivus emphasizes μικρός.

247,23 ματευσαίμην: ματεύω in poetry and prose; the medium Philostr. Iun., Imag. p. 419,30 K. and Stob. 1,49,27.

Εἰκότι τῷ χαλεπῷ: 'an unpleasant probability'.

Ὡς: 'because'.

248,2 προσηκαίμην ἄν: 'can I accept'.

Γλαῦκος: Hom. Il. VI 234ff. Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς, ὃς πρὸς Τυδείδην Διομήδεα τεύχ' ἄμειβε χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.

Χρύσεα χαλκείων became proverbial: Plato, Symp. 219 a; Cic. Att. 6,1,22 (cp. 6,1,1) *non, ut postulasti,* χρύσεα χαλκείων, *sed paria paribus respondimus*; Mart. 9,94,4 χάλκεα *donanti* χρύσεα *qui dederas.* See also Plin. Nat. 33,7; Plin. Epist. 5,2,2; Gell. 2,23,7. The form χρύσεια is epical but impossible in Homer's text.

248,4 πᾶσα ἀνάγκη is mostly used without ἐστιν: Soph. El. 1497; Oed. T. 986; Plato, Phaedo 67a; Phaedr. 240 a; Rep. 441 d.

248,5 τὰς φρένας: acc. respectus, as e.g. Hom. Od. 14,178 τὸν δέ τις ἀθανάτων βλάψε φρένας. Herod. 3,33 τὰς φρένας ὑγιαίνειν.

248,6–7 τρίτον . . . δικαιότατον: 'a third and most equitable possibility is'.

Δικαιότατον ἃ πέμπεται is the reading by Naber and Studemund.

Μέτρῳ: a substantive must have dropped out after αὐτῷ; the point is: μηδὲν ἄγαν. Fr. Jacobs (1816 and 1838) refers to Hesiod. Erga 349f. εὖ μὲν μετρεῖσθαι παρὰ γείτονος, εὖ δ' ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ, but there is no reason to put—with Jacobs and V. Szelinski, Nachträge zu Otto 47—Hesiodus' name in the text. Cp. Paroemiogr. Graeci II 35 ἰσότης φιλότης· ἡ παροιμία γνωμικὴ δηλοῦσα ὡς ἰσότης τὴν φιλίαν συνέχει.

248,10 ταῦτα . . . πεπαίχθω: 'enough of this pleasantry from a friend to a very dear friend' (Haines).

248,12 See Proleg. LVIIIf. *Feliciter* indicates the happy ending of the scribe's work. It reappears 255,6 (*Felicter*), which means that the letters 6–8 of the Additamentum were added in a later phase, probably from a different collection, for 7 and 8 are found only here, whereas we might expect 7 somewhere near Ad M. Caes. III 9 (p. 42).

249,1 Chronology: in 139 (see at 42,4) Marcus heard that Fronto had written something in Greek, which pleased him very much (42,9). Then Fronto sent Marcus what is called the Erotikos logos (Additamentum 8), and here we have Marcus' reply. This letter and the Erotikos must be very early: 251,4 'you shall not come near to your ruin, nor associate with me to any detriment' (Haines); so Naber, Haines in his edition, Portalupi and Champlin correctly date the letters 139. Haines, Chronology, and Cortassa

date them 139–140. See at 250,3; 253,8. On the affectionate form of address see at 42,4; 2,13.

249,2 *age . . . libet*: see at 9,13.

Globis: Marcus is the first to use this word for immaterial things; cp. Arnob. Nat. 1,53 *aer globis involutus est tenebrarum*; Oros. Hist. 2,18,4 *globus miseriarum*; 3,23,3 *bellorum globi.*

249,3 *erasten*: this Latin form does not occur anywhere else.

Depuleris: see at 1,10f.

249,4 *quo*, 'because', 'per il fatto che' (Portalupi), is sometimes used after a negation in the principal sentence, see Hofmann-Szantyr 680. According to Th. Birt, Archiv 15, 1908, 85, *quo* is here *quoi, cui*, referring to *ego*. Heindorf, Mähly and Haines read *quod.*

249,5 *variis*: see at 10,11; 216,11 (marg. c). Note the alliteration.

Sententieis: 'pronouncements', 'reasons' (Haines).

Adprobaris: 'you profess to have proven'. It refers to 252,7ff.

249,5–6 *minus . . . esse*: Plato, Phaedr. 227 c λέγει γὰρ (Λυσίας) ὡς χαριστέον μὴ ἐρῶντι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐρῶντι. 237 b ὡς μὴ ἐρῶντι πρὸ τοῦ ἐρῶντος δέοι χαρίζεσθαι. I do not believe that Marcus borrowed this from Plaut. Mil. 621 *mihique amanti ire opitulatum*, as Priebe II 6 thinks.

Largiendum esse: 'must be indulged' (Haines), as e.g. Cic. Verr. II 3,194 *hoc . . . concedo et largior.* The passive *largiendum* since Cic. Off. 2,54.

249,6–7 *te amore depereo*: see at 89,14f. *Depereo . . . deterreor*: alliteration.

249,7 *dogmate*: see at 140,3.

Magis: see at 108,4.

249,8 *opportunus*, 'complying', as e.g. Sall. Iug. 46,4 *postquam (legatos) opportunos sibi cognovit.*

Usque: 'over and over again'.

249,9–10 *sensuum densitatem*: 'the close packing of ideas' (Haines). See at 215,12.

Inventionis argutiam: Buttmann's conjecture has been generally accepted; only Haines follows Mai: 'the inventive subtilities'. The singular *argutia* is also found in Gell. 3,1,6; 12,2,1; Apul. Met. 1,1,1; and in a few later writers. 27,12 Marcus has the plural. See at 10,10–12.

Aemulationis tuae felicitatem: 'your successful imitation', not 'the felicity of your championship of your cause' (Haines). This proves that Marcus' letter is the answer to Fronto's Erotikos; see at 250,8f.

249,10 *quicquam*: adverbial accusative, as e.g. Ter. Haut. 982 *neque me consilio quicquam adiuvas.* Sheppard and Haines read *quidem.*

249,11 *placentis . . . provocantis*: alliteration.

Atticos: Marcus does not mean the great Attic orators but contemporary ones dealing with similar subjects; cp. Marcus' judgement of Polemo 29,19 and see at 106,13 (marg. c). Mai and Portalupi erroneously assume that Plato, Lysias and Socrates are meant. Haines goes too far in his translation 'Atticists'.

Antevenisse in the sense of 'outstrip' (Haines) with dative Plaut. Cas. 217 and Pseud. 417; with accusative Sall. Iug. 4,7; 96,3; and a few later authors.

249,12 *nequeo quin*: see at 5,3; 44,6.

Denique: 'therefore', see at 10,6.

249,13 *victoris* = *victoriis*, see Proleg. XXXIV.

249,14 *vicimus*... *vicimus*: for this gemination see at 118,13f. The plural refers to Fronto as the writer of the letter and to Marcus as its subject.

249,14–16 *sub*... *murum* refers to 255,2f. Plato, Phaedr. 227 a πορεύομαι δὲ πρὸς περίπατον ἔξω τείχους... κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ποιοῦμαι τοὺς περιπάτους· φησὶ γὰρ ἀκοπωτέρους εἶναι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, where δρόμοι ('collonades') corresponds to *laquearia*. I do not believe that we should interpret with Sheppard, On Fronto 286f., 'it is really better disputare *sub laquearibus* (as I) *quam sub platanis* (as Socrates and Phaedrus), *intra pomerium* (as I) *quam extra murum*'. *Sub laquearibus* is 'indoors', *sub platanis* is 'outdoors', see at 142,9.

Pomerium: in everyday language it is identical with *murus*, see B. Reiner, Pomerium, Kleine Pauly (1971). But the tenor of Marcus' question is unclear: 'should we dispute inside or outside, with or without a sweetheart?' It may refer to the lost pages 251,2 or—more likely—to the preliminary letters of Fronto, see at 250,8f.

249,15 *delicieis*: 'sweetheart', not 'scorning delights' (Haines) or 'senza piaceri' (Portalupi). The same meaning 46,27.

249,16 *ipsa*... *habitanteve* is the reading by Hauler, Wien. Stud. 34, 1912, 255f. and in his unpublished notes. *Habitanteve* is rather uncertain: 'ci abita presso' (Portalupi), not 'sharing our home' (Haines). The ablative *Lai* is found only here, but cp. *Isi*, *Theti*, *Alcesti*, etc. in Neue-Wagener I^3 350. Lais is the prototype of the charming woman, and there is no sense in trying to establish whether she is the elder Lais of Corinth (so Hauler l.l.; Geyer, Lais, RE [1924]) or the younger of Hyccara (so A. Garzya, Maia 10, 1958, 337). See W. Pape, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, Braunschweig ^{3}1911 s.v.

249,17 *reteiaclari*, 'make a cast' (Haines), is a colloquialism found nowhere else. A derivation of *retiaculum*, 'cast-net', cp. Serv. Georg. 1,141 *genus retis dictum a fundendo, i.e. retiaculum, qui dicitur* βόλος; Plaut. Asin. 100 *venari*... *rete iaculo in medio mari*; Truc. 35 *quasi in piscinam rete qui iaculum parat.* For the metaphor cp. *expiscari*, 'fish out'.

Caveam with ablative instead of *ab* occurs frequently in Plautus, twice in Cicero, once in Petronius (82,4) and then here and in a few later writers. It must be colloquial.

Quod: 'the fact that'. Hauler l.l. and Pepe read *dogma* and regard *quod* as a relative.

249,17–18 *Lysia*... *Platone*: *Lysia* is an excellent conjecture by Sheppard, though editors since Haines (with the exception of Portalupi²) have not adopted it. This passage again proves that Marcus is replying not only to the Erotikos but also to Fronto's version of Lysias' speech and Plato's answer, see at 250,8f. The point is that as an *orator* Fronto stressed the importance of Lysias and rhetoric, and as a *magister* he cautioned against Plato and philosophy. *Orator huius saeculi* is, of course, Fronto, cp. 7,14M *orator egregius.*

249,18 *dogmam* of m¹ must be kept, as proposed by Haines; Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 371, and Nuovi contributi 352; and Portalupi². It is a colloquialism, as in Laber. Mim. 17 *nec Pythagoream dogmam doctus.* Banner, TLL s.v., regards *dogmam* as a 'librarii error', but see Neue-Wagener I^3

501f. and at 140,3. *Dogmam ferre*: 'to draw up a thesis'. O. Hey, TLL s.v. fero, thinks that *tulerit* is corrupt; however, cp. *sententiam ferre, iudicium ferre.*

250,1 *adiuravero* = *adiurabo*, see at 1,10f.

Si . . . fuit: 'if that Phaedrus of yours ever really existed' (Haines), an interesting remark because the historicity of the persons in Plato's dialogues was a problem already in antiquity: Diog. Laert. 3,35 πολλὰ γὰρ ὧν οὐκ εἴρηκε Σωκράτης γέγραφεν ὁ ἀνὴρ (Plato); Athen. XI 505f. ἀδύνατον δὲ καὶ Φαῖδρον οὐ μόνον κατὰ Σωκράτην εἶναι, ἢ πού γε καὶ ἐρώμενον. Phaedrus, son of Pythocles, appears also in the Protagoras and the Symposium, see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Plato I, Berlin 1920, 362. A different question is whether Lysias' speech in Plato really was a speech of Lysias himself. It is affirmed by Diog. Laert. 3,25 ἀντεῖπε (Plato) πρὸς τὸν λόγον Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου, ἐκθέμενος αὐτὸν κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ. Hermeias, Ad Phaedr. p. 77 Ast αὐτοῦ Λυσιοῦ ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐστι. See also Hermog. Id. 1,12 p. 297,14ff.; Dionys. Hal. Epist. Pomp. 10 and F. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit I, Leipzig ^{2}1887, 423ff.; Plöbst, Lysias, RE XIII (1927); H. Leisegang, Plato, RE XX (1950); Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius 51. The form *Phaeder* is colloquial: CIL III 5802; VI 8562; 9958; 20181; 24057. See W. Schulze, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung 33, 1895, 141; Neue-Wagener I^{3} 124.

250,2 *istos*: 'the past days', see at 11,18.

250,3 *dico? menses*: Mai read *duo menses*, and he and P. von Rohden, RE I 2280 (1894), and Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, concluded that Marcus is referring to Fronto's consulate (July–August 143, cp. 29,8f.). Marcus seems to be in Naples or Baiae.

Tui: see at 42,20.

250,4 *Diona* must be a false reading, and Hauler's *illo die* is no solution. Because of quin we might read *abesset.*

250,5 *tuo amore* = *amore tui*, see at 42,20.

250,6 *vale mihi*: see at 2,13.

Maxima . . . caelo: 'my greatest thing on earth'. Cp. Ovid. Her. 9,107 *maxime rerum*; Met. 13,508 *(ego) modo maxima rerum*; Claudian. Pan. Prob. 130 *dic, maxima rerum*; Ovid. Met. 8,49 and Her. 4,125 *pulcherrime rerum*; Hor. Sat. 1,9,4 *dulcissime rerum.* See at 27,22. *Sub caelo*, too, is a poetical expression.

Gloria as vocative: see at 21,10.

Sufficit with infinitive since Quintilian and Suetonius.

Habuisse: see at 75,3f.

250,7 *mater*: Domitia Lucilla.

250,8–9 When in 138 Pius decided to appoint Fronto as a mentor and teacher to Marcus (see at 93,12), the forty-five-year-old Fronto had to present himself to his eighteen-year-old pupil. As an orator he does so in Ad M. Caes. IV 3 p. 42, as a pedagogue here in his Erotikos, be it in jest. As in Plato's Phaedrus (see W. Jaeger, Paideia III, Oxford 1945, 182ff.), not Eroos is the point at issue but education, the education of a future emperor. 42,9 Marcus writes in 139 *Graece nescio quid ais te conpegisse, quod ut aeque pauca a te scripta placeat tibi.* The word *conpegisse* was apparently used by Fronto himself; it is not simply the same as 'to compose', as Simbeck,

TLL s.v., and Haines assume. *Compingere* means 'to compose something from various parts' and, in malam partem, even 'to patch together'. Cp. Cic. Tim. 27 *(animus) temperatione trium partium proportione compactus*; Verg. Ecl. 2,36 *disparibus septem compacta cicutis fistula*; Gell. 7,1,10 *ut tenuissimis minutisque ossiculis caput compingeret.* Arnobius uses it in malam partem: Nat. 1,57 *falsa de Christo*; 4,30 *fabulas*; 7,33 *obscaenas cautiones*; cp. Hieron. Epist. 121,6 *(Theophilus) quattuor evangelistarum in unum opus dicta conpingens*; Gennad. Vir. ill. 65 *partem libri furatam . . . compegit et in uno libro edidit.* This seems to prove that Marcus is referring to the three letters which Fronto states to have written 250,11f.: the Erotikos is an independent composition, whereas the letters διὰ Λυσίου and διὰ Πλάτωνος were a cento of Plato's Phaedrus with additions by Fronto himself, though much shorter than the original (250,15f.). Ph. Buttmann (in Niebuhr's edition 34 n. 5) and Fr. Jacobs (1816) wrongly assume that Fronto only sent Lysias' and then Socrates' speech to Marcus, just copies of the Paedrus. In one of these two letters Fronto may have mentioned Lais: Philostr. Epist. 44 p. 247 Kayser τὸ μὲν μὴ ἐρῶντι χαρίζεσθαι Λυσίου δόξα, τὸ δὲ ἐρῶντι δοκεῖ Πλάτωνι, σοὶ (Athenais) δὲ καὶ ἐρῶντι καὶ μὴ ἐρῶντι. τοῦτο δὲ σοφὸς μὲν οὐδείς, Λαὶς δέ, οἶμαι, ἐπῄνει. Lais' statement may have become a winged word. It seems that Fronto in his first letter conveyed Lysias' point of view and in his second Plato's; see at 68,11; 77,6. That Marcus' letter 7 also replies to these two letters is proved by 249,16 and 249,17f. The existence of the two letters has wrongly been doubted by L. Robin, Platon, Phèdre, Paris 1944, LX n. 3: he thinks that διὰ Λυσίου and διὰ Πλάτωνος bear upon the style of Lysias and Plato. Improbable, too, is the suggestion of Silana Fasce, L''Erotikos' 261ff., that διὰ Λυσίου refers to Lysias' letters (Suda, s.v. Λυσίας, says that Lysias wrote six ἐρωτικαὶ ἐπιστολαί).

Knowing Marcus' nature, Fronto chooses a philosophical argument, which actually is a sophistry, as well as Lysias' speech in Plato. But it met with success, as the preceding letter shows. This trivial work should not be taken seriously, contrary to Wordsworth, Conjectural Emendations 5f., who thinks that Fronto here tries to deter Marcus from unchaste love and that Marcus mended his ways thanks to Fronto's Erotikos (see Medit. 1,16–17). A similar opinion is found in Barigazzi, Favorino 161f. Besides, I do not see why A.S.L. Farquharson, The Meditations of the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus I, Oxford 1944, XI, supposes that this Erotikos was designed as a compliment to Marcus' mother Domitia Lucilla.

On the authenticity of Lysias' speech opinions differ. Apparently, Fronto regards it as genuine. In the imperial age the Phaedrus aroused more interest than before; 216,2 Fronto refers to it.

On Fronto's idea of friendship see at 4,2–5,14.

The Erotikos dates from 139, see at 249,1 and 253,8. Additional literature: Thompson, The Phaedrus 184ff.; H. Weinstock, De erotico Lysiaeo, diss., Münster 1912, 61ff.; Lasserre, Ἐρωτικοὶ Λόγοι, has overlooked Fronto.

250,10 Ὦ φίλε παῖ: the Phaedrus begins with Ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε.

250,11 διά: 'via', 'by hand of' (Haines), 'da parte di' (Portalupi). Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου: so, too, Plato, Phaedr. 227 a.

250,13 βαρβάρου: see at 21,12; 24,3.

Ἐγῷμαι: Sheppard adopts Mai's ἡγοῦμαι.

250,14 ἐφαπτόμενος: 'laying hold of' rather than 'trenching upon' (Haines) or 'appigliarmi' (Portalupi).

250,16 πλείω: 'più ampie' (Portalupi).

250,16–17 ἔστω etc. is a raillery: 'let it be a proof to you that I am after (or: maintain) reasonable thoughts because I am not at a loss for words'. This explanation was given by Fr. Jacobs (1816): 'ea quae posco rationi esse consentanea, quippe quae mihi (in illa infantia mea) tot verba suppeditent'. Less likely is that we should take ὅτι as 'the fact that': 'let the fact that I am not at a loss for words be a proof to you that' etc. This interpretation was proposed by the Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817, 225, who saw in ὅτι a Latinism for *quod*. He reconstructs: τὸ μὴ ἀπορεῖν με λόγων τεκμήριόν σοι ἔστω, ὅτι εὔλογα ἀξιῶ. Modern translators erroneously suppose that we here have ἀξιόω ὅτι ('that'): 'that I can claim in fair words (?) to be at no loss for words' (Haines); 'come (?) ragionevolmente (?), giudico che non so povero di parole' (Portalupi); 'quindi ragionevolmente (?) se non erro, potrai trarre argomento di persuaderti che io non sono povero di parole' (Della Corte). The raillery is: those who have many words at their disposal must have good arguments.

250,17 εἰ as in σκοπῶ εἰ, πυνθάνομαι εἰ, βουλεύομαι εἰ.

250,18 καινά: new arguments which were not in the two previous letters.

Τε . . . καὶ: in prose it usually is ἅμα τε A καὶ B or ἅμα A τε καὶ B. Fronto's A τε ἅμα καὶ B also 251,3.

250,19 πρό: 'before', not 'at the beginning of' (Haines).

Πάντως: 'by all means'. Mai and Haines keep πάντος.

Τί δή ποτέ γε: 'why in the world'.

250,20 μὴ . . . τυχεῖν: Plato, Phaedr. 231 a ἀξιῶ δὲ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἀτυχῆσαι ὧν δέομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐραστὴς ὤν σου τυγχάνω.

250,21 τουτογί = τουτί γε is very remarkable, because forms such as ταυταγί, αὑτηγί are typical of Aristophanes. Τουτογί also Aves 894 and Vesp. 781. In the next line we also have οὑτοσί, which Fronto does not use elsewhere.

Ὅπως γε was simultaneously proposed by Peyron and Jacobs. Ὅπως τε, kept by Mai and Haines, is not Attic and only occurs in epical and lyrical poetry. To von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Coniectanea, it proves that Fronto was not able to distinguish between Homeric and Attic Greek, but our MS confounds τε and γε also 251,26.

Πέφυκεν with infinitive: see at 33,20.

250,22 ὁ πάνυ ἐραστής: 'the real lover'.

250,23 αἴσθομαι: 'have an eye for'. According to Wilamowitz l.l., this is not an Attic form, but it does occur in later authors, even in good MSS of e.g. Thucyd. 5,26,4; Plato, Resp. X 608 a; Isocr. 3,5. So there is no need to read with Jacobs and Haines αἰσθάνομαι.

250,24 ὅπερ is explained by οὐκ . . . συνβαίνειν: 'that'.

251,1 μὴν is not correct: we should keep μέν, 'indeed'. Affirmative μέν is often used after verbs and nouns, so 33,11; 252,20; 253,2.

251,2 In the lost pages Fronto seems to have discussed different kinds of beauty and different kinds of love; cp. Plato, Phaedr. 249d ff.

251,3 ὄλισθον may be a slip of the pen or tongue.

251,4 ἔμοιγε ... πρόσει: 'but with me (as a teacher) you shall not come near to your ruin' (Haines); cp. Xen. Mem. 1,2,47 Σωκράτει μὲν οὐκέτι προσῇσαν. For the future see at 249,1. Cp. Phaedr. 234 c δεῖ δὲ βλάβην μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν, ὠφελίαν δὲ ἀμφοῖν γίγνεσθαι. 239 e τίνα ἡμῖν ὠφελίαν ἢ τίνα βλάβην περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ἡ τοῦ ἐρῶντος ὁμιλία τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεία παρέξεται;

251,7 οὕτω δὴ after a participle often leads to a conclusion, hence 'semplicemente' (Portalupi).

251,8 παρεσκεύασαν: aor. empiricus, see at 244,9.

251,9 λύτρα: 'quittance' (Haines). Cp. Phaedr. 231 a–b ὃν εἶχον πόνον προστιθέντες ἡγοῦνται πάλαι τὴν ἀξίαν ἀποδεδωκέναι χάριν τοῖς ἐρωμένοις.

251,10 μάντεων παῖδες = τὸ μαντικὸν γένος of Soph. Ant. 1055. Cp. Herod. 1,27,3 Λυδῶν παῖδες, the Lydians; Plato, Leg. 769 a οἱ ζωγράφων παῖδες; Lucian. Anach. 19 ῥητόρων παῖδες; Dips. 5 ἰατρῶν παῖδες; Imag. 9 πλαστῶν καὶ γραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν παῖδες; Cic. Phil. 13,23 *scurrae filius*. See also at 95,4.

251,11 μειλιχίους, 'propitiatory', not 'sin-offering' (Haines). As adjective of two endings also Plut. 2,370 d.

251,12 κτήσει: 'keeping' or 'possession' (Haines), rather than 'acquisto' (Portalupi).

251,14 τοῦτο, 'therefore', is an acc. adverbialis, as Soph. Oed. T. 1005 μάλιτα τοῦτ' ἀφικόμην ὅπως. Plato, Symp. 204 a αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστι χαλεπὸν ἀμαθία. See at 252,3. The plural ταῦτα is often used in this way, but Fronto has one specific point in mind. Della Corte and Haines do not translate it; Portalupi: 'poi'.

251,15 ἠρείσω: 'you set this on a firm basis' (Haines).

'Αυτὸν etc.: I now read: αὐτῷ πονηρῷ δ' ἐτεκτήνω, 'you framed and devised' (Haines), two synonyms.

251,16 Θετταλάς: Haines' conjecture Θετταλὰς ἐπῳδάς is tempting, but it may also be πόσεις or φιάλας, as in Eumath. Erot. 1,5. Thessalian φαρμακίδες were proverbial: Paroem. Graeci II 455 Θετταλικὴ γυνή· ἐπὶ τῶν φαρμακίδων. Cp. e.g. Aristoph. Nub. 749 γυναῖκα φαρμακίδ' εἰ πριάμενος Θετταλήν, where the scholiast and Suda s.v. Θετταλή note μέχρι νῦν γε φαρμακίδες παρ' ἡμῖν αἱ Θετταλαὶ καλοῦνται. Alciphr. Epist. 3,8,1 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Θετταλίδα τινὰ γραῦν ἢ 'Ακαρνανίδα φαρμακεύτριαν πεπορισμένος καταγοητεύει τοὺς ἀθλίους νεανίσκους. Hor. Carm. 1,27,21f. *quis te solvere Thessalis magus venenis ... poterit?* Epod. 5,45 *quae sidera excantata voce Thessala ... caelo deripit*; Iuv. 6,610 *haec Thessala vendit philtra*. See also Ovid. Ars 2,99; Lucan. 6,438; 6,762.

251,19–20 Fasce's suppletion is very unlikely because of αὐτῷ. Κατακολουθία is only found in Pap. Hermapol. 97,8 a.

Πλὴν εἰ μή: 'unless' (Haines).

'Οφθείς: 'manifestly' (Haines).

251,21 μὴ ἀγνόει with participle: 'do not ignore the fact that you are yourself wronged' (Haines).

251,21–22 ὑβριζόμειος ὕβριν: the acc. etymologicus ὕβριν ὑβρίζειν is found in Aesch. Suppl. 880; Eur. Bacch. 247; Iph. Aul. 961; Herc. F. 708. Demosth. 23,121 ὕβριν ὑβρισμένοι. See at 22,8.

251,22 τὸ ... διαλέγεσθαι refers to ταύτην, 'in this' (Haines), as e.g. Thucyd. 1,41,2 ἡ εὐεργεσία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι. Xen. Ag. 7,1 βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ... ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν. Preparative οὗτος usually has no article, so Niebuhr's conjecture is wrong.

251,23–24 φθάνεις ... ὑπομένων: 'and so, by anticipation and before being guilty of any such things (as your relations with him imply), you abide the imputation of being guilty' (Haines). For τοὔνομα τῆς πράξεως cp. Eur. Iph. Taur. 905 τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα τῆς σωτηρίας, 'the renowned word deliverance'.

251,24 γ'οὖν: all editors write here γ'οὖν, elsewhere γοῦν (23,11; 33,24), and it seems that γε stresses καλοῦσι and preponderates over οὖν: 'at any rate, most people call you then' etc., rather than 'consequently' (Haines), 'infatti' (Portalupi).

251,25 διαφυλάξω, 'to keep' with double accusative, as φυλάττειν in Antiph. 5,47 ὃν ἐχρῆν δεδεμένον αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν. Dion. Hal. Thuc. 34 ἀδέκαστον τὴν διάνοιαν φυλάσσουσι. Lucian. Dial. mar. 5,1 ἀκύμαντον ... φυλάττειν τὸ πέλαγος.

251,26 ὁ ἐρώμενος: the article is used in a predicate when the predicate refers to a person already mentioned.

Τό γε κατ' ἐμέ: 'at leat as far as I am concerned', as in Demosth. 18,247. Herod. 7,158,2 τό τε κατ' ὑμέας.

Τούτῳ: sc. τῷ ὀνόματι.

252,1 δικαίῳ τινί: 'a right'.

252,2 ἰταμώτερον: 'bold-faced', 'importunate' (Haines), 'sfrontatamente' (Portalupi).

Μυίας: the μυίης θάρσος (Hom. Il. XVII 570) became almost proverbial: Xen. Mem. 3,11,5 ἐάν τίς σοι φίλος ὥσπερ μυῖα πρόσπτηται. Cp. Lucian. Musc. enc. 10 of the fly: τὸ δῆγμα δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπιθυμία οὐκ ἀγριότητος, ἀλλ' ἐρωτός ἐστι σημεῖον. See also Aelian. An. nat. 7,19; Horapollo 1,51. On proverbial sayings about the fly see W. Richter, Fliege, Kleine Pauly (1967), where we should add Sen. Apocol. 10,3, and A. Hermann, Fliege, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1969). Plaut. Cass. 239 calls an obtrusive lover a *cana culex*.

252,3 ἀπωθούμεθα: 'drive away', 'brush off' (Haines).

Ἀναιδέστατα καὶ ἰταμώτατα: cp. Menand. Epitr. 351f. ἀναιδὴς ἦσθα καὶ ἰταμός τις.

Τοῦτο adverbial: 'so', 'therefore', as 251,14.

252,4 κυνηγέτας: the image of the lover as a hunter is, according to Face, a locus communis: Xen. Mem. 2,6,28; Plut. Amat. 757 e; Max. Tyr. 18,4 e; 19,2 i; Stoic. veter. Fragm. 717 and 719 (III 180f.).

252,5 θηρεύτας: 'fowlers' (Haines). Θηράω, θηρεύω, θηρευτής are used not only for hunters but also for fishermen and fowlers.

252,6 ἐκτρέπεται with accusative: 'avoid' (Haines), as e.g. Demosth. 19,225; Polyb. 35,4,14; Iulian. Or. 7, 223 d.

252,8 τοῦ παντός: 'totally' (Haines); cp. Plato Phaedr. 235 e Λυσίας τοῦ παντὸς ἡμάρτηκεν.

252,9 ἐς: 'with regard to', as e.g. Thucyd. 2,9,2 ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία. Isocr. 8,96 τοῖς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἁμαρτήμασιν. Only here and 254,2 Fronto has ἐς, elsewhere always εἰς.

252,11 τὴν ὄψιν: 'in appearance'; acc. respectus.

252,12 πιστεῦσαι and ἀπιστῆσαι: in his second edition Mai restores the reading of the MS, and Jacobs (1838) withdraws his former conjecture.

252,14 αἶσχος: 'ugliness'.

Ἀμορφία: 'deformity'.

Αὑτοῖς correctly Niebuhr, αὐτοῖς Mai and Haines.

252,15 θεραπεύοιντο: 'to court' (Haines).

κατ': 'out of', 'because of', as in κατ' ἔχθραν, κατὰ φιλίαν.

252,15–16 ἐρωτικὴν λύτταν καὶ ἀνάγκην: cp. Plato, Leg. 839 a λύττης δὲ ἐρωτικῆς καὶ μανίας . . . εἴργεσθαι. Resp. 458 d ἐρωτικαῖς ἀνάγκαις.

252,16 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτι = οὐδέν, as οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις = οὐδείς.

Καρπώσει with accusative: 'enjoy the profit of', 'reap advantage from' (Haines).

252,17 ἔρωτος: Niebuhr's ἐρῶντος is very tempting; it has been adopted by Haines.

252,18 δὲ ἢ has been adopted by Portalupi[2].

252,19–20 These two sentences are problematic. In my first edition I had ἀρετὴ ἤδη καὶ δόξα . . . κόσμος. Portalupi has this too and she regards κόσμος as predicate in both sentences: 'la virtù è anche fama e onore e decoroso vantaggio. Sono di ornamento al mare i marinai' etc. For the reading by Mai[1] see the crit. app. In his second edition he has no interpunction at all, and in his third edition he punctuates after κέρδος, and so does Naber, who justly notes: 'haec verba non intelligo'. Buttmann and Haines have κέρδος <καὶ> κόσμος θαλάττῃ μὲν ναῦται etc. But all this does not satisfy, so I now read with Cobet ἀρετῇ and a full stop after κέρδος sc. ἐστιν: 'it is virtue to which are due glory and honour and gain. An ornament to the sea, indeed, are sailors, not useless dolphins, and an ornament to beautiful boys are we'.

252,21 ἄλλως: 'in other ways' (Haines) is better than 'per altri motivi' (Portalupi).

Ὅτι μή: 'except'.

Τηνάλλως: 'disinterestedly' (Haines), not 'per altri motivi' (Portalupi).

252,22 οὐχί also occurs 246,7, but οὐχ οἱ (Heindorf and Jacobs) seems very likely. Haines prints οὐκ.

253,1–2 εὕροις . . . σκοπῶν: cp. Soph. Oed. T. 68 εὖ σκοπῶν ηὕρισκον ἴασιν.

253,2 μὲν: 'indeed', as 33,11 and 252,20; it is not the opposite to the following δὲ, see at 251,1.

253,4 ἐπὶ μακρότερον: 'the longer' (Haines).

Ἀρχῇ without article, as often in indications of time.

253,5 ἱερῶν καὶ θυσίας: at the beginning of a sacrifice a hymn was sung to praise the gods.

Τοὺς ἀρχομένους: 'those who are entering upon' (Haines).

253,6 εὐλογίας: probably a pun: with regard to the gods it means 'praise', 'lode' (Portalupi), but young people must think of their 'good name' (Haines).

253,8 ἐξόν may be an acc. absolutus: 'since it is possible'. Fasce reads ἐραστὰς ἐτῶν εἴ<κοσι καὶ> πέντε, but her suppletion is not only too long but would also imply that the Erotikos was written when Marcus was twenty-five years old, i.e. in 146, which is out of the question, see at 249,1 (δέκα καὶ πέντε would point to 136, which is too early).

253,12 φορημάτων: 'adornments' (Haines) or 'abiti' (Portalupi).

253,13 ἀλαζεύονταί τε καὶ ἐπιδείκνυνται: 'They are guilty of affectation (rather: bragging) and display' (Haines).

Ὡς εἰπεῖν instead of ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν also in Thucydides, Plato and Xenophon.

Ἐξορχοῦνται: 'profanano l'amore' (Portalupi), 'they vulgarize the mysteries of love' (Haines). Ἐξορχέομαι is 'to betray, to disgrace what is sacred': Lucian. Salt. 15 τελετὴν οὐδὲ μίαν ἀρχαίαν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως . . . τοὺς ἐξαγορεύοντας τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχεῖσθαι λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοί. Pisc. 33 τινὰ καὶ τῶν μεμυημένων ἰδὼν ἐξαγορεύοντα τοῖν θεοῖν τἀπόρρητα καὶ ἐξορχούμενον. And so we have τὰ μυστήρια ἐξορχεῖσθαι Alciphr. 3,72,1; Themist. Or. 26; Achill. Tat. 4,8; Anonym. Oxyr. 411,25; cp. Lucian. Amor. 24. With other accusatives: Plut. Artax. 22,2 τὸν Λεωνίδαν. Moral. 867 B τὴν ἀληθείαν. 1127 B πολιτείαν. Herodian. 5,5,4 τὴν ἱερωσύνην.

253,14–15 συγγράφει . . . συγγράμματα: a similar etymological accusative Papyr. Hallensis I 258 συγγράφω συγγραφήν. IG I^2 76,3 τάδε οἱ συγγραφῆς ξυνέγραψαν. See at 22,8. It is, of course, a hypothetical case.

253,16 ἀκόλαστος: 'licentious' (Haines).

253,17 οἴστρου: 'a gadfly', metonymically 'insane passion', 'the outcome of stinging lust' (Haines). Later authors speak of οἰστρομανία.

Θηρῶν: 'wild animals', as opposed to βοσκήματα, 'fed cattle' (Haines). With Naber, Haines reads θηρίων, but θήρ is also used in Attic prose. Aristot. Magn. moral. 2,7,3 has the opposition καὶ ἐν θηρίῳ καὶ ἐν βοσκήματι, and so Strabo 16,4,16, speaking of the giraffe οὐδὲ θήριον ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ βόσκημα μᾶλλον· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἀγριότητα ἐκφαίνει.

253,19 σαυτόν is not correct, though all editors since Mai[2] have adopted Jacobs' conjecture. Niebuhr and Leopardi (1817) correctly write αὑτόν; tragic poets, Plato, Attic orators and Xenophon often use ἑαυτοῦ (αὑτοῦ) for σεαυτοῦ (σαυτοῦ) and ἐμαυτοῦ. Modern editors have often overlooked this, e.g. Plato, Laches 200 b σὺ . . . μοι δοκεῖς . . . οὐδὲ πρὸς σαυτὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους. It should be αὑτὸν.

253,20–22 ἄν is often repeated, as e.g. Plato, Apol. 31 a.

Περιμεῖναι must be περιμείνας.

253,21 ἐρημίαν: 'privacy' (Haines).

Θηρίου δίκην: 'like an animal'.

253,22 ἴοιτο: Mai and Haines supposed that ἴοιτο could be an optative of εἶμι, but that is no longer supported, and εὐθύ σε is impossible. It is the optative of ἵεμαι, 'to go at it', 'si avvicinerebbe' (Portalupi). The usual form is ἱεῖτο (see Wilamowitz's conjecture), but cp. τιθοῖτο, and ἀφίοιεν Xen. Hell. 6,4,3.

βαίνειν is synonymous with ἵεσθαι: 'to go for it' (Haines).

254,2 ἐς: see at 252,9.
Χρείαν was conjectured simultaneously by Niebuhr and Jacobs; so was ἀφῖκται τὰ by Bekker and Jacobs.
254,3 πάνυ καὶ πάντῃ: an alliteration not found anywhere else.
254,4 πεφύκαμεν: see at 33,20.
254,5 ἀτιμοτέρας μοίρας τετυχηκότων: 'things which coincide with a less honourable lot' or 'formed to fulfil a less comely part' (Haines).
254,6 ἅπτεται: 'affects', 'they are the subject of envy' (Haines).
254,7 ὄψων: 'viands' (Haines), often in combination with οἶνος.
254,7–8 ἐν ... καθίσταται: 'in the number and category of such is beauty reckoned' (Haines). It is the passive of ἐν μέρει τινὸς (κατα)τιθέναι, 'to put in the category of' (Plato, Resp. 348 e). Demosth. 23,17 and Plut. Mar. 29,3 have εἰς μέρος (μερίδα) τινὸς (κατα)τιθέναι.
254,9 μέθη: 'strong drinks' (Haines).
254,13 μητρός: Domitia Lucilla.
Ἀναθρεψαμένων: perhaps his nutrices (see Vita Marci 2,1), but also his grandfather P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso (see 36,20) and his stepgrandfather L. Catilius Severus (see Birley, Mark Aurel 52). Marcus can hardly have remembered his father Annius Verus, who died when he was about three years old.
254,14 μὴ ἀνήκοον εἶναι: litotes: 'you have heard' (Haines).
Ἀνθῶν: the sunflower, ἡλιοτρόπιον. Varro, R.R. 1,46 *quos (flores) vocant heliotropia ab eo, quod ad solis ortum mane spectant et eius iter ita sequuntur ad occasum, ut ad eum semper spectent*; Plin. Nat. 2,109 *herbam unam, quae vocatur heliotropium, abeuntem solem intueri semper omnibusque horis cum eo verti*; see also 18,52 and 22,57. Ovid. Met. 4,264ff. on Clytie: *tantum spectabat euntis ora dei* (sc. *Apollinis*) *vultusque suos flectebat ad illum ... illa suum, quamvis radice tenetur, vertitur ad solem mutataque servat amorem.* Haines thinks that it concerns marigold. See E. von Erhardt-Siebold, The Heliotrope Tradition, Osiris 3, 1937, 22ff.
254,15 ἀνατέλλοντας sc. τοῦ ἡλίου.
254,15–16 With Mai, we should transpose περιτρεπόμενον and καταστρεφόμενον: καταστρέφω, 'to turn down', 'to turn to an end', matches δύνοντος, and περιτρέπω, 'to turn round', fits in with πορευομένου. Modern editors keep the reading of the MS, but we can hardly translate 'following his motions as he runs his course, and when he sets, turning itself about' (Haines). Bekker's conjecture has also been proposed by Cobet (1873).
254,16 οὐδέν ... οὐδέ: Naber's οὐδέν γε πλέον has been adopted by Thompson, Ellis and all modern editors, and so has Thompson's ἀπολαύει, which has also been proposed by Madvig, Cobet and Wilamowitz: 'but it takes no advantage thereby' (Haines).
Τοῦ ἡλίου must be connected to ἀπολαύει, not to τὸν ἔρωτα, as Haines thinks.
254,17 πειρᾶται with double genitive: 'it finds the sun the kinder'. Cp. Plut. Aem. Paul. 8,2 πειρώμενοι μετρίου καὶ κοινωφελοῦς. Plut. Arat. 43,2 πειρώμενος ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος.
255,2 εἰ ἔξω τείχους is a certain conjecture after (ἐπιδ)είξω. Plato, Phaedr. 227 a πορεύομαι δὲ πρὸς περίπατον ἔξω τείχους. 229 a κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισὸν ἴωμεν. 230 d οὔτ' ἔξω τείχους ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς ... ἐξιέναι. Like Plato, Fronto

writes Ἰλισός with one sigma. Needless to say, Fronto is not in Athens, as Wordsworth (1868) thought.

255,4–5 These lines may have been taken from a letter which accompanied Fronto's Erotikos.

255,6 *Felicter* is not a clerical error but a vulgarism often found in inscriptions. See Proleg. LIX and Amman, TLL s.v.

256,1–3 See Proleg. LXXIXf. Under Pius, Carthage was severly damaged by fire. Vita Pii 9,1–2 mentions the earthquake *quo Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt*, adding: *et Narbonensis civitas et Antiochense oppidum et Carthaginiense forum arsit*. Pausan. 8,43,4 relates that several cities were damaged by an earthquake and rebuilt by Pius, saying that other writers have described his ἔργων κατασκευὰς ἔν τε τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ περὶ Καρχηδόνα. The earthquake of Rhodus took place in 142 or 143 and is mentioned by Fronto 257,9. So the terminus post quem of this speech is 143. R. Cagnat, Rev. Arch. 10, 1887, 171; P. Romanelli, Storia della provincia romana dell'Africa 1959, 362; and Champlin, Fronto 86ff., draw attention to a medallion of 153 with the inscription *Aurelius Caesar Augustus Pii filius*. It represents the Dea Caelestis and a round temple. The Dea Caelestis is the Carthaginian Tinnit (Tennet, Tanit). For the rebuilding of a temple cp. 257,8 *delubris* and perhaps 257,6 (see crit. app.). That Marcus superintended the work is confirmed by Aurel. Vict. Caes. 16,12 *multaeque urbes conditae, deductae, repositae ornataeque atque inprimis Poenorum Carthago, quam ignis foede consumpserat*. So we may assume that the date of the medallion is also the date of Fronto's speech, as was supposed by H. Meyer, Orat. Rom. Fragm.; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Haines; and L. Demullier, Hermeneus 56, 1984, 194. Champlin prefers to remain on the safe side, dating it in the late 140s or early 150s. As to the text, the reader will notice that the readings by Bischoff differ considerably from the unedited readings by Hauler. The speech begins with a synopsis of the relations between Rome and Charthage.

256,5 *aeru*: there is not enough space to read with Champlin *aeru<mnae>*.

256,12 *lucula*: according to Champlin, perhaps the feminine of an adjective; however, there is no adjective ending in *-luculus*.

256,12–13 *reginae* . . . *Antonius* is only an incidental remark, as 152,6; 206,4; 230,6.

256,14 *domo interrogan*: Champlin, Fronto 166 n. 54: perhaps trials in camera, but then we should read *domi* with Hauler.

257,4 *patricium insidiatoris nom*: Champlin, Fronto 90, supposes—erroneously, I think—that it refers to Fronto's antipathy for the patricians (see at 111,17; 180,9; 188,14).

257,8 *tempore*: see at 240,19.

257,9 *Rhodum condidisti*: see at 256,1–3 and Champlin, Fronto 166 n. 50. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Rhodos, RE Suppl. V (1931), dates the earthquake of Rhodus to 155.

Condere is sometimes used for 'rebuilding'.

257,10 *quaeso*: see at 43,17.

257,11 *salus et*: the second hand seems to correct it to *salus stabilis et*.

257,12 *dignitas, securitas*: after Hadrian's reign, Romans of rank had enough reasons to be grateful to Pius, see at 164,21.

257,13 *diuturnius*: the comparative of the adverb occurs here for the first time.

Italiae civitates is a guess. Mai's *te salvom sistant* does not fit in with Hauler's reading.

258,3 *decus et ornamentum*: the same metonymy Cic. Caecin. 28; Flacc. 75. Cp. *decus* 5,17; 27,21M; 31,23 *vale, Caesar, decus patriae et Romani nominis*. Avien. Ora 49 *decus magnum loquendi*; Firm. Math. 2 pr. 2 and Priscian. Inst. VI 238,6 *eloquentiae decus*; Prud. C. Symm. 1,633 *Romani decus eloquii*; Val. Max. 5,9,2 *ornamentum Romanae eloquentiae*. See at 27,21.

258,4 *fortunae subsidium*: cp. Liv. 22,32,6 *quod auri sibi... ad subsidium fortunae... relictum foret*.

259,1 Though we have many testimonies on Fronto, his popularity as a writer has been minimal. His letters were not edited until the fourth century (see Proleg. LIXf.) and the only known quotations from them are those by Charisius (Testim. 21ff.). The speeches Fronto held as a lawyer and as a panegyrist (see 277) have left more traces than his letters. Already in the second century, Minucius Felix protested against a speech in which Fronto attacked the Christians, and of another speech Fronto himself says (113,11) that it *iam pervaserat in manus plurium quam ut abolere possem* (which does not necessarily mean that it was available in bookshops). Yet these speeches too were sparse; we only have the Gratiarum actio pro Carthaginiensibus and some testimonies since 297, and even these testimonies do not always prove that their authors ever saw the original text. See the list of speeches 277 and at 259,8 and 269,14. However, until the middle of the third century there were *Frontoniani* who read and imitated them, see at 272,8ff.

259,3 The inscription of Calama (Guelma) in Numidia presents Fronto's cursus up to his praetorship. Even if we assume that he became praetor at the advanced age of forty, this inscription cannot be later than 135 (the standard age to become praetor was thirty). So we are faced with a gap in Fronto's career between at least 135 and 143 when he became consul. We know for certain that—after his praetorship—Fronto did not go to a province as legatus, see 3,22f. Champlin, Fronto 80, supported by Astarita, Orpheus 4, 1983, 452, compares the careers of non-military men like the younger Pliny and the jurist Salvius Iulianus and comes to the conclusion that Fronto may have been praefectus aerarii militaris and praefectus aerarii Saturni before he became consul. Ansonius informs us, however, that Fronto never was a praefectus, either before or after his consulship, see at 269,16, and he rightfully wonders how that could be. The answer is given at 36,1.

Calama became municipium under Trajan, see J.W. Kubitschek, Imperium Romanum tributim descriptum, Vindobonae 1889, 140, and St. Gsell, Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie I, Paris 1922, 20. Gsell supposes that Fronto was Calama's first patronus. But in the year of Trajan's death, 117, Fronto was only about twenty-two years old, at which age he could not be praetor unless we believe that Calama waited twenty years to honour him for

his intercession. According to Schanz III 98, Fronto refused the patronage of Cirta (see at 199,5) because he was already patron of Calama.

259,5 *Titi*: this is the only passage where the first name of Fronto's father is mentioned. See at 192,8. In an inscription of 116–117 of Leptis Magna (Publ. Brit. School Rome 10, 1955, 139) a *pontifex*... *us Fronto* is mentioned, but he cannot be Fronto's father because this father lived in Rome (see at 135,3f.), if he was still alive. Nor is it probable that he is our Fronto, as Champlin, Chronology 139 n. 30, suggests: in his twenties, Fronto was also in Rome, see at 135,3f.

Quirina is the tribus of Cirta.

The *tresviri capitales* were the lowest in rank of the vigintiviri. Their task was to maintain law and order under the praetor urbanus. Usually they were homines novi without a chance of getting higher up, see at 3,23; 36,1; 269,16; and Alföldy, Consuls 292, Konsulat 13f., 35f.; W. Eck, Beförderungskriterien, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 1, Berlin/New York 1974, 173ff.

Quaestori: the governor of Sicily had two quaestores, one in Syracuse and one in Lilybaeum. Again, the quaestores in senatorial provinces were lower in rank than the other quaestores.

259,8 The Octavius of Minucius Felix presents one of the most disputed problems of Latin literature: was it written before or after Tertullian's Ad nationes and Apologeticum? Was Fronto's speech an oratio contra Christianos? To what extent did Minucius react upon that speech? Did it have any consequences for the persecution of the Christians? Who was Caecilius Natalis? In what follows, I regard Octavius and Caecilius as real persons: this, too, has been doubted. As to the date of the Octavius, linguistic and stylistic examinations have yielded no result. As an apology it is unique of its kind: dependence on or affinity with Greek apologists cannot be proved. Fronto's speech is the last historical fact mentioned by Minucius, for the Isis cult in Oct. 21,3 does not point to the reign of Commodus, who patronized this cult (Vita Comm. 9,4f.), as J. Stiglmayr, Zur Priorität des Octavius des Minucius Felix gegenüber den Apologeticus Tertullians, Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol. 37, 1913, 221ff., thought: S. Rossi, L'Octavius fu scritto prima del 161, Giorn. ital. di filol. 12, 1959, 289ff., has justly raised objections to such a conclusion. The Isis cult was introduced in Rome at the latest under Augustus: Cass. Dio 53,2,4; Tac. Ann. 2,85,5; Ioseph. Ant. 18,3,4; Suet. Otho 12; Dom. 1.

There are no real arguments for a late date of the Octavius, but those for an early date are very controversial, with the result that the few good arguments for an early date have been rejected with the bad ones. I believe that the Octavius was written before 161, but the following arguments that have been put forward to support this thesis do not prove it. First there is Oct. 7,4 *ut Trasimenus Romanorum sanguine et maior ESSET et decolor, sprevit auguria Flaminius, et, ut Parthos signa REPETAMUS, dirarum inprecationes Crassus et meruit et inrisit.* We should note the different tenses of the verbs *esset* and *repetamus*, which cannot be explained away by the assumption that Minucius

wrote *repetamus* instead of *repeteremus* because *repetamus* presents a better clausula, as does Di Capua, Boll. di letter. crit. relig. 1915, 247 note. For several authors this passage proves that Minucius here refers to the first years of the Parthian War under Marcus (162–163), when the Roman armies were defeated: F.X. Reck, Minucius Felix und Tertullian, Theol. Quartalschr. 68, 1886, 112; E. Baehrens in his edition of Minucius, Lipsiae 1886, V; H. Boenig, M. Minucius Felix, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur, Progr. Königsberg 1897; Schanz, Geschichte d. röm. Lit. III^3 267; A.G. Amatucci, Storia della letteratura latina cristiana, Bari 1929, 46 n. 5 (Torino ^{2}1952, 41). Johanna Schmid, Minucius Felix oder Tertullian, diss. München, Leipzig 1932, 86f., supposes that by *ut Parthos signa repetamus* not Marcus' Parthian War is meant but the difficulties with the Parthians in 139–144, and she refers to F. Schenkl, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Antoninus Pius, Hermes 65, 1930, 177ff., but in those years signs were not given back, and her idea was rejected by E. Paratore, La questione Tertulliano—Minucio, Richerche relig. 18, 1947, 139 n. 7; Frassinetti, L'orazione 238ff.; and B. Axelson, Das Prioritätsproblem Tertullian—Minucius Felix, Lund 1941, 22. According to Axelson, Minucius 7,4 quotes two sources: Cic. Div. 1,29 *M. Crasso quid acciderit, videmus, dirarum obnuntiatione neglecta* and, especially, Verg. Aen. 7,606, where it is said that the temple of Ianus is opened whenever the Romans get ready (*parant*) for a war. The events enumerated here by Vergil had, for the larger part, not yet taken place when he wrote book VII of the Aeneis, among them *Parthosque reposcere signa.* His prophecy was fulfilled only in 20 BC, when Augustus managed to get back from Phraates IV the signs Crassus (and Antonius) had lost. This was an important event in Roman history: coins were struck with *signis Parthicis receptis* and historians did not cease celebrating it: Monum. Ancyr. 29; Strabo 6,4; Iustin. Epit. 42,5,11; Suet. Aug. 21; Suet. Tib. 9; Cass. Dio 53,33,2; 54,8,1. The battle at the Trasumenian Lake was after all only a minor incident, for many years the Parthians were a constant threat, and what Minucius means is: that we bring back our signs time and again, for Crassus' defeat had lasting consequences or, to put it in Fronto's words, *soli hominum Parthi adversus populum Romanum hostile nomen haud umquam contemnendum gesserunt* (206,2). *Parthos reposcere signa* was a reflection that persisted forever: it became a winged word. As we shall see, the Octavius was most probably not written during the diarchy of Marcus and Verus, 161–169, so it is unlikely that this passage refers to Verus' campaign. Moreover, we never hear anything about signs being given back after Verus' victory.

A similar case is Oct. 18,6 *quando umquam regni societas aut cum fide coepit aut sine cruore discessit?* (quoted verbatim by Cypr. Idol. 8). To some scholars this proves that the Octavius was written before 161: P. Schwenke, Über die Zeit des Minucius Felix, Jahrb. f. prot. Theol. 9, 1883, 289; E. Baehrens in his edition V; M. Schanz, Die Abfassungszeit 133; H.J. Bayliss, Minucius Felix and His Place among the Early Fathers of the Latin Church, London 1928, 235; Rossi l.l. (A. Gudeman, Geschichte der altchristlichen

schen Literatur, Berlin/Leipzig 1925, 13, concludes from this passage that the Octavius was written before Verus' death in 169). It is true that a remark like that could not have been made during the harmonious diarchy of Marcus and Verus, but it could also be said of the years 180–196 (under the monarchy of Commodus and Septimius Severus), the years 212–217 (Caracalla), 222–235 (Severus Alexander) and 238–249 (Gordianus III and Philippus Arabs); so we cannot say with Daniel-Rops, L'Église des Apôtres et des Martyrs, Paris 1951, 336, that Minucius wrote it 'sans doute' between 175 and 220. Most scholars have seen that it is a locus communis, from which we had better not draw any chronological conclusions: Boenig o.c. 6; H, Dessau, Minucius Felix und Caecilius Natalis, Hermes 40, 1905, 376f.; O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur I[2], Freiburg i. Br. 1913, 339; G. Meyer, Philol. 82, 1926, 66ff.; G. de Sanctis, Riv. di filol. e di istr. class. 1927, 233ff.; J.J. de Jong, Apologetiek en Christendom in den Octavius van Minucius Felix, diss., Leiden, Maastricht 1935, 5f.; Adriana della Casa, Le due date dell'Octavius, Maia 14, 1962, 26ff.; H. von Geisau, M. Minucius Felix, RE Suppl. XI (1968). Already in 1904 C. Weyman (Nachträge zu Otto 286) saw that it is a winged word: Ennius ap. Cic. Off. 1,6,26 *nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est* (= Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. regnum 1) and Ovid. Ars 3,564 *non bene cum sociis regna Venusque manent* (= Otto s.v. regnum 2), and it is almost a proverb in Sen. Thyest. 444 *non capit regnum duos* (= Nachträge zu Otto 244) and Lucan. 1,111 *non cepit fortuna duos.* Oct. 18,10 Octavius says that we should not call god *dominus*, whereas Tert. Apol. 34,1 states of *dominus: hoc enim dei est cognomen*; he and all Christian authors after him use *dominus* of god. To Gudeman l.l. this is proof that Minucius wrote before Tertullian.

A more conclusive argument for the priority of Minucius is perhaps found in Oct. 23,9, where it is stated that Saturnus was a human being: *scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historia, et Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur.* Lactantius, who indicates Inst. 5,1,21 that Minucius wrote before Tertullian, follows Inst. 1,1,3 Minucius: *Graeci Diodorus et Thallus, Latini Nepos et Cassius et Varro*, but Tert. Apol. 10,7 has a different version: *Diodorus Graecus, Thallus, Cassius Severus, Cornelius Nepos*, and Nat. 2,12,26 *legimus apud Cassium Severum, apud Cornelios Nepotem et Tacitum, apud Graecos quoque Diodorum.* It seems that in Apol. 10,7 Tertullian is not sure of his ground: why does he write *Diodorus Graecus*? Thallus, too, was a Greek. In Nat. 2,12,26 he adds *Tacitus*, but, above all, what are we supposed to do with *Cassius Severus*? We know that Tertullian had not read all the authors he quotes, and he may have added *Severus* because that was the only Cassius he knew. But the writers he and Minucius and Lactantius quote are historians, whereas Cassius Severus was an orator under Tiberius. Therefore modern scholars think that Tertullian's source was Minucius, that he added Severus to Cassius, but that actually Cassius Hemina is meant, who wrote Annales or Historiae; so e.g. J. Geffcken, Zwei griechische Apologeten, Leipzig 1909, 278; Stiglmayr l.l.; Gudeman l.l. However, we must admit that this argument for a priority of Minucius is not quite solid: if Minucius wrote after Tertullian, he may have corrected his source, Apol. 10,7. See Schanz, I[4] 94; II[4] 345.

The one and only valid argument for Minucius' priority is Oct. 9,6 *et de convivio notum est: passim omnes loquuntur; id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio.* The present tenses *loquuntur* and *testatur* prove that the date of Minucius' Octavius must be close to that of Fronto's speech. From the remark on diarchy in Oct. 18,6 it seems probable that the Octavius was not written in 161–169, and if we combine Oct. 9,6 and 18,6 we must come to the conclusion that it was written before 161. There is more, however: how long after Fronto's death (c. 167, see at 159,12–14) could Minucius still assume that his readers would understand who *Cirtensis noster* was? Was Fronto so famous that two or three generations after his death he could still be called *Cirtensis noster*? An affirmative answer is given by those who are in favour of a late date of the Octavius: M.L. Massebieau, L'Apologétique de Tertullien et l'Octavius de Minucius Felix, Rev. de l'hist. d. religions 15, 1887, 344; Ed. Wölfflin, Minutius Felix, Archiv 7, 1892, 482; Boenig o.c.; Dessau, Minucius Felix 373ff.; de Jonge o.c. 35f.; de Labriolle, La réaction 90ff.; Adriana della Casa l.l.; von Geisau, Minucius Felix, and Kleine Pauly (1969). Von Geisau dates the Octavius to the first half of the third century, but he sees the difficulty: we must accept that Minucius calls Fronto *Cirtensis noster* more than half a century after Fronto's speech. For J. Beaujeu in his Minucius edition of 1964, LXXIV and 88f., it was not Fronto's lasting fame that made it possible to speak of *Cirtensis noster* but the (alleged) fact that his speech was in public circulation in the third century. G.W. Clarke, Four passages in Minucius Felix, Kyriakon, Festschr. J. Quasten I, München 1970, 502ff., adds that Fronto's descendants were well known until the end of the third century. Adelaide Douglas Simpson, M. Minucius Felix, Octavius, New York 1938, 11, dates the Octavius before Tertullian but states that *Cirtensis noster* does not prove it. Were Fronto and his works as well known as suggested? He was a man of letters, a lawyer, a remarkable personality and a teacher of emperors, not an important writer, see at 259,1. If we consider the Testimonies 5–19, we find nothing of his speeches until 297 and his letters are not quoted until Charisius in the fourth century. Gellius, in his Attic Nights, never mentions a speech of Fronto, and the so-called oration against the Christians has left no traces at all. So we must take the first sentence of Oct. 9,6 literally and date the Octavius before 161. Many historians have dated it in Fronto's time; that it must be dated before 161 is held e.g. by E. Baehrens l.l.; Schanz, Die Abfassungszeit 114f.; Johanna Schmid l.l. 84; E. Paratore, Tertulliano e Minucio, Richerche relig. 1947, 139 n. 7; R. Helm, Zwei Probleme der Kritik, Wissenschaftl. Zeitschr. Univ. Rostock, Gesellschafts. u. Wissensch. II 2, 1952–53, 88ff. O. Bardenhewer, Patrologie, Freiburg i. Br. [3]1910, 57, is too cautious: Fronto was either still alive when Minucius wrote his Octavius or he was so famous that in 180–192 he could still be called *Cirtensis noster* (Bardenhewer wrongly dates Fronto's death after 175). Minucius, Octavius and probably Caecilius Natalis were lawyers like Fronto, and only if they were his contenmporaries *Cirtensis noster* makes sense. For the meaning of *(Cirtensis) noster* see below. One more indication for an early date of the Octavius is the detailed account of infanticide and sexual promiscuity in

the speech of Caecilius 9,5–7: such accusations seem to belong to the second rather than the third century, as we shall see at 259,9 on the *convivium*.

Was it a speech against the Christians? It is remarkable how many scholars—especially in recent publications, and often without further thought—assume that we are dealing with an oratio contra Christianos. Yet Oct. 31,2 clearly says that it was not: *Fronto non ut adfirmator testimonium fecit, sed convicium ut orator adspersit. Convicium* is not a 'speech' but 'abusive language', a 'malicious remark'. And *aspergere* means 'to add something to something else which is quite different' and, in connection with a speech, 'to add something pithy', 'to season'. Cp. Cic. Orat. 87 *huic generi orationis aspergentur etiam sales*; De orat. 2,241 *quod (genus orationis) tamen est mendaciunculis aspergendum*; Balb. 56 *illa in omni parte orationis ... aspergi videbatis*; Gell. 17,21,1 *ut Noctes ... historiae flosculis leviter iniectis aspergerentur.* Only if Fronto had delivered a speech against the Christians could we say *ut adfirmator testimonium fecit.* Champlin, Fronto 64: 'The remark need be no more than an insulting illustration or comparison.' The thesis that Fronto wrote an oratio contra Christianos has met with general approval: all of Fronto's editors, including myself in 1954, have accepted it (only Naber XXXII queries it). Further e.g. Eckstein, Fronto; Klebs, M. Cornelius Fronto; Bardenhewer, Geschichte I[2] 172; Teuffel 3,74; S. Colombo, Osservazioni sulla composizione letteraria e sulle fonti dell'Octavius di Minucio Felice, Didaskal. 3, 1914, 89; Schanz III[3] 96; Gudeman, Geschichte d. altchr. lat. Lit. 10; G. Rauschen-B. Altaner, Patrologie, Freiburg i. Br. 1931, 68; K. Bihlmeyer, Kirchengeschichte I, Paderborn 1936, 74; Frassinetti, L'orazione 238f.; Amatucci o.c. 38 n.a.; R. Marache, Lustrum 10, 1965, 222; R. Freudenberger, Der Vorwurf ritueller Verbrechen gegen die Christen im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert, Theol. Zeitschr. 23, 1967, 97ff.; Cova, I principia 15, and Problematica 472; Clarke l.l.; Portalupi in her editions of Fronto; Cristofori, L'oratio 130ff.; Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 215ff. Others leave it undecided whether it was a declamation against the Christians or an episode in a speech on behalf of a client: Haines in his edition I, XXVI; G. Quispel in his edition of Minutius, Leiden 1949, 20 n. 6. For the different views on Fronto's speech see also H. Doulcet, Essai sur les rapports de l'Église chrétienne avec l'état romain, Paris, 1882, 80. Only a minority saw that it was not an oratio contra Christianos: Boissier, Les polémiques 72, and La fin du paganisme I, Paris 1891, 311ff.; Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 271 n. 4; J. Dartigue-Peyrou, Marc-Aurèle dans ses rapports avec le christianisme, thèse, Paris 1897, 84f.; Brock, Studies 92f.; H. Lietzmann, Geschichte der alten Kirche 2, Berlin/Leipzig 1936, 72; von Geisau, M. Minucius Felix, RE Suppl. XI (1968); T.D. Barnes, Tertullian, a Historical and Literary Study, Oxford 1971, 149 and 161 n. 2; P.A. Brunt, Marcus Aurelius and the Christians, in L. Deroux, Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History I, Bruxelles 1979, 503.

Fronto's speech has left no traces. Westermann, Geschichte II 313 n. 13; Eckstein l.l.; Brzoska l.l.; Haines, edition II 284 n. 1; and Cristofori o.c. 130 have suggested that Isidorus (Testim. 61) quotes from it, a suggestion carrying no conviction at all. Freudenberger o.c. 104 thinks that it was

Fronto who invented the terms 'Thyestean banquets' and 'Oedipodean intercourse' (in Haines translation), see below at 259,9 *convivio*; Champlin, Fronto 64ff., adopts this idea, referring to Testim. 58, where Apollinaris Sidonius says that Fronto's speech in Pelopem was his highest achievement in oratory. For Champlin the name Pelops, son of Thyestes, is enough in itself to prove that it was in this speech that Fronto made his denigratory remarks on the Christians. But Oct. 9,5–7 does not use the words 'Thyestean banquets' or 'Oedipodean intercourse', and—as we shall see below—Oct. 9,5 is not part of Caecilius' quotation from Fronto.

This leads us to the question when and where Fronto delivered his speech. If we are right in assuming that it was not a speech against the Christians but a speech against which Minucius and Octavius, his colleagues at the bar, reacted, we may as well assume that Fronto delivered his speech in court under Pius, if not already under Hadrian. This is held by Boissier o.c., who assumes that Fronto's opponent was a Christian, by Barnes o.c. 149 and by Champlin. Particularly those who believe in an oratio contra Christianos assume that Fronto held his speech in the senate: Schanz III[3] 89; J.P. Waltzing, Le crime rituel reproché aux chrétiens du IIe siècle, Musée Belge 29, 1925, 218; Frassinetti o.c. 239f.; Amatucci o.c. 30; Della Corte in his Fronto edition 58; Clarke l.l.; Cova, Problematica 472; Portalupi in her editions; Cristofori l.l. 139. Steinmetz o.c. 215f. pretends to know that it was certainly not a declamation, nor an essay or a part of another speech, but 'eine politische Rede'. Others doubt whether the speech was held in the senate or in court: Dartigue-Peyrou o.c.; Boissier, La fin 311f.; von Geisau, M. Minucius Felix, RE Suppl. XI (1968); A. Hendricks, Pagan Rituals and the Alleged Crimes of the Early Christians, Kyriakon, Festschr. J. Quasten I, Münster 1970, 18ff. It has also been suggested that it is a declamation: B. Aubé, Histoire des persécutions de l'Église II, Paris 1878, VII; Brzoska l.l.; P. de Labriolle, La réaction 1934, 92, but in his second edition (1942, 91) Labriolle thinks that it was either a declamation or a speech in court. I wonder how they got the idea that Fronto ever wrote declamations: there is no sign of them in his letters, quite the contrary: 29,19ff. and 31,2 show that he and Marcus did not like such performances, and Fronto did not foster any such literary ambitions, see 231,12ff. There is little point in the assumption of Watson o.c. and Colombo, Osservazioni 89, that Fronto wrote his speech for his pupil Aurelius.

As to the date of Fronto's speech we have no clues at all; we only know that it must have been delivered before 161. The datings by those who give Minucius priority to Tertullian are arbitrary; for instance, those who assume that Iustinus' second Apology was an answer to Fronto's so-called speech against the Christians: K. Hubik, Die Apologien des hl. Iustinus, Wien 1912, 13; G. Bardy, S. Iustin et la philosophie stoïcienne, Recherches d. science relig. 1924, 33ff.; B. Altaner, Patrologie, Freiburg i. Br. 1938, 64; R.M. Grant, The Chronology of the Greek Apologists, Vigil. Christ. 9, 1955, 25ff.; W.H.C. Frend, Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church, Oxford 1965, 251f. Amatucci, Storia 46 n. 12, is of the same opinion, dating the speech to the first years of Marcus as emperor. Aubé,

Histoire V and 79, and Brzoska l.l. date it 155–165, connecting the so-called declamation against the Christians with Fronto's prospect of going to Asia as proconsul c. 157 (see at 166,19), where he was bound to have many difficulties with the Christians: a mere fantasy. Schwenke l.l. dates the speech under Hadrian or Pius; Dartigue-Peyrou l.l.: before 165; J.P. Waltzing, L'Octavius de Minucius Felix, Bruges 1909, XXII: c. 160; A. Gudeman, Nochmals Minucius Felix und Tertullian, Berl. philol. Wochenschr. 1925, 1067ff.: 166–169; Bardy l.l.: 161; Bayliss o.c. 218 and 273: c. 148; Johanna Schmid o.c.: c. 146; F.J. Dölger, Sacramentum infanticidii, Antike u. Christentum IV, Münster 1934, 199f.: 161–177; Bihlmeyer o.c.: possibly under Hadrian; Frassinetti l.l. 241: 162–164 (his view has been adopted by Marache l.l.; J.H. Wassink, Fronto, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum 1970; and by Portalupi in her Fronto editions); Quispel o.c. and Grant l.l.: 143, the year of Fronto's consulate; Amatucci o.c. 41 n. 1: 161–165; Rossi l.l.: under Pius; Marta Sordi, Le polemiche intorno al cristianesimo nel II secolo, Riv. di storia d. Chiesa in Italia 16, 1962, 3ff.: c. 175 (Fronto was dead then for many years!), and she is followed by Cristofori l.l.; Freudenberger o.c. 104: 157–164; Henricks l.l.: 165–177 (!); Steinmetz o.c.: c. 166.

Cirtensis nostri oratio does not necessarily mean 'the' speech of Fronto; Champlin, Fronto 64: 'it could just as easily be "a" speech, that is, one which touches upon the subject only incidentally', which brings us to the question what, in Minucius, refers to Fronto's speech. Many scholars believe that much in the Octavius, especially Caecilius' complete speech, reflects the accusations which Fronto had made against the Christians: Aubé o.c. VIIIf.; 74ff.; E. Renan, Marc-Aurèle et la fin du monde antique, Paris [3]1883, 391; Massebieau l.l. 316ff.; A. Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur I, Leipzig 1893, 868; Schanz, Die Abfassungszeit 120ff., and Gesch. d. röm. Lit. III[3] 267; Hubik o.c. 13; Colombo, Osservazioni 88; C. Buizer, Quid Minucius Felix in conscribendo dialogo Octavio sibi proposuerit, Amsterdam 1915,15; Gudeman, Geschichte 10; Bayliss o.c. 60; Amatucci, Storia 37; G. Krüger, Theol. Literaturzeitung 1933, 267; Frassinetti l.l.; Cristofori l.l. Freudenberger l.l. 99 correctly states that we should distinguish between the accusations of infanticide and incest, but 104f. he assumes that Oct. 9,5 has also been taken from Fronto. For that thesis there are no arguments, and it was rejected by Boissier, La fin 209; C. Weyman, Beilage d. Allgem. Zeitung 1896 no. 120; Brzoska l.l.; Monceaux, Histoire littéraire I 488; Gefcken o.c. 279; Bardenhewer o.c. 172; M. Pohlenz, Berl. philol. Wochenschr. 36, 1916, 1140; Teuffel 3, 113; Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 198; Axelson o.c. 24 n. 39; von Geisau l.l. (1968); Henricks l.l.; Clarke l.l., but on false arguments; Steinmetz o.c.

One question in particular deserves our attention: should Oct. 9,5, where Caecilius speaks of the infanticidium, be connected with 9,6–7, in other words, did Fronto accuse the Christians not only of unnatural intercourse but also of infanticide? All appearances are against it, and Waltzing, Le crime 228, justly points out that the unprejudiced reader cannot fail to see that 'de la cérémonie d'initiation Oct. 9,5, Cécilius distingue nettement le

banquet des chrétiens suivi d'une orgie incestueuse, Oct. 9,6–7'. Yet several philologists think that Oct. 9,5 also renders Fronto's words: Bardenhewer, Geschichte 174; Haines I, XXVI n. 1 'it seems probable that the section immediately preceding (Oct. 9,5) also comes from the same speech'; Dölger, Sacramentum (though for the rest he makes a clear distinction between the accusation of infanticide and that of unnatural intercourse); Frassinetti l.l.; J. Beaujeu in his edition of the Octavius, Paris 1964, 88 note; A. Schneider, Le premier livre Ad Nationes de Tertullien, Rome 1968, 265; Henricks l.l.; Cristofori o.c. 131; Champlin, Fronto 160 n. 18: 'possibly 9,5–7'. How things can be mixed up shows Waszink, Fronto l.l.: he rejects Frassinetti's thesis that several passages in the Octavius reflect Fronto's words, adding: 'als wirklich wahrscheinliche Imitation wird nur die Beschreibung des Θυέστειον δεῖπνον (9,6) anzunehmen sein'. However, the Thyestean meal is in Oct. 9,5!

The idea that Fronto wrote a Contra Christianos has caused gross speculations. One of them is that Fronto would have based his speech on Cato's De coniuratione (only one word of which has come down to us) or on Livy's report of the action against the Bacchanalia in 186 BC (39,15–16): Dartigue-Peyrou o.c. 105f. saw in Oct. 9,6–7 'la réproduction de quelque scène tirée de l'histoire des Bacchanales', a thesis repeated by Friedländer, Sittengeschichte III 222, and elaborated by Frassinetti o.c. 248f. Unfortunately it was widely approved in Italy: Cova o.c. 11; Portalupi in her editions of Fronto; Cristofori o.c. 131f.; Selvatico, Scambio 240; Baldwin, Fronto and the Christians. Clarke and Waszink ll.ll. have rejected it.

Another delusion is that Marcus instructed Fronto to write a Contra Christianos, as Cova and Portalupi[1] assume. De Labriolle, La réaction 94, reverses the idea: he thinks that it was Fronto who influenced Marcus' attitude towards the Christians; Waszink regards both views as possible. However, Fronto wrote his speech in all probability before Marcus became emperor and, not being a member of the consilium principis (see at 10,14; 96,3), he hardly had any influence on Roman politics. Brock o.c. 92f. rightly states that there is not the least bit of evidence for the assumption that Fronto influenced Marcus in this matter. And contrary to Marta Sordi, I nuovi decreti di Marco Aurelio contro i Cristiani, Studi Romani 9, 1961, 368, and Le Polemiche 3ff.; Henricks l.l.; Clarke l.l.; and Cristofori l.l., there is certainly no reason to suppose that the so-called Oratio contra Christianos caused the persecution of the Christians in the 170s, or that the trial of Iustinus before Iunius Rusticus or the case of Lyon made Fronto write such a speech, as is believed by Frend o.c. 251f., who dates Iustinus' trial to 165–167. At that time Fronto felt his end drawing near, and in 177 he was dead.

Who is Caecilius Natalis and what is the meaning of *Cirtensis noster*? In two articles H. Dessau has indentified Caecilius with M. Caecilius Quinti filius Quirina Natalis of CIL VIII 6996; 7094–7098 (Dessau 2933): Über einige Inschriften aus Cirta, Hermes 15, 1880, 471ff., and Minucius Felix und Caecilius Natalis, ibid. 40, 1905, 373ff. In 210 and the following years this Caecilius Natalis was decurio and triumvir of Cirta, Fronto's

place. He must have been a pagan, since Christians did not hold such offices (see Oct. 8,4 and 31,6). According to Dessau, he went to Rome and became a Christian about 217. To Dessau this is an argument for dating the Octavius in the third century—a hazardous assumption which met with some success: A. Aghad, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 24, Suppl. Bd. 1898, 40ff.; Monceaux o.c. 475f.; Boissier, La fin 263 note; F. Cayré, Patrologie I², Paris 1931, 30; A. Stein, Caecilius 65, PIR II² (1936); Champlin, Fronto 16. Others, however, had their doubts or even rejected Dessau's assumption: Renan o.c. 390 n. 6 suggests that M. Caecilius may as well be the son of the Caecilius of the Octavius, and 402 n. 3 he even states that Minucius may have invented the conversion of Caecilius, because the inscriptions show that M. Caecilius (or his son) was a pagan magistrate of Cirta. E. Baehrens in his edition of the Octavius, Lipsiae 1886, V, and Bardenhewer, Geschichte I² 331, suppose that M. Caecilius was either the son or the father of our Caecilius; K. Sittl, Jahresb. f. d. Alterthumswiss. XVII 2, 1889, 10, sees in M. Caecilius the son or a relative of the Caecilius of the Octavius; Schanz, Die Abfassungszeit 192f., regards the Caecilius of Minucius as an ancestor of M. Caecilius. The only thing we can say is that in all probability the Caecilius Natalis of the Octavius was of African origin (so e.g. A. Elter, Prolegomena zu Minucius Felix, Bonn 1909, 14f.). If he was a native of Circa is questionable, but it is going too far to say with J. Martin in his edition of the Octavius, Bonn 1930, 1, that he was certainly not an African.

Cirtensis noster: against Elter o.c., we must see it this way: if, speaking of Vergil, somebody refers to 'Mantuanus noster', it does not necessarily mean that he himself is a native of Mantua; only if he is, 'Mantuanus noster' means that he is a fellow-citizen of Vergil. Cp. the bishop of Hippo, Civ. 22,8 p. 574 D.K., *erat quidam senex Florentius Hipponiensis noster*. So, in our case, *Cirtensis noster* does not prove that Caecilius Natalis was a fellow-citizen of Fronto. Yet several commentators think so: Dessau, Über einige Inschriften 472; Schanz, Die Abfassungszeit 129f.; Renan o.c. 396; Bardenhewer, Geschichte 13; Haines, edition II 283; P. de Labriolle, Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne, Paris ²1924, 150; Waltzing, Le crime 228; De Jonge o.c. 35ff.; Van Haringen, Cirtensis noster; L. Leschi, De la capitale Numide à la colonie romaine, Recueil d. Not. et Mém. de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine 64, 1937, 19ff.; A. Stein, Caecilius 65, PIR II²; Altaner, Patrologie 85; J. Quasten, Patrology II, Utrecht/Antwerpen 1953, 155; Amatucci, Storia 31. See on the meaning of *noster* at 15,6; 88,17; 90,2; 108,9; 135,3f.; 219,2f.; and J.P. Waltzing, Bibliographie de Minucius Felix, Musée Belge 6, 1902, 239; B. Baldwin, Studies in Aulus Gellius 23f. As far as I know, *noster* never indicates a contemporary; yet this was supposed by Th. Keim, Rom und das Christentum, Berlin 1881, 74; to Baehrens in his edition of the Octavius, Lipsiae 1886, V, this was an argument for an early date of the Octavius. Nor does *noster* refer to a person of the same attitude of mind or the same religious ideas, as was suggested by J.A. Moehler, La patrologie III, Louvain 1884, 87 n. 1; Elter o.c.; and Clarke l.l. Waszink l.l. certainly goes too far when he translates *noster* by 'heidnisch'. At 90,2 we have seen that the usual meaning of *noster* is 'dear

to you and me', 'our mutual friend', 'a man whom we all respect', and at direct variance with Caecilius, Octavius 31,2 gives the tart reply: *Fronto tuus*. A rather depreciatory meaning of *tuus* we also find in Fronto 39,12 *hominem tuum*; 230,14 *Chrysippus tuus*, a man who was always drunk, and 264,30 *Ennium tuum*: 'that Ennius of yours whom you think you know so well'.

Summa summarum: the last historical datum in the Octavius is Fronto's speech. Oct. 9,6 points to a date close to that speech of Fronto, who died c. 167. The remark on the diarchy Oct. 18,6 would be very impertinent if it had been made during the reign of Marcus and Verus, 161–169; between 161 and 250 the possibilities for such a remark are limited to some forty years, including the reigns of men like Commodus and Caracalla. So we must date the speech before 161. There is no reason at all to suppose that Fronto ever delivered a speech Contra Christianos, on the contrary. His colleagues Minucius, Octavius and Caecilius fell in with a malicious remark Fronto had recently made in court on the Christians, and I cannot agree with H. Last, Christenverfolgung II, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1954): 'Der genauere Sinn der Ausführungen Frontos bleibt uns unzugänglich.' Finally we must point out the erroneous idea of Mai and Frassinetti 250f. that Minucius had read Fronto's letters. In his first edition of Fronto LVIII n. 4 and in his second edition XXXIII n. 1 Mai compares Oct. 4,6 with Fronto 181,14f. and 182,8f.; 7,4 with 220,13–15; 11,4 with 13,6ff.; 18,6 with 121,3; Frassinetti compares Oct. 1,1 with Fronto 184,15; 1,3 with 213,13f.; 3,3 with 241,18; 9,1 with 54,6; 11,2 with 175,23; 11,4 with 11,29f.; 11,6 with 236,20; 15,1 with 2,16. These comparisons prove absolutely nothing. See Proleg. LIXff. and this commentary on the passages quoted from Fronto. G. Pennisi ap. Portalupi[2] 577 n. 2 is quite alone in the opinion that *Cirtensis noster* is not Fronto but an unknown author of the fourth century.

259,9–10 *et*—'anche' (Portalupi) rather than 'and' (Haines)—indicates the beginning of a new chapter, introducing a new subject. The same applies to the beginning of 31,1 (Testim. 3). Since *id etiam* is an example of *passim loquuntur*, various interpunctions are possible, but we should not print with Haines *oratio: 'Ad epulas* etc., because it seems hardly plausible that Minucius quotes Fronto literatim, and it is quite possible that Fronto did not disclose all the details given by Caecilius. On the interpunction see Frassinetti; Amatucci, Storia 43 note; and Henricks.

259,9 *convivio*: like Caecilius, most Christian writers mention two main charges brought against them, infanticide at the initiation and incest during the meal or agape. Aristid. Apol. 17,2 only mentions incest. Iustin. Apol. I 26,7 speaks of pseudo-Christians with their λυχνίας μὲν ἀνατροφὴν καὶ τὰς ἀνέδην μίξεις καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν βόρας. I 29,2 οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν μυτήριον ἡ ἀνέδην μῖξις. II 12,2 ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν βόραν. II 12,5 Κρόνου μὲν μυστήρια τελεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀνδροφονεῖν. Iustin. Tryph. 10,1 ἐσθίομεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἰλαπίνην ἀποσβεννύντες τοὺς λύχνους ἀθέσμοις μίξεσιν ἐγκυλιόμεθα. Minucius 9,5 gives a minute account *de initiandis tirunculis*, and 28,2 *infantes vorarent, convivia incesta miscerent*. Tatian. Or. 25 speaks of ἀνθρωποφαγία, and so does Athenag. Leg. 3,1, who adds incest. The letter

of the church of Lyon to the Christians in Asia (177–178, Euseb. H.E. 5,1,14) and Celsus ap. Orig. C. Cels. 6,27 also mention infanticide and incest; Theophil. Autol. 3,3 and 3,16, incest and anthropophagy. Epist ad Diogn. 5,7, incest. Tert. Nat. 1,7,24 speaks of infanticide and he continues: *praeterea candelabra, quae canes annexi deturbent, et offulae, quae eosdem canes, sed et mater aut soror tibi necessaria est.* Apol. 7,1 *dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii et pabula inde, et post convivium incesto, quod eversores luminum canes, lenones scilicet tenebrarum, in libidinum impiarum verecundiam procurent.* Apol. 8,7 *infanticidium* and *praeterea candelabra et lucernae et canes aliqui et offulae, quae illos ad eversionem luminum extendant. ante omnia cum matre et sorore tua venire debebis.* See also Tert. Nat. 1,2,8; 1,2,9; 1,7,10; 1,7,20; 1,16,1; Apol. 2,20; 4,11; 7,5; 8,3; and the excellent study by S. Benko, Pagan Criticism of Christianity, Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt II 23,2,1081–1089.

If the assumption that Fronto merely scoffed at the Christians in a speech before 161 is correct, it is tempting to see a relation to the apologies of Aristides or Iustinus, who wrote in the 140s and 150s. But apart from the question if Pius (and Fronto) ever read those writings, it is very unlikely that Aristides or Iustinus could have reacted to Fronto if he had never written an oration against the Christians. As we have seen, Oct. 9,5 cannot be attributed to Fronto; so we must abandon the idea that Fronto was the inventor of the terms 'Thyestean banquets' and 'Oedipodean intercourse' (against Freudenberger o.c. 104f.; Waszink; and Champlin, Fronto 65): Minucius does not use them and it is sheer fantasy to say that these terms were 'the invention of a practical orator turning naturally to myth for a striking and appropriate image' (Champlin). The terms were only used after Fronto's death: Athenag. Leg. 5,1 (written in the second half of the 170s) τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῶν ἐγκλήματα· ἀθεότατα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις, and in the letter of the Christians of Lyon of 177–178, a letter which Eusebius says to quote literally, κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν Θυέστεια δεῖπνα καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις. Tert. Nat, 1,7,27 *nihil in tragoediam Thyestae vel Oedipodis erumpunt* (another argument for the priority of Minucius); Porphyr. Adv. Christ. 69 Θυέστειον δεῖπνον. Other mythological references are to be found in Iustin. Apol. II 12,5 Κρόνου μυστήριον. Tatian. Or. 25 compares the so-called anthropophagy of the Christians to the myths of Pelops, Kronos and Zeus. Theophil. Autol. 3,16 τὰ Θυέστου καὶ Τηρέως. Tert. Apol. 9,16 *Iuppiter.*

Usually it is said that Fronto just voices malicious rumours about the Christians. This is not quite true. When Plin. Epist. 10,96,7 says that the Christians came together in the late afternoon *ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium,* this *tamen* shows that others thought differently. This supper sometimes led to inebriety: I Cor. 11,21 ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς δὲ μεθύει. Tert. Apol. 39,17 on the *dilectio* (agape): *editur quantum esurientes capiunt, bibitur quantum pudicis utile est*; Uxor. 2,4,3 *convivium illud, quod infamant*; Hippol. Trad. Ap. 26 *edentes vero et bibentes cum honestate id agite et non ad ebrietatem.* Fronto could make his remark because some Christians (pseudo-Christians, orthodoxy would call them) turned their supper into an orgy: according to Iren. Haer. 1,1,12; 1,20,2 and Clemens, Strom. 3,5,1; 3,10,1, such accusations should rather

be made against the Carpocratians (second century), who, after the meal, overturned the *candelabra* and indulged in incest. Iustin. Apol. I 26,7 blames it on the followers of Simon Magus, Menander and Marcion during the years 50–150. Tert. Ieiun. 17,3 (an ignominious piece of writing from his Montanistic period) accused his 'psychic' adversary (Callistus?): *maioris est agape* (used with a double meaning: 'charity', I Cor. 13,13, and 'meal'), *quia per hanc adulescentes tui cum sororibus dormiunt, appendices scilicet gulae lascivia atque luxuriae*, and Hippol. Ref. haer. 9,12 reproaches Callistus that he preached promiscuity. Orig. Comm. in Rom. 2,11 *ex haereticis et infanticidii et incesti . . . probra.* Euseb. H.E. 4,7,11 says of the Gnostics and the Carpocratians ὡς δὴ ἀθεμίτοις πρὸς μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφὰς μίξεσιν ἀνοσίαις τε τροφαῖς χρωμένων, and in the fifth century these accusations were still uttered against the Carpocratians, though they did not exist any more. In the third century such accusations decreased: Cypr. Hab. virg. 20 still mentions incest, but Orig. c. Cels. 6,27 and 6,40 says that the rumours of infanticide, putting out lamps and incest had meanwhile been refuted, though there were still people who believed them. Euseb. H.E. 4,7,11–13 and Salvian. Gub. 4,85 state that these accusations belong to the past. This shows—again—that Minucius is not a contemporary of Eusebius and that Fronto did not write a juridical speech against the Christians, because in such a speech he would have to give evidence as a lawyer (*ut adfirmator testimonium facere*, Oct. 31,2) and he was clever enough to know that, even if abuse occurred among some Christians, he could not blame the majority of them.

Passim: Henricks l.l. 18f. thinks that it does not mean 'all over the world' but in Ostia and Rome (?).

259,10 *epulas*: 'a copious meal'; cp. Oct. 31,5 *convivia non tantum pudica colimus, sed et sobria; nec enim indulgemus epulis aut convivium mero ducimus.*

Sollemni die: 'in un giorno solenne' (Portalupi), 'Sunday' or 'on a regular day' (Haines).

259,11 *sexus omnis et omnis aetatis*: Tac. Ann. 6,19,3 writes *iacuit inmensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas*, and Lact. Mort. pers. 15,3 *omnis sexus et aetatis homines. Omnis sexus* is less conspicuous in Sen. Oed. 53 *omnis aetas pariter et sexus ruit*; Suet. Cal. 4 *sexum, aetatem, ordinem omnem*; Gell. 13,29,4 *omne fere genus quod . . . est et ordinum et aetatum et sexus.* More correct Plin. Epist. 10,96,9 *multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam*, and Gell. 14,1,27 *utriusque sexus, omnium aetatum.*

259,12 *caluit*: from *caleo*, not from *calesco*: Explanat. in Don. Gramm. Lat. IV 550,19 *calesco praeteritum non facit calui, sed venit a caleo*; see also Gramm. Lat. Suppl. 56,11. Cp. Sulp. Sev. 2,13,7 *(cum) multis poculis convivium calere coepisset.*

Ebrietatis can be defended: 'the passion of impure lust and drunkenness' (Haines) or 'the passion of impure lust caused by drunkenness', but most editors adopt Meursius' *ebriatis*, though *ebrio(r)* is only used since the fourth century.

259,13 *candelabro* is ablative; see Hofmann-Szantyr 115.

Offulae: 'a piece of meat' or 'a little cake' (Haines).

259,15 *conscio lumine*: 'the tell-tale light' (Haines), 'il lume testimone'

(Portalupi), or better perhaps 'the guilty light'. It seems to be a persiflage of the role of the *pronuba*, who leads the bride to the bedroom. Cp. *conscius* in Verg. Aen. 4,166ff. *prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether conubiis*; Sen. Epist. 101,15 *multi peiora adhuc pacisci parati sunt: . . . liberos ad stuprum . . . tradere, ut contingat lucem videre tot consciam scelerum*; Apul. Met. 5,26,4 *cum primum . . . conscio lumine vultus eius aspexi.*

Impudentibus tenebris (ablative): *impudens* is sometimes used of things related to human actions, e.g. Cic. Verr. II 1,140 *satis grandem pecuniam et satis impudentem.*

259,15–16 *nexus involvunt*: 'embrace one another' (Haines), 'si avvinghiano in abbracci' (Portalupi).

259,16 *per incertum sortis*: 'as chance brings them together' (Haines). The expression is found here first, later also Novell. Valent. 21,1,3 *incertum sortis humanae*; cp. Liv. 30,15,4 *incerta fortunae.*

Etsi written as one word because of *tamen*; Haines reads *et si.*

Opera: 'in fact' (Haines), cp. e.g. Plaut. Bacch. 542 *lingua factiosi, inertes opera*; Cic. Rep. 1,14 *otiosiorem opera quam animo.*

259,16–17 *Adpetitur* is followed by *quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum*, a thought of Caecilius himself. Perhaps we should also leave out *etsi non omnes* etc. as an explanation of Caecilius.

259,19 *grandem*: 'notorious', as in the expressions *grande nomen*, *grande testimonium*, *grande documentum.*

259,19–20 *daemonum contio*: 'the company of evil spirits'. Tert. Spect. 7,3 speaks of *daemoniorum conventus* and 8,4 of *daemonum concilium.* Minucius is the first Christian writer to speak of *daemones* in this sense. See his definition Oct. 26,7ff.

259,20 *aspersione*: cp. Augustin. Civ. 7,35 p. 319 *ita enim solent res gestae aspersione mendaciorum in fabulas verti.*

259,22 *de isto* sc. *convivio.*

Adfirmator, *affirmare* and *affirmatio* are not just common words: especially in the Digesta they are used for those who 'give official evidence in court', and that is what Fronto had not done.

259,23 *ut orator*: i.e. as a flower of oratory. Minucius' own style and his position as a lawyer do not permit us to see this as a rejection of rhetoric in general, as Johanna Schmid o.c. 85 thinks.

260,1–5 These water-pipes were found in the hall of the *domus Maecenatiana* in the Via Merula in Rome (see at 20,11). They prove two things: connecting the water drainage to the sewer was at the expense of the owner of the house, and, more important, Fronto and his younger brother Q. Cornelius Quadratus lived together in the same house, as we have already seen at 31,21; 55,24; 110,28; 240,12. For the reason why these pipes were provided with the name of the owner cp. Vitruv. 1,1,10 *aquarum ductiones et cetera, quae eiusmodi sunt, nota oportet sint architectis, uti ante caveant quam instituant aedificia, ne controversiae factis operibus patribus familiarum relinquantur.* See at 275,19 and Champlin, Fronto 21f. For *Quadratus* see at 238,12. It is tempting to assume that the water-pipes were laid when Fronto built a new bathhouse, possibly c. 150, because the old one no longer met his requirements, see at 82,8 and 263,37.

260,6 Fronto and Gellius. At 182,4 we have established that, rather to his surpise, Fronto lived to see the publication of the Noctes Atticae (he died c. 167, see at 159,12). At that time Fronto apparently had no relations with Gellius. The learned discourses at which the young Gellius was allowed to be present took place in the second half of the 140s (see at 262,19), but Gellius does not present them in chronological order. Wissowa (see below) dates N.A. 2,26 to 155–160, Haines after 143. Astarita, Note 430f., has rightly seen that only Gell. 19,8,1 (Testim. 7) shows warm sympathy with Fronto, whereas in the other chapters there is a certain distance between them. We have no reason to assume that Gellius was familiar with Fronto's speeches and other works. His letters he had certainly not read, see Proleg. LIX, and it is absurd to believe that the quotations which Gellius gives were taken from some lost work of Fronto, as Mercklin, Die Citiermethode 679, and Dalmasso, Aulo Gellio lessicografo 471f., suppose. Brakman, Miscella altera 9f., has brought together some ὁμοιότητας in Gellius with passages in Fronto's letters: Gell. 5,2,4 and 15,31,4 with 61,10M; 6,18,7 with 2,16M; 11,3,3 with 57,6; but they do not prove any interdependence, see this commentary on the passages cited. Gellius made notes during the discourses (Praef. 3) and worked them out later, in his own language and style. 16,19 he gives his version of the story of Arion and does not imitate Fronto's Arion, as Leroy, La conception 251 n. 1, supposes; see at 241,1. Selected literature: A. Kretschmer, De Auli Gellii fontibus 103f.; Pellini, Aulo Gellio e Frontone; G. Wissowa, Chronologisches zu Gellius, in Friedländer's Sittengeschichte IV 248ff.; Sedgwick, Marcus Aurelius 53ff.; Marache, La critique 203ff., and Fronton et A. Gellius; Castorina, Il circolo; Baldwin, Aulus Gellius, and Studies in Aulus Gellius; Champlin, Fronto 46ff.; Astarita, Note.

Fronto's conversations in Gellius made Italian humanists of the late fifteenth century think that he was the author of the Differentiae vocabulorum and the Exempla elocutionum; see H. Keil, Gramm. Lat. VII, Lipsiae 1880, 517f., and the introduction of Adriana della Casa, Arusianus Messius, Exempla elocutionum, Milano 1977.

260,7 *Favorinus* was born c. 80–85; he was about ten years older than Fronto. Gellius calls him time and again *philosophus*. He is not the Favorinus of 219,2. Wissowa assumes that Gellius was born c. 130 and dates his visit to Fronto to 155 or shortly after, but the only chronological datum we have is *consularis*, so the visit took place after July–August 143, not during his consulate, as A. Stein, Favorinus 23, PIR III^2 (1943), says. It has struck Baldwin, Studies 7, that only here Fronto is called *consularis*, whereas Herodes Atticus is called so repeatedly. An explanation might be that Fronto had only recently laid down his office, but it is more likely that Gellius had a greater respect for Herodes than for Fronto. We should not draw conclusions from the fact that in other passages Fronto is not called *consularis*, as has been done by Astarita, Note 423.

260,7–8 *pedibus aegrum*: see the Table of Matters s.v. Fronto. *Aeger* with ablative is more frequent than with accusative (Tac. Hist. 4,81,1 *manum*; Gell. Testim. 8 p. 263,34 *pedes*).

260,8 *visum iret* with *ad* instead of an accusative, but cp. the combination of *ad* and a supinum e.g. Ter. Hec. 75f. *isse . . . ad portum percontatum adventum Pamphili.* See Hofmann-Szantyr 381.

Voluit shows that Gellius had to be persuaded.

260,11 *facies*: 'aspects'.

260,12 *non infitias imus*: 'we do not deny'. The expression (cp. *exequias ire, suppetias ire*) is found since Plautus, but not in Fronto. With *quin* also Frontin. Aquar. 72; Gell. 4,18,6; 6,7,8; 19,8,5; Macrob. 7,6,3.

Lingua Graeca: Lucr. 1,136ff. *nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse, multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem*; 1,830f. *scrutemur homoeomerian quam Grai memorant nec nostra dicere lingua concedit nobis patrii sermonis egestas*; 3,260 *patrii sermonis egestas*; Cic. Fin. 1,10 *ita sentio et saepe disserui Latinam linguam non modo non inopem, ut vulgo putarent, sed locupletiorem etiam esse quam Graecam*; 3,5 *in ea ligua quam plerique uberiorem putant*; 3,51 *cum (Zeno) uteretur in lingua copiosa factis tamen nominibus ac novis, quod nobis in hac inopi lingua non conceditur*; Tusc. 2,35 *Graeci illi, quorum copiosior est lingua quam nostra*; Nat. deor. 1,8 *ea, quae didicerant, cum civibus suis communicare non poterant, quod illa, quae a Graecis accepissent, Latine dici non posse diffiderent; quo in genere tantum profecisse videmur, ut a Graecis ne verborum quidem copia vinceremur*; Caecin. 51 *in nostra lingua, quae dicitur esse inops*; Sen. Contr. 7 praef. 3 *de inopia sermonis Latini queri*; Sen. Epist. 58,1 *quanta verborum nobis paupertas, immo egestas sit, . . . intellexi*; De ira 1,4,1 *cetera, quae pluribus apud Graecos nominibus in species iram distinguunt, quia apud nos vocabula sua non habent, praeteribo*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,33 *tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior, ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse voluerunt, illorum id nominibus exornent*; 12,10,34 *his illa potentiora, quod res plurimae carent appellationibus, ut eas necesse sit transferre aut circumire; etiam in iis, quae denominata sunt, summa paupertas in eadem nos frequentissime revolvit. at illis non verborum modo, sed linguarum etiam inter se differentium copia est*; Suet. Claud. 42,1 *amorem praestantiamque linguae (Graecae) occasione omni professus*; Plin. Epist. 4,18,1 *inopia ac potius, ut Lucretius ait, egestate patrii sermonis*; Favorinus ap. Gell. 2,26,5 *vocum inopiam in lingua magis Latina video quam in Graeca.* Cicero makes an exception for rhetorical, philosophical and scientific terms Acad. 1,25; Fin. 3,3f.; and so does Seneca, Epist. 9,2; 58,6; 87,40; 120,4. See also Manil. 2,694; 3,40ff.; 4,645. For legal terms see Gaius, Inst. 3,94,3f.; Modest. Dig. 27,1,1,1.

260,13 *legisse*: perf. praesens: 'in which you seem to be well-read' (Haines). We should not read *elegisse* with Mommsen and others; cp. Gell. 18,5,7 *cum . . . quadrupes equus apud suum quisque grammaticum legisse se dicerent*; Cassiod. Hist. 6,1,5 *rhetoricam . . . legebat apud Ecibolum.* If we read *elegisse*, 'to prefer', it refers to Favorinus being bilingual, see Gell. 12,1,24; 14,1,32; 20,1,20.

Prolixior fusiorque: 'richer and more copious, comprehensive'; the same combination 262,3. For the meaning of *fusior* see Gell. 2,6,5 *'iactare' multo fusius largiusque est quam 'iacere'*, quoted by Macrob. 6,7,8.

260,14 *quibus*: attraction of the relative is frequent in Gellius, not in Fronto, see at 89,2; 105,15.

260,14–15 *proinde ut*: see at 241,2.

260,15–16 For the difference between *rufus*, *russus* and *ruber* see H. Blümner, Die rote Farbe im Lateinischen, Archiv 6, 1889, 399ff.; J. André, Étude sur les termes de couleurs dans la langue latine, Paris 1949, 80ff.; A. Hermann, Farbe, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1967). See also Ed. Wölfflin, Rutilus, Archiv 12, 1902, 20ff.; for colours in general Aristotle, De coloribus; H. Magnus, Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Farbensinnes, Leipzig 1877; H. Blümner, Die Farbenbezeichnungnen bei den römischen Dichtern, Berl. Stud. XIII 3, 1892; Dalmasso l.l.; Agnes Dicker, De kleurnamen in het Latijn, Neophilologus 18,1932, 58–75; 137–143; N. Vels Heijn, Kleurnamen. See also at 9,2. Haines translates *rufus* ... *spadix* by 'tawny, auburn, brick-red, purple-red, golden-red, date-red', and Marache in his edition of Gellius by 'fauve, blond, rouge-brun, écarlate, rouge éclatant, orange, écarlate'.

260,19 *acuentes*, 'intensifying' (Haines), 'la renforcent' (Marache), is what Favorinus 2,26,6 calls *augentes*. In this sense, *acuere* usually has objects such as *desiderium, iram, metum.*

Incendentes: 'firing it' (Haines), cp. Gell. 10,29,2 *atque particula ... si gemina fiat, auget incenditque rem, de qua agitur.*

260,20 *infuscantes*: 'darkening'. *Fuscus* is 'dark brown', 'dark': Paul. Fest. 22,2 *aquilus color est fuscus et subniger*; Plin. Nat. 31,14 *(pecora) nigra aut fusca*; 32,60 *(ostrea) rufa ... fusca ... nigra*; Boeth. In Porph. comm. sec. 5,22 *nigredo ... quibusdam ... fuscis proxima, aliis ... nigerrima.* The word is often used for the deeply tanned skin.

Sensim: 'slightly'.

Illuminantes: 'brightening' (Haines). Plin. Nat. 35,48 *anulare quod vocant candidum est, quo muliebres picturae inluminantur*; Vita Veri 10,7 *ut capiti auri roramenta respergeret, quo magis coma illuminata flavesceret.*

260,21–25 *poeniceus*: φοινίκεος (φοινίκιος, φοινικός), 'purple-red', with *p* instead of *ph*, as in *purpura*, πορφύρα. *Poeniceus* is the older, original form: Plaut. Pseud. 228 *cras, Phoenicium, poeniceo corio invises pergulam*; Men. 918 *purpureum panem an poeniceum* (var. lect.: *puniceum*); Lucr. 2,830 *purpura poeniceusque color*; Ovid. Met. 14,345 *poeniceam fulvo chlamydem contractus ab auro*; Tib. 2,3,60 *selectos certent praebere colores, Africa poeniceum purpureumque Tyros. Puniceus* appears since Lucr. 5,941 *puniceo colore*, and then in poets such as Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus and Statius. Gell. 3,9,3 speaks of the *colore poeniceo* of the horse of Gn. Seius and continues 3,9,9 on the *color exuberantissimus* of this horse: *quem colorem nos, sicut dixi, poeniceum dicimus, Graeci partim* φοίνικα, *alii* σπάδικα *appellant, quoniam palmae termes ex arbore cum fructu avulsus spadix dicitur.* Φοίνιξ of a horse already Hom. Il. XXIII 454.

Φοίνικα: Favorinus 2,26,6 had mentioned this colour as a shade of red.

Rutilus is often used for the golden or red-blond hair, bronze arms and, less frequently, for the colour of blood, gold, fire and roses; occasionally for the colour of the moon, the ripe ears of corn and of clothes.

Σπάδιξ (from σπάω?) is a branch with the fruits of the date-palm (Plut. Moral. II 274 a; Porphyr. Abst. 4,7). As an adjective, it is found in Latin only in the sense of 'reddish-brown', 'chestnut'. Fronto's etymology, 'date-coloured', is hardly correct, see A. Ernout, Bull. Soc. linguist. 41, 1940,

117, though it is confirmed by Isid. Orig. 12,1,49 *badium* ('bay') *autem antiqui vadium dicebant, quod inter cetera animalia fortius vadit; ipse est spadix, quem phoenicatum vocant; et dictus spadix a colore palmae quam Siculi* (= Fronto's *Dorici*) *spadicam vocant.* Fronto and Isidorus seem to have the same source, perhaps Gavius Bassus, a contemporary of Cicero, who wrote De origine verborum. Gell. 3,9,8 says that Bassus saw a horse of this colour in Argolis. Cp. Ammian. 24,3,12 *quaqua incesserit quisquam, termites et spadica cernit assidua, quorum ex fructu mellis et vini conficitur abundantia,* a passage which M. Hertz, Gellius und Ammianus, Hermes 7, 1874, 286, erroneously thinks is borrowed from Gellius.

Spadix is the colour of the bay: Verg. Georg. 3,82 *honesti spadices glaucique,* where Servius explains: *quos phoeniciatos vocant, pressos, myrteos.* Less correct Prob. Verg. Georg. 3,82 *spadicis color est quem* λευκόπυρον *vocant, hoc est albus et fuscus.* Cp. Aristot. Col. 6,44 τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐμπύρων καὶ τὰ τριχώματα γίνεται λευκόπυρρα.

Συνώνυμος: Fronto himself uses 144,20 and 152,1 the Latin form *synonymus.*

Factus: 'though Greek by origin' (Haines).

Palmae arboris: see at 59,4f.

Admodum: see at 57,16.

Incocti: 'burnt' (Haines), 'ripened' (Rolfe in his edition of Gellius). Before Gellius it only occurs in poetry.

Termitem: 'olive branch': Hor. Epod. 16,45; Paul. Fest. 367; Gell. 3,9,9.

260,26 *fulvus* is a poetical word; in prose it is often used by Pliny the Elder. Its spectrum ranges from blond, yellow, golden, drab, tawny, bronze-coloured to reddish, russet, brown, grey-yellow, brown-black; the centre of this spectrum is brown. *Fulvus* and *flavus* are cognate words, *fulvus* living on in the French 'fauve'. As the expositions of Blümner, André and Vels Heijn are not quite satisfactory and as Klee's article fulvus in the TLL does not go into the chromatic spectrum, we should try to put some order in the matter. Ancient lexicographers are not of much help; they explain only certain aspects of the word, as Porphyr. Hor. Carm. 4,2,59 *fulvum: id est rufum*; Agroec. Gramm. Lat. VII 125,10 *fulvum (dicimus) cum nigro rubeum*; Gloss. II 74,16 *fulvus*: ξανθός. More interesting is Plin. Nat. 14,80 *colores vinis quattuor: albus, fulvus, sanguineus, niger.* Here *fulvus* indicates the golden colour of white wine. Yellow verging on white is also the colour of the stars since Tibull. 2,1,88 *sidera fulva*; cp. Avien. Arat. 744 *(stellae) fulvo rutilant* and Plin. Nat. 37,169 *xuthos* (ξουθός), *ita appellant Graeci (lapides) e fulvo candicantes.* Of hair, *fulvus* is used by Verg. Aen. 11,642 *fulva caesaries*, and of light-coloured sand in the passages indicated under the text, imitated by Ovid. Met. 2,865; 9,36; 10,716; 11,355; 11,499; Pont. 4,4,11; Trist. 4,6,31; Manil. 5,526; Sil. 4,241. Verg. Georg. 3,350; Aen. 7,31; and Ovid. Met. 14,448 have *flaventes* and *flavae harenae.* The iris also has yellowish colours in its flower: Sen. Oed. 319 *caerulea fulvis mixta oberravit notis, sanguinea rursus*; Stat. Theb. 10,125 *(iris) nimborum fulva creatrix*; Ammian. 20,11,27 *(iris) flaviscens vel fulva*; 20,11,28 *(iris) fulva, id est paulo excitatior quam lutea.* Gold is called *fulvus* by poets since Verg. Aen, 7,279 *(equi) fulvum mandunt sub dentibus aurum*, in prose since Plin. Nat.

34,8. A shade darker is bronze-coloured, in poetry since Ovid. Met. 1,115 *fulvo . . . aere*, but slightly lighter is the *fulvus leo*: Verg. Aen. 2,722; 4,159; 8,552 *fulva leonis pella*. Before Vergil we find *corpora fulva leonum* in Lucr. 5,901 and after him in Ovid. Epist. 10,85; Met. 1,304; 10,551; 10,698; Fast. 2,339; and later in Statius, Silius and other poets. Cp. the δαφοινὸν δέρμα λέοντος αἴθωνος Hom. Il. X 24. *Fulvus* is never red, in spite of Porphyr. Hor. Carm. 4,2,59 quoted above, but it does indicate the yellow-red colour of the fire: Verg. Aen. 7,76 *lumine fulvo*; Manil. 2,942 *Phoebus . . . fulvo paulatim accenditur igne*, and in a few later poets. In prose, Gell. 17,10,13 *flammarum fulva et tortuosa volumina*. The colour of the wolf is generally darker: grey-yellow-brown: Verg. Aen. 1,275 *lupae fulvo . . . tegmine*; 7,688 *fulvos . . . lupi de pelle galeros*; Ovid. Met. 11,771 *fulvum lupum*. In some cases the yellow is prominent, because Oppian. Cyn. 3,297 calls a certain species ξουθός, but ξουθός too may have several gradations, for the other Oppianus, Hal. 2,452, calls blood ξουθός.

Grey is the colour of the sea in Non. p. 164,10, who identifies *fulvus* with *ravus*, and also of dust and ashes: Enn. Ann. 315 *pulvis fulva volat*; Pacuvius, see at 261,3; Licin. Calv. Carm. frg. 15 *fulva cinis*. Cp. Hom. Il. XVIII 23 and Od. 24,316 κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν. The eagle is usually dark grey-brown; Plin. Nat. 10,6ff. distinguishes six species; one of them he calls *colore nigricans*, a second *aquilarum nigerrimam* and a third *colore subrutilo*. *Fulvus* is its colour in Cic. Carm. frg. 18,2 *nuntia fulva Iovis*; Verg. Aen. 11,751 *fulva . . . aquila*; 12,247 *fulvus Iovis ales* (Sil. 12,56 *ales fulva Iovis*); Ovid. Met. 8,146 *fulvis haliaeetus alis*; Stat. Theb. 1,548 *Phrygius fulvis venator tollitur alis*; 3,531 *septem ordine fulvo armigeras summi Iovis*; Claudian. 15,467 *fulvusque Tonantis armiger*. Hom. Il. XV 690 calls it αἴθων, which must be the same colour. A very dark-brown colour has the *eale* (rhinoceros or buffalo?): Plin. Nat. 8,73 *colore nigra vel fulva*. And dark is the concealing cloud: Verg. Aen. 12,792 *fulva . . . de nube tuentem (Iunonem)*; Ovid. Met. 3,273 *(Iuno) fulva . . . recondita nube*; Dirae 38 *mixtam fulva caligine nubem*; Stat. Theb. 9,727 *(Diana) caligine fulva saepta*; Vulg. Exod. 14,19 and 20 *fulva columna nubis*. Here we see the influence of κυάνεον νέφος (Hom. Il. XXIII 188) and νεφέλη κυανέη (Il. XX 418 and Od. 12,75).

Mixtus with *de* instead of an ablative or *cum* or *ex* is rare; also Min. Fel. 28,7.

Plus viridis: see at 45,1.

260,27 *diligentissimus*: see at 213,11. Gell. 13,25,4 also calls Cicero *verborum diligentissimus*, but on this point Fronto has his doubts, see at 57,5–18.

260,28 *iaspidem*: its colour is *fulvus plus viridis habens*. Though today the jasper can have several colours, in antiquity the green jasper was favourite: Serv. Aen. 4,261 *iaspide fulva pro viridi* (Servius has used Gellius' Noctes, see Serv. Aen. 5,738; 7,740; Georg. 1,260); Gloss. L I Ansil. YA 11 says of *iaspis*: *viridis est, sed pro viridi fulvam posuit (Vergilius)*. Plin. Nat. 37,115 devotes a chapter to the jasper: *viret et saepe tralucet iaspis*. Prisc. Periheg. 1020 *aura viridi legitur quae splendet iaspis*; Apring. In Apocal. 21,18 *iaspis . . . obscura quadam viriditate sublucens*; Claudian. 28,528 *viridique angustat iaspide pectus*. Fronto here quotes Verg. Aen. 4,261 *stellatus iaspide fulva ensis erat*,

imitated by Lucan. 10,122 *fulget gemma toris et iaspide fulva supellex*; Stat. Theb. 7,659 *fibula . . . fulva mordebat iaspide pallam*; Avien. Orb. terr. 469 *iaspis fulva micat stellis*.

Galeros: see at 270,20–23. Verg. Aen. 7,688 *pars spicula gestat . . . fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros*. Val. Flacc. 6,226 calls a wolfskin *flavus*.

260,29 *aëre fulvo* (not *fulva*) must be correct, in spite of Gell. 13,21,14 *Ennius in Annali duodevicesimo aëre fulva dixit, non fulvo, non ob id solum quod Homerus* (Il. XX 446 and XXI 6) ἠέρα βαθεῖαν *dicit, sed quod hic sonus, opinor, vocabilior visus et amoenior*. For Gellius the point at issue here is the gender of *aër*, which only here and Apul. Socr. 6 is feminine; but in 2,26,11 it is Fronto who is speaking and there is no reason to suppose that his Ennius MS had *fulva*. In Ennius, *aër* is always masculine, and in 13,21,14 Gellius must have used a different MS with the lectio deterior *fulva*. *Aëre fulvo* admits two interpretations: it is either a dark fog-cloud ('a tawny mist' Warmington) concealing someone, as in Verg. Aen. 1,411 *Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit* (cp. Hom. Od. 7,14f. ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνη πολλὴν ἠέρα χεῦε), or it refers to Aurora and her rose-fingered colour, cp. Varro, L.L. 7,83 *aurora dicitur ante solis ortum ab eo quod ab igni solis tum aureo aer aurescit*; Ovid. Met. 6,47 *ut solet aer purpureus fieri, cum primum aurora movetur*; Manil. 1,860 *aëraque accensum flammis lucere coruscis*.

260,30 *flavus* is said of sand, corn, honey, wax, hair, rivers, gold, bronze and the human skin. Schol. Hor. Carm. 4,4,4 *flavo: rubeo*; Schol. Iuv. 13,164 *flavam caesariem: capillos rubeos*; Agroec. Gramm. VII 125,9 *flavum dicimus rubeum*; Gloss. II 72,38 *flavus*: ξανθός; III 469,15 *flavus*: πυρρός. Fronto's definition recalls Plato, Tim. 68 b λαμπρόν τε ἐρυθρῷ λευκῷ τε μειγνύμενον ξανθὸν γέγονεν. According to André 128, Fronto adds green because he wants to explain *flavae frondes olearum*, but that seems unlikely, see below.

Concretus: 'a combination of' (Haines).

260,31 *flaventes comae*: Verg. Aen. 4,590; cp. Georg. 4,352 *flavum caput*; Aen. 4,559 and 698 *crines flavos*; Hor. Carm. 1,5,4 and other poets *flavae comae*.

260,31–32 *quod . . . dicuntur*: Fronto philologist. Not only in modern times but also in antiquity *flavus* in Verg. Aen. 5,309 was disputed: *tres praemia primi accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva*. The top of the leaves of the European olive is green, the underside silvery white, grey, and in summer golden or rubiginous. So here *flavus* is golden, as in Aesch. Pers. 617 ξανθῆς ἐλαίας καρπός; Pind. Nem. 1,26 φύλλοις ἐλαιᾶν χρυσέοις μειχθέντα, not yellow-green (against R.D. Williams in his edition of the fifth book of the Aeneis, Oxford 1960). Servius ad loc. is wrong: *flava*: *viridi, ut supra* (Aen. 4,261) *iaspide fulva* (which does not mean that Servius read in Aen. 5,309 *fulva*, as assumed by Th.R. Price, The Colour-System of Vergil, Amer. Journ. of Philol. 1883, 12f.; André 130f.; and Vels Heijn 50. So we can understand why the foliage is called sallow or white: Verg. Ecl. 5,16 and Ciris 148 *pallens*; Ovid. Met. 6,81 and Sil. 13,69 *canens*; Ovid. Epist. 11,67 *albens*; and also why others call it green: Verg. Aen. 5,494 and Hor. Carm. 2,6,15 *viridis*; Prud. Tituli 10 *viridans*; Sidon. Carm. 14,5; Drac. Laud. dei 2,447 *virens*. A correct interpretation of Aen. 5,309 was first given by Ch.

de La Rue in his edition of Vergil in usum delphini, Parisiis 1682: 'flava, quia folii pars posterior subpallida et coloris veluti porracei est', and later by André, who justly repudiates the views of Price and W.T. Thiselton-Dier in Sandy's Companion to Latin Studies, Cambridge [3]1921. Poets often speak of the *glauca oliva*, 'grey-green', e.g. Priap. 86,9; Stat. Theb. 2,99; Coripp. Ioh. 1,534; 3,256; Coripp. Iust. 3,65; cp. Sil. 4,659 *glauca fronde revinctum . . . caput*; Placid. Gloss. Lat. IV 23 Lindsay *glaucus color interdum pro viridi ponitur et qui admixtum habet virori alborem.* And that is why Klee l.l. sees in Verg. Aen. 5,309 the only passage where *flavus* is identical with *glaucus*, erroneously, but his interpretation is correct: 'de foliis olivae a colore partis inferioris'. Here Fronto discusses the denominations for *fulvus* and *flavus*, and *glaucus* is not one of them, nor is the *caerula oliva* of Lucr. 5,1374, Ovid. Ars 2,518 and Manil. 5,260.

261,1 *iucundissimi*: see Fronto on Pacuvius 133,12.

261,2 *commemini* in the sense of 'to mention' is first used by Gellius; also 10,15,2; 11,2,5; 14,2,26; 14,3,2. After him only by very few authors.

261,3–5 These lines are taken from Pacuvius' Niptra, an adaptation of Sophoocles' tragedy of the same name. *Pedem* <*mi*> or <*mihi*> was already suggested before Peerlkamp by the Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817, 184. The scene reminds us of Euryclea washing Ulysses' feet, Hom. Od. 19,353ff.; 469ff. Cic. Tusc. 5,46 *ea quae Anticlea laudat Ulixi pedes abluens: lenitudo orationis, mollitudo corporis*, which is Pacuv. 247. According to Warmington, it is Euryclea who here recognizes Ulysses while washing his feet, but *quibus Ulixi saepe permulsi* shows that it is not Ulysses she is talking to; perhaps it is Telemachus.

Lymphis flavis: we do not know the situation; if she is washing at a riverbank there is no problem: *flavus* is 'yellow'; André: 'la mer jaunie par le limon, à l'embouchure des cours d'eau'. Poets often speak of *flavi* rivers, so the *flavus Tiberis*: Verg. Aen. 7,31; Hor. Carm. 1,2,13, where the scholiast explains: *aut turbidum aut colore limi flavum.* However, *lympha* is mostly said of clear water, of springs and rivers used for washing or drinking (Verg. Aen. 1,701; 4,635; 4,683; 9,23; 10,834; 12,420), and so Klee sought a way out by interpreting *flavus* as γλαυκός in its original sense of 'gleaming', 'sparkling': 'de nitore scintillanti aquae commotae', joining the passage from Pacuvius to Enn. Ann. 384 *verrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flavo caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum.* But Ennius is speaking of the sea, and so is Hom. Il. XVI 34 γλαυκὴ θάλασσα, which hardly seems to point to washing-water. Moreover, Fronto is here speaking of *flavus* as one of the *appellationes rufi coloris*; so we must reject Klee's interpretation and assume that the servant is washing the feet in or near the palace, with water from a spring. J.C. Rolfe in his Loeb edition of Gellius translates 'golden waters', Marache in his Budé edition 'l'eau blonde', Haines 'the yellow waters'.

Ulixi: see at 138,12.

261,6 *rubidus* is a rare word: Plaut. Cas. 310 *in furnum calidum condito atque ibi torreto me pro pane rubido.* Festus explains: *parum coctum*, 'not yet well baked', hence Isid. Orig. 20,2,15 *recoctus et rubefactus.* Plaut. Stich. 230 *ampullam rubidam*; Suet. Vitell. 17 *facies rubida plerumque ex vinulentia.*

Atrior: before Gellius this comparative is found only in Plaut. Poen. 1290; further in Gell. 2,30,11 and Lact. Inst. 5,3,23.

Inustus (Haines has *mixtus*) is a pictorial term for the encaustic method: Plin. Nat. 35,49 *cerae tinguntur isdem his coloribus ad eas picturas, quae inuruntur*; here in Gellius metaphorically 'marked'.

Luteus is said of aurora, papaver, bread, yolk, sulphur, the bill of a chicken. Non. p. 549,7 *luteus color proprie crocinus est*; Serv. Ecl. 4,44 *luto croceo: colore rubicundo, et est hypallage pro croco luteo, nam crocum lutei coloris est*; Serv. Aen. 7,26 *lutea est crocei coloris*; Isid. Orig. 19,28,8 *luteus color rubicundus, quod est croceus*. 19,5 Fronto states that this colour is too effeminate for a man's dress, and 9,3 he uses the substantive *luteum* for a dancer's dress.

261,7 *dilutior*: apparently, Fronto derives *luteus* from *luere (= lavare)*, which is not correct, no more so than Paul. Fest. p. 120 *lues est diluens usque ad nihil, tractum a Graeco* λύειν. *Luteus* derives from *lutum*, the reseda luteola of Linnaeus. *Dilutus*, 'diluted', 'pale', is used of colours by e.g. Plin. Nat. 22,92 *diluto rubore*; 37,66 *colore liquido nec diluto*.

261,9 *nominantur*: 'have names'.

261,9–12 *viridis, caerulus, glaucus*: Verg. Georg. 3,82 *honesti* (sc. *equi sunt*) *spadices glaucique; color deterrimus albis et gilvo*. Here *glaucus* is synonymous with *caerulus*, and the most plausible interpretation is bay horses (see at 260,21–25) and dark horses as opposed to sallow-coloured ones. Cp. Serv. Aen. 7,198 and Isid. Orig. 12,6,10 *caerulum est viride cum nigro, ut est mare*; 19,28,7 *glaucus color est ferrugineus, subniger*. Ovid. Epist. 7,50 *caeruleis Triton per mare curret equis*; Fasti 4,446 *caeruleis equis (Plutonis)*; Sen. Herc. F. 132 *caeruleis evectus equis Titan*; Stat. Ach. 1,78 *caeruleis obstabat equis (Neptunus)*; Eurip. Andr. 1011 κυανέαις ἵπποις διφρεύων ἅλιον πέλαγος. Vergil's *equi glauci* does not occur elsewhere; it caused speculations both in antiquity and in modern times. Do Vergil and Fronto really mean that there are green horses? Rolfe in his Loeb edition of Gellius notes: 'we should use grey rather than green', and he might have quoted Plato, Tim. 68 c κυανοῦ δὲ λευκῷ κεραννυμένου γλαυκόν. Others see in *equus glaucus* a dapple-grey horse: Philarg. Georg. 3,82 *glaucus . . . caeruleus est color, id est subviridis albo mixtus et quasi clarus*; Probus ad loc. is at a loss: *spadix . . . color est quem leucopyrum vocant, hoc est albus et fuscus; glaucus autem color viridis*. Most commentators, however, suppose that in Vergil *glaucus* refers to the horse's eyes, dark with a blue lustre: Serv. Georg. 3,82 *glauci . . . sunt felineis oculis, id est quodam splendore perfusi*; Gloss. L IV Plac. G 2 *glaucus color interdum pro viridi ponitur et qui admixtum habet virori alborem, nam Vergilius hoc sciens 'glaucas salices'* (Georg. 4,182) *et 'olivas glaucas'* (Catal. 2,9) *dixit; item in equis* (Georg. 3,82) *aut hominibus* (Georg. 4,451?) *'glauci oculi' pro splendidi ponuntur*; cp. Don. Ter. Hec. 440 *caesius: glaucis oculis, quasi felis oculos habens et quodam splendore perfusos*. These explanations seem to reach back to Aristot. Anim. hist. 1,10 ἵπποι δὲ γίνονται γλαυκοὶ ἔνιοι. Aristotle speaks here of the eyes, not of the skin. Cp. Plin. Nat. 11,141 *equorum quibusdam glauci (sunt oculi)*; 11,143 *divo Augusto equorum modo glauci fuere (oculi)*, and what this means is shown by Suet. Aug. 79,3 *oculos habuit claros ac nitidos*: dark, gleaming pupils contrasting with the white of the eye. It is remarkable that almost all commentators speak of *glaucus* as *clarus*,

didus, nitidus, the original meaning of the Greek word, cp. γλαυκῶπις, 'with gleaming eyes', see at 261,13. See for the partly different opinions on *glaucus* H. Blümner, Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern, Berl. Stud. XIII 3, 1892, 144ff.; P. d'Hérouville, Rev. de Philol. 45, 1921, 234ff.; Musée Belge 33, 1929, 47ff.; A la campagne avec Virgile, Paris [2]1930, 103ff.; G. Meyer, TLL s.v. glaucus; André o.c. 175ff.; Vels Heijn, o.c. 74f.

261,10 *neque non*: 'and consequently'.

Potuit: see at 81,22.

261,11 *volens* in classical Latin is only used in the sense of 'willing' or 'benevolent', not 'wanting'; also 262,9.

Caerulum: the chestnut colour of the bay. We must distinguish the *caerul(e)us* of eyes: 'light blue-grey'. So of the Germans Hor. Epod. 16,7 *nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube (Romam)*, where Porphyrius explains: *caeruleos Germanos ad colorem oculorum referens dixit*, and so e.g. Iuv. 13,164; Tac. Germ. 4; Auson. 328,10; Herod. 4,108,1 speaks of the Boudines in Russia as an ἔθνος γλαυκόν, 'blue-eyed'. In Cic. Nat. deor. 1,83 *caeruleos esse Neptuni (oculos)* and Suet. Galba 21 *fuit*... *oculis caeruleis* the word seems to mean 'dark and bright'. See K.E. Goetz, TLL s.v. caeruleus.

261,12 *inusitato* is not correct: not only poets use *caeruleus* more often than *glaucus*; also prose-writers since Cicero and Caesar.

261,13 *nostris veteribus* is a dat. iudicantis ('according to') rather than a dat. auctoris. On *veteres* see at 19,16.

Caesia: caesius is almost exclusively used of eyes and corresponds to γλαυκός, 'sparkling bluish-green'. Of Minerva: Cic. Nat. deor. 1,83 *caesios oculos Minervae, caeruleos esse Neptuni*; Min. Fel. 22,5 *Neptunus glaucis oculis, Minerva caesiis, bubulis Iuno*; Iren. 1,9,4 *caesia Pallas*. Festus p. 174 Müller γλαυκῶπις is explained by *oculis est caesiis*, but in the edition of Lindsay p. 178 we read <γλαυκ>ῶπις *appellatur* <*Minerva a Graecis, quod ea, ut noctua, ocu*>*lis est caecis* (hardly convincing); Gloss. III 86,62 γλαυκός· *caesius, cattineis oculis*. Sometimes *caesius* only refers to the colour: Catull. 45,7 *caesio veniam obvius leoni*; Vitruv. 6,1,3 the northern races are *oculis caesis*; Fest. p. 273 M. *ravi coloris appellantur qui sunt inter flavos et caesios*; Arnob. Nat. 3,14 *deos*... *effingitis aquilos, caesios, ravos*; Avell. p. 755,14 *beryllium lapis glauci, id est caesii coloris est*. But the gleaming nature of the eyes seems to come to the fore in Arnob. Nat. 6,10 *(deus) habeat oculos caesios*; Ammian. 25,10,14 *(Iulianus) incedebat*... *vultu laetissimo, oculis caesiis*; 30,9,6 *cum oculis caesiis semper obliquum intuentis et torvum*. Our lexicographers have not noticed that *caesius* can also mean 'with glazed eyes' (cp. γλαύκωμα, 'cataract'): Ter. Haut. 1062 of an ugly girl: *rufamne illam virginem, caesiam, sparso ore, adunco naso* ('aux yeux vairons' J. Marouzeau); Hec. 440 of an ugly man: *rubicundus, crispus, crassus, caesius, cadaverosa facie* ('les yeux vairons' correctly J. Marouzeau); Ret. Her. 4,49,63 *(hominem) canum, subcrispum, caesium*; Suet. Nero 51 *(fuit) oculis caesis et hebetioribus*; Garg. Mart. Med. 54 *aiunt oculos infantium caesiorum ad colorem nigrum posse revocari*; Gloss. L I Ansil. GL 29 *glaucus: viridis aut nebulosus*. The commentators on Terence have failed to see this: Eugraph. Ter. Haut. 1062 *id est oculis obtortis vel caesuras, id est rugas, habentum*; Schol. Ter. p. 126,28

Schlee *lenticulosam vel oculis fellineis atque viridibus*; Don. Ter. Hec. 440 *glaucis oculis, quasi felis oculos habens et glaucos*; Eugraph. Ter. Hec. 440 *oculis tortis paulum*; Schol. Ter. p. 145,15 S. *lenticulosus vel rugatus a caesuris*. In this context Lucr. 4,1161 is interesting: Lucretius speaks of women who, in spite of their ugliness, are attractive to men: *nigra melichrus, inmunda et foetida acosmos, caesia Palladium*: a woman with 'glazed eyes' is an image of Pallas for her lover (not 'les yeux verts' A. Ernout); cp. Hygin. Fab. 165 *Iuno et Venus cum eam (Minervam) irriderent, quod et caesia erat et buccas inflaret*. The same meaning has the hapax γλαυκόμματος in Plato, Phaedr. 253 e, where he speaks of a bad horse 'with glazed eyes'; γλαυκός itself can also have this meaning: Lucian. Dial. mer. 2,1 of an ugly girl: τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἰδέ, μή σε ἀνιάτω, εἰ πάνυ γλαυκοὺς ἔχει αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ὅτι διάστροφοί εἰσι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁρῶσι. Vita Apoll. 42 μὴ γλαυκὸν ἡγεῖταί σε ὁ βασιλεὺς καίτοι μελανόφθαλμον . . . ὄντα.

261,14 *P. Nigidius Figulus*, a friend of Cicero and a polyhistor. According to A. Swoboda in his edition of the fragments, Wien 1889, and to H. Funaioli, Gramm. Rom. Fragm. I, Leipzig, 1907, p. 177 frg. 43, this passage was taken from his Commentarii grammatici; however, it is more likely that Fronto is quoting from his De Animalibus. Gellius quotes Nigidius several times, from his De Animalibus 6,9,5 (at least four books). The elder Pliny has also used his De Animalibus, and one of its sources may have been Aristotle's Περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστορίαι.

Caelia: caelius does not exist, but *caesius* may be cognate with *caelum* as well as *caerulus* < **caelulus*. Cp. Plin. Nat. 19,24 *vela nuper et colore caeli, stellata . . . in amphitheatris principis Neronis*; Iul. Val. 1,7 *(Alexandri oculo) altero admodum nigra . . . laevo vero glauca atque caeli similis*.

261,16 *exosculatus*, 'complimenting' (Haines), also Sen. Contr. 1,2,17; Gell. 1,23,13; Macrob. Sat. 1,6,25.

Absque: see at 78,21.

261,18 Hom. Il. XXIII 382 of Diomedes and Eumelus: καί νύ κεν ἢ παρέλασσ' ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν. Verg. Aen. 5,326 *transeat elapsus prior ambiguumve* (*-que* codd.) *relinquat*.

261,22 Chronology: see at 260,6. Haines dates this conversation after 143.

261,23 *Q. Claudius Quadrigarius*: see at 134,2.

261,24 Q. Caecilius *Metellus* ended his career as proconsul in the war against Iugurtha, 107 BC. He was replaced with Marius and returned to Rome, where he had to account for his conduct in the assembly of the people and *contra spem suam laetissumis animis accipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, iuxta carus* (Sall. Iug. 88,1). In 106 he was allowed a triumphal procession and conferred the title of Numidicus. Fronto knew him well: 15,12ff.; 99,25; 128,19.

Mortalibus: mortalis and especially *multi mortales* and *omnes mortales* are very frequent since Naev. Bell. Pun. frg. 5,1 *eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales*, meaning 'ordinary people', see F. Cramer, Was heisst 'Leute'?, Archiv 10, 1898, 560f. So in Fronto 205,11 (marg. d) *ceteri mortales* as opposed to *scriptores*. Colloquial, too, is the meaning 'chap': 31,2M of encomiasts: *miros*

tales; 236,4 *scelestus mortalis*; 241,26 of Arion: *fortunatissimum mortalem*. Whereas in poetry *mortales* means 'mortal men', in prose the meaning 'ordinary people'—or, in Fronto's terminology, 'the masses'—is found since Cato, Orat. frg. 42 Sblendorio *videre multi mortales*; it is not poetical, as Fronto's opponent and Maria Sblendorio p. 197 think. For 'people' Fronto also uses *gentes* (212,19 *secundo gentium rumore*) and, of course, *homines*.

261,26 *cuidam*: he may have been a professional teacher, see at 93,10.

261,28 *frigide*: 'in an insipid way', cp. Gell. 13,25,7 *videturne tibi*... *Cicero duobus verbis idem*... *significantibus inepte et frigide esse usus?* 19,3,1 *turpius esse*... *exigue atque frigide laudari quam insectanter et graviter vituperari*; Sen. Epist. 94,38 *nihil videtur mihi frigidius, nihil ineptius*; Quint. Inst. 8,5,30 *solas captanti sententias multas dicere necesse est leves, frigidas, ineptas*; Arnob. Nat. 7,44 *ineptas et frigidas actiones spectatum proficiscentur*. Cp. Demetr. Herm. 2,14 ὁρίζεται δὲ τὸ ψυχρὸν Θεόφραστος οὕτως· ψυχρόν ἐστιν τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαγγελίαν.

261,29 *ain tu*, 'are you really saying', is a colloquial expression in a dialogue since Plautus; see at 59,11.

261,31–32 *modesti*... *sermonis*: see at 134,2. Leeman, Orationis ratio I 78ff., compares Claudius' modest style in parallel stories with Livy's dramatization. *Modestus* is, of course, not 'discreet' (Haines), but 'keeping himself within the bounds suited to a historiographer', 'senza pretese' (Portalupi). The rhetor Fronto was well aware that historiography and rhetoric were two different things, see his Principia Historiae at 203,2.

Puri: 'simple', 'comprehensible', cp. e.g. Cic. Orat. 53 *puro quasi quodam et candido genere dicendi*; Quint. Inst. 5,14,33 *sermone puro et dilucido et distincto*. According to Suet. Vita Ter. 7, Caesar called Terence *puri sermonis*... *amator*; see also 262,22.

Cotidiani sermonis: Quadrigarius' choice of words is simple, and so is his syntactic structure without a lot of subordinate clauses.

261,34 Read *quidem* instead of *autem*.

262,1 *nisi si*: 'unless' (Haines). *Nisi* is adverb: 'save'.

Antiquae: see at 19,16.

Orationis: 'language' (Haines).

262,2 *longe longeque*: Haines prefers the varia lectio *longe lateque*. Fronto 139,11 has *longe longeque*... *praeferas*, see at 118,13f., which, of course, is of no consequence for Gellius' text here. See Ed. Wölfflin, Über die alliterierenden Verbindungen 33 and 65f.; C. von Morawski, Wien. Stud. 37, 1915, 160f.

262,3 *fusius*: 'more comprehensive', see at 260,13.

262,4 *dixisse*: aoristic inf. perfecti instead of *dicere*. So e.g. Hor. Ars 416 *satis est dixisse*; Vell. 2,124,1 *id solum*... *dixisse satis habeo*; Plin. Nat. 28,67 *fas sit dixisse*. See at 75,3f.

262,5 *includi* also 263,10.

262,7 *inenarrabili* in its original sense, as Gell. 17,10,17 on Verg. Aen. 3,573 *neque non id quoque inenarrabile esse ait et propemodum insensibile*.

Genus: see at 115,21.

262,9 *volens*: see at 261,11.

262,10 ἐμφατικώτερον: Latin authors always use the comparative in its Greek form, for the first time Cic. Ad Brut. ap. Non. p. 421,28. Latin *emphasis* is used since Quintilian's Institutio; see at 105,17f.

262,15 The proverb means to mix things which do not go together, like sweet oil and a dish of lentils; μύρον is an unguent. Athen. IV 160 B and C quotes Strattis' Phoenissae παραινέσαι δὲ σφῷν τι βούλομαι σοφόν· ὅταν φακῆν ἕψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον, and Clearchus, De proverbiis 53 Κλέαρχος ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου ἐν τοῖς περὶ παροιμιῶν ὡς παροιμίαν ἀναγράφει τὸ 'ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ· μύρον'. Aristot. De sensu 5 explains Strattis remark οὐδὲ συμβάλλεται πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον μᾶλλον· ἀληθὲς γὰρ ὅπερ Εὐριπίδην σκώπτων εἶπε Στράττις· ὅταν φακῆν ἕψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον. The gnomologist Sopatrus: Ἴθακος Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον πάρεστι. See also Phot. Bibl. cod. 161. Rome had no equivalent for this proverb; Cic. Att. 1,19,2 quotes it in Greek: *legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus et,* τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, *Lentulus*. It is not 'wasting a good thing' (Haines), nor 'a good thing thrown away' or 'pearls before swine', as Tyrrell & Purser note, nor 'a showy entertainment with little to eat' (so Rolfe in his edition of Gellius). Lentulus does not fit in with Metellus and Flaccus; he is the μύρον, Metellus and Flaccus are the φακῆ, not the other way round, in spite of the pun Lentulus (φακῆ is *lens* in Latin). In everyday life it could happen that the wrong oil was used: Plut. Caes. 17,5 Οὐαλερίου Λέοντος παραθέντος ἀσπάραγον καὶ μύρον ἀντ' ἐλαίου καταχέαντος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφελῶς ἔφαγε, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις δυσχεραίνουσιν ἐπέπληξεν. A quite different proverbial expression with φακῆ is found in Aristoph. Plut. 1004 πλουτῶν οὐκέθ' ἥδεται φακῇ, quoted by Suda s.v. φακαῖ.

262,17 *consideratio*: 'view', 'osservazione' (Portalupi), rather than 'discrimination' (Haines).

262,19 Chronology: see at 260,6. If Gellius was born c. 130 (so, with others, Marshall, The Date of Birth 146), we must, with Wissowa, date this conversation c. 147. Here and 18,4,1; 18,5,1; 20,6,1 Gellius calls himself *adulescentulus*, and 7,6,12; 14,2,1; 20,10,2 *adulescens*. As *adulescentulus* he must just have assumed the toga virilis, which usually happened at the age of sixteen/seventeen; this leads us to c. 146–147. Astarita, Note 423, supposes that it occurred when Gellius was fourteen years old, and that Fronto was not yet consul (but see at 260,7); she comes to the conclusion that the conversation took place before July 143. Haines, on the other hand, dates it after 143. We should not combine *adulescentulus* with *priusquam Athenas concederem*: he went to Athens in 160, at which time he was not an *adulescentulus*, not even an *adulescens*. The meaning is: 'as a youngster of hardly sixteen years old—this was before I went to Athens—I used to visit Fronto when I was exempt from attending lectures of my masters'. So primo, Gellius was not a pupil of Fronto (against Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 277, see at 182,4); secundo, he used to visit Fronto when an *adulescentulus*, say in 145–150, and it is this period to which all the passages in Gellius bearing on Fronto and his circle must be attributed.

262,21 *a*: see at 205,1f.

Auditionibus obeundis: 'take part in the lectures'. Gellius often uses *auditio* in this sense: 3,13,4; 14,1,2; 18,2,2; 20,5,5.

Frontonem Cornelium instead of *Cornelium Frontonem*: see Index Nominum.

262,22 *purissimis*: see at 261,31f.

262,22–23 *bonarum doctrinarum* is unusual for *bonarum artium*; see at 129,17. Rhet. Her. 3,7,13 *honeste in bonis disciplinis (educatum)*. Of course, Gellius means philology and literature.

262,24 *quin*: see at 5,3.

262,27 *familiaris*: we do not know who he is.

262,28 *aquae intercutis morbo*: 'dropsy', ὕδρωψ, a medical term since Hippocrates. Latin literary texts avoid *hydrops* and its derivations, with the exception of Hor. Epist. 1,2,34 *si noles sanus, curres hydropicus*; cp. Cels. 3,21,1 *(morbum) eorum, quos aqua inter cutem male habet, . . . hydropa Graeci vocant*; Schol. Hor. Carm. 2,2,13 *hydrops subcutaneus morbus de vitio vesicae natus*. We find *aquae intercutis morbus* in Plaut. Men. 891; Lucil. 764 M.; Cic. Off. 3,92; Suet. Nero 5,2; Hieron. Vita Hil. 37. *Intercus* is used as a substantive by Cael. Aur. Morb. chron. 3,8,105 and 114. Cels. 3,21,6 gives as a remedy: *evocandus est sudor non per exercitationem tantum, sed etiam in harena calida.*

262,30 *perpetuus dictator*: Cic. Phil. 2,87 is the coiner of this term: *C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse.* Liv. 38,56,12 applies it to Scipio Africanus. It is further used since the second century AD.

262,32 *castissimi* of language: Cic. Orat. 64 the language of philosophers is *casta, verecunda, virgo incorrupta quodammodo*; Brut. 330 *tueamurque (eloquentiam) ut adultam virginem caste et ab amatorum impetu . . . prohibeamus*; Gell. 6,14,11 *(genus dicendi) cum caste pudiceque ornatur*; 17,2,7 *(Metellus Numidicus) caste pureque lingua usus Latina videtur.* On Caesar's language see at 123,1–10.

262,33 *Analogia*: see at 224,15. Fronto himself is an anomalist, not an analogist; cp. Caesar's words in Gell. 1,10,4 *habe semper in memoria atque in pectore, ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum* with Fronto's special liking of *insperata atque inopinata verba*, see at 57,16. See Gell. 2,25; Charis. 131,24 B.; and Marache, La critique 218ff.

Harenas: Vergil is the first to use the plural, eight times against 31 times the singular, probably influenced by the Homeric ψάμαθοι. In later poetry the plural is on the increase, e.g. Ovidius has 30 times the plural against 47 times the singular; Lucanus 45 times the plural, 16 times the singular. In prose we see the same tendency, e.g. Seneca has 15 times the plural, 14 times the singular. Fronto himself has the plural 11,30, the singular 213,10 (of the amphitheatre), and Gellius has the plural 5,14,17 and 16,11,7. Originally, *harenae* was a poetical plural, but later it got the meaning of 'sand-masses'. See F. Maas, Archiv 12, 1902, 504 n. 1; G. Landgraf, Bemerkungen zum sog. poetischen Plural in der lateinischen Prosa, Archiv 14, 1906, 64f.; E. Bednara, ibid. 536; Neue-Wagener I 616,f.; E. Brandt, TLL s.v.; L.A. Springer, Aulus Gellius: on Historical and Descriptive Linguistics, Class. Journ. 54, 1958–59, 124. Cp. *nives* 210,13.

262,34 *multitudinis numero*: a grammatical term first used by the Stoic Chrysippus; according to Diog. Laert. 7,191, he wrote six books Περὶ τῶν

ἑνικῶν καὶ πληθυντικῶν ἐκφορῶν. He and later authors speak of ἀριθμὸς ἑνικός and πληθυντικός. The term *multitudinis numerus* or *multitudo* was introduced in Latin by Varro, L.L. 8,48 *et singularia solum sunt multa... et multitudinis*; 8,60 *ut in his singularibus, sic in multitudinis*; 9,76 *(verba) ex multitudine cum transeunt in singulare*; see also 9,64; 10,65. This is the older term, also used by Nigid. frg. 36 Swoboda ap. Gell. 13,26,4 *casu multitudinis recto*. Varro, however—and with him most later grammarians—also uses *numerus singularis (pluralis)* or *casus singularis (pluralis)*. It is not unlikely that Caesar himself used the term *multitudinis numerus*, as Kretschmer, De Auli Gellii fontibus 60, thinks. Charis. Gramm. p. 64,16 B. finds it necessary to explain *in multitudine: hoc est plurali numero.*

262,35 *caelum* is never used in the plural; the plural *caeli* is found since Lucr. 2,1097, especially in Christian writers; see Neue-Wagener I 624.

Triticum, too, is always used in the singular, see Neue-Wagener I 608. Serv. Ecl. 5,36 *triticum, ordeum... numeri tantum singularis sunt, unde plurali in prosa uti non possumus.*

Quadrigas: the singular is rejected by Varro, L.L. 10,24 *sic bigae, sic quadrigae a coniunctu dictae*; see also 9,63f.; 10,67; and by grammarians as well, e.g. Serv. Georg. 1,192 *numeri sunt tantum pluralis ut... bigae, licet abutantur poetae*, while Serv. Aen. 5,721 states that Stat. Theb. 1,338 erroneously has the singular; Isid. Orig. 18,36,1 *bigae... a numero equorum et iugo dictae*; see also Serv. in Donat. IV 432,25. Pomp. Gramm. V 177,24 *bigae debemus dicere, invenimus biga*. We find *quadriga* in Pacuv. 399 Kl.; Varro (!), Sat. frg. 93 B. (ap. Gell. 19,8,17); Prop., 2,34,39; 3,9,17; Mart. 6,46,1; Gratt. Cyn. 228; in prose since Valerius Maximus and the elder Pliny. Ulp. Dig. 21,1,38,14 has *triga* and *quadriga*, Isid. Orig. 18,36,2 *seiuga*. It is not clear why these words are feminine; Ernout-Meillet, Dict. étym., and Hofmann-Szantyr 15 explain it as *quiadriiugae equae*. Fronto's etymology *quadriiugae* is correct. See also at 263,7 and Neue-Wagener I 690ff.

262,37 *arma* and *moenia* are always plural, but Fest. p. 145 quotes Enn. Ann. 628 *pro moene.*

Comitia is, according to all grammarians, always plural when it indicates the people's assembly; *comitium* is the place where they come together, so Fronto 89,18.

263,1 *inimicitiae*: in 19,8,6 Fronto's opponent justly disagrees with Caesar, quoting Enn. Trag. 327 Kl. *amicitiam atque inimicitiam in frontem promptam gero* (Non. p. 129,24 quotes the same verse as a proof of the singular). And indeed, *inimicitia* is found in Plautus, Pacuvius, Accius, a few times in Cicero etc. *Inimicitia(e)* does not occur in Fronto.

263,7 *multiiugae*: 'many teams joined together', 'a multitude of teams'. Liv. 28,9,15 *iret alter consul sublimis curru multiiugis, si vellet, equis.* Cicero used the word for a bundle of letters: Att. 14,9,1 *ex tuis litteris, quas quidem multiiuges accepi uno tempore* (Cicero and Isid. Diff. 1,496 are the only writers who have *multiiugis*; Enn. Trag. 92 *curru quadriiugo*; Pacuv. 399 *volucri currit axe quadriiuga*; Lucretius always has *biiugus* and Vergil seven times *biiugus* against twice *biiugis*, in spite of Homer's ἵπποι δίζυγες; Vergil has *quadriiuges equi* (Aen. 10,571) but *quadriiugus currus* (Georg. 3,18; Aen. 12,162); Ovid. Met. 9,272 and Stat. Theb. 12,747 *quadriiugo curru*; Apul. Flor. 16,39

iuges et seiuges currus. (The form *-us* is older.) Philologists usually derive words ending in *-iugus* from iugum, 'yoke', but the passage in Cicero shows that we should connect *-iugus* directly with *iungo*; cp. *Iuno iuga*, *vasa iuga* (Cato, Agr. 10,2; 145,1), *altiiugus mons* (Paul. Nol. Carm. 21,713), *pronomina coniuga* (Priscian. Inst. 17,60), *triiugum ferrum* (Paul. Nol. Carm. 20,126), *quinqueiugus vertex* (Iul. Val. 1,23) and the combination *totiugus*. Gruber, TLL s.v. multiiugus, saw the point, dividing his article in two parts: (1) = 'multiplex', 'varius'; (2) from *iugum*, 'yoke', with Liv. 28,9,15; Gell. 19,8,11; but the passages under (1) need some specification. The meaning 'many linked up together' is found in Fronto, see at 134,3, but also in Gell. 10,2,1: speaking of the birth of quintuplets, he calls it *finem multiiugae hominum partionis*; Apul. Met. 8,22,6 *(formicae) commeabant multiiuga scaturrigine*; 8,28,2 *(flagrum) contortis taenis lanosi velleris prolixe fimbriatum et multiiugis talis ovium tesseratum*, 'knuckle-bones tied together'. When Apul. Apol. 36,5 calls some of Aristotle's works *multiiuga volumina*, it must mean 'multipartite', as in Claud. Mam. Anim. 2,9 *multiiugis variorum operum voluminibus*, usually but incorrectly translated by 'various' or 'numerous'. Paneg. Lat. 7,15,5 *multiiugo fultus imperio*; Paul. Nol. Carm. 26,24 *si multiiugae premerent mea colla catenae*; Isid. Diff. 1,495 *stellae . . . multiiuges ut Hyades, Pleiades*. Metaphorically it means 'complicated': Gell. 14,2,13 *disceptatio ista multiiugae et sinuosae quaestionis*; Apul. Met. 4,13,3 *singulas species apparatus multiiugi verbis idoneis . . . explicare*. Often *multiiugus* simply means 'manifold' or 'various': Gell. 2,11,3 *spolia*; Apul. Apol. 55,9 *multiiuga sacra et plurimos ritus et varias cerimonias*; Flor. 15,22 *tot tamque multiiugis calicibus disciplinarum (eruditus)*; 16,28 *duplam igitur vobis gratiam debeo, immo enimvero multiiugam*; Socr. 1 *circumversione*; Met. 6,2,3 *precibus*; 11,5,1 *numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiiugo totus veneratur orbis*; Paneg. Lat. 5,17,2 *o victoria multiiuga et innumerabilium triumphorum*; Arnob. Nat. 3,18 *lingua*; Macrob. Sat. 2,1,8 *libris*; Symm. Epist. 1,14,1 and 1,45,1 *paginas*; 1,49 *hostias*; 1,61 and 7,50,2 *necessitatibus*; 4,22 *officiis*; Paul. Nol. Carm. 21,664 *molimine*.

263,10 *includi in unitatem*: 'to be reduced to one', 'to be included under the oneness expressed by the singular number' (Rolfe).

263,11 *in specie dispari*: 'viewed from a different angle'.

263,14 *numeri amplitudine*, 'extensiveness of number', is the same as *numeri multitudine*, the plural; cp. e.g. Ammian. 23,6,35 *aucti in amplitudinem gentis solidae*, where *amplitudo* means 'a great number'. It is not a grammatical term, as Gudeman, TLL s.v., thinks.

263,15 *ingenita*: elsewhere *ingenitus* is always used of innate qualities of living beings. *Ingenita* with *naturalis* and *sui* is rather abundant.

Sui: there is not only a gen. obiectivus (*amor sui*) but also a gen. subiectivus of pronouns, e.g. Cic. leg. agr. 2,55 *hac vestrum frequentia*; Acad. 1,42 *quodque natura quasi normam scientiae et principium sui dedisset*; Tac. Ann. 4,24,2 *primo sui incessu solvit obsidium*. The difference between *sua multitudo* and *sui multitudo* lies in the emphasis: *sui* stresses qualifications and characteristics. See A. Draeger, Historische Syntax I, Leipzig 1874, 433f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 61. For Tacitus see the commentary of Nipperdey-Andresen at Ann. 12,37.

263,16 *fundus*: 'guarantor', usually said of the people, e.g. Cic. Balb. 19 *nisi is populus fundus factus esset*; in other situations only Plaut. Trin. 1123 *ut quae cum eius filio egi, ei rei fundus pater sit potior* and here Gellius.

Subscriptor: 'supporter'; this same meaning Gell. 5,21,6.

Ut ne is stronger than a single *ne*; see at 142,5.

263,17 ἀπαραμύθητον: 'unsupported' (Rolfe), a meaning not given by Liddell & Scott, but παραμυθέομαι in Sext. Emp. Adv. math. 7,66 means 'to support', 'to justify'. It is not 'inconfutabile' (Portalupi).

Destituerem with double accusative since Turpil. Com. 44.

263,18 *mare*: Fronto has the plural *maria* only in his speeches (11,26f.; 12,15; 256,6), not in his letters.

Terra: singular 31,3M; 89,12-14; 138,6; 140,12; plural *terrae* 108,1V; (143,17); 209,3; 229,16; 232,9.

Pulvis: the plural Hor. Epod. 17,48; Plin. Nat. 11,82; and in late authors; not in Fronto. See Neue-Wagener I 617.

263,19 *ventus*: the plural often since Cicero; in Fronto 4,18; 213,3; 217,8; 232,10.

Fumus: the plural chiefly in poetry; seldom in prose since Caes. Gall. 5,48,10; not in Fronto.

Indutias: all grammarians agree that *indutiae* is a plurale tantum. According to the TLL, *indutia* is only found in the Glossaria and in Epist. Austras. 16 p. 130,17. Gell. 1,25 has a chapter on *indutiae* and does not mention the singular. The word does not occur in Fronto.

Caerimonias, too, is regarded as a plurale tantum by all grammarians, but the singular is found eight times in Cicero, perhaps once in Caesar (Gall. 7,2,2) and several times in later authors. Fronto has the plural 214,2; Marcus 60,7.

263,20 *veteres*: see at 19,16.

Ferias, 'holidays', is a plurale tantum according to all grammarians; only Paul. Fest. p. 85 *feria a feriendis victimis vocata*. Gramm. Suppl. 241,15 *pluraliter dicuntur feriae, licet abusive* (in ecclesiastical Latin) *dicatur prima feria, secunda feria.*

Nundinas: the singular is only found in late Latin: Ven. Fort. Vita S. Mart. 1,61; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 7,5,2 and in the Glossaria. See the crit. app. Varro, Menipp. 279.

263,21 *inferias et exequias*: all grammarians regard them as pluralia tantum; the singular is never used. *Exequiae* Fronto 13,5.

Mel: Charis. p. 28,10 B. *mella . . . dici posse . . ., cum in genera recipiuntur, ut Attica mella*, and so Plin. Nat. 7,199 and Hieron. Epist. 30,13,1. *Mella* is also used for 'lumps of honey', especially by poets since Vergil, sometimes in prose since the elder Pliny, in spite of Serv. Ecl. 5,36 *plurali in prosa uti non possumus*. Fronto has the singular 58,16.

Vinum: *vina* for various kinds of wine is quite common; Fronto 228,3 and 6. See Neue-Wagener I 600f.

Id genus: see at 57,2.

263,22 *lac*: some editors read *lacte*, but Caesar, who seems to be Fronto's source, rejects such a form, De analogia frg. 14 Funaioli. Grammarians confirm Fronto's opinion, but in late authors such as Oribasius and Anthimus we find *lactes*.

Capiat: 'comprise'. Gellius likes this word in his grammatical expositions: 1,16,13; 7,16,5; 16,5,6. The subjunctive is a potentialis.

263,23 *enucleari*: 'to be brought to the heart of the question', an unusual metaphor found only in Cic. Planc. 10; Tusc. 5,23; Part. 57.

Excuti: 'to be examined precisely'.

263,24 *demoratos*: 'detained'.

263,25 *destinatos*: cp. Colum. 11,1,4 *destinabitur huic negotio.*

263,26 *an*: see at 138,3.

263,27 *cohorte*: another word Gellius likes: 1,9,12 *in cohortem illam disciplinarum recepti*; 2,18,1 *ex cohorte illa Socratica fuit*; 9,15,9 *omnibus ex cohorte eius (Antonii Iuliani) qui audire eum soliti erant*; 13,5,2 *omnis eius (Aristotelis) sectatorum cohors.* See at 54,10.

Antiquiore: see at 19,16.

263,28 *classicus*: 'fist class'. The term goes back to the classification of Roman citizens instituted by Servius Tullius, see Liv. 1,43,1–11 and Gell. 10,28,1 *cum (Servius) illas quinque classes iuniorum census faciendi gratia institueret.* It seems that Gellius, not Fronto, coined this metaphor, see his interest in the matter of classes 6,13,1 *classici dicebantur non omnes, qui in quinque classibus erant, sed primae tantum classis homines, qui centum et viginti quinque milia aeris ampliusque censi erant.* 2 *infra classem autem appellabantur secundae classis ceterarumque omnium classium, qui minore summa aeris . . . censebantur.* 3. *hoc eo strictim notavi, quoniam in M. Catonis oratione, qua Voconiam legem suasit* (frg. 115 Sblendorio), *quaeri solet, quid sit 'classicus', quid 'infra classem'.* Cp. Fest. p. 113 *infra classem significantur qui minore summa quam centum et viginti milium aeris censi sunt* and p. 246 *'pro censu classis iuniorum' Ser. Tullius cum dixit in discriptione centuriarum, accipi debet 'in censu', ut ait M. Varro* (Ant. frg. 31). The same metaphor Cic. Lucull. 73 *qui (philosophi inferioris aetatis) mihi cum illo (Democrito) collati quintae classis videntur*, and Arnob. Nat. 2,29 *desinite hominem, proletarius cum sit, classibus, et capite cum censeatur, ascribere ordinibus primis.*

Assiduus: 'established', in German 'sesshaft', from *adsidere.* Gell. 16,10 devotes a chapter to *quid sint proletarii, quid capite censi, quid item sit in XII tabulis adsiduus.* So we may assume that the term *adsiduus* is his, not Fronto's. 16,10,15 the poet Iulius Paulus gives this explanation: *adsiduus in XII tabulis* (1,4; 1,10) *pro locuplete et facile facienti dictus aut ab assibus, id est aere dando, . . . aut a muneris pro familiari copia faciendi adsiduitate.* His first etymology, *asses* or *aes dare*, had been proposed by Aelius Stilo in Cic. Top. 10, by Cicero himself Rep. 2,40 and by Quint. Inst. 5,10,55. They were followed by Charis. Gramm. I 75,8 and Isid. Orig. 10,17. Charisius rejects the etymology *ad-sedere*, Paul. Fest. 9 and Priscian. Gramm. II 118,18 consider it possible, but they too point to the alternative *asses.*

Proletarius is the opposite of *classicus*: Varro ap. Non. p. 67; Arnobius l.l. and Iulius Paulus in Gell. 16,10,10 *qui in plebe Romana tenuissimi pauperrimique erant neque amplius quam mille quingentum aeris in censsum deferebant, proletarii appellati sunt; qui vero nullo aut perquam parvo aere censebantur, capite censi vocabantur; extremus autem census capite censorum aeris fuit trecentis septuaginta quinque . . .* 13. *a munere officioque prolis edendae appellati sunt*; Cic. Rep. 2,40 *eos qui aut non plus mille quingentos aeris aut omnino nihil in suum censum praeter caput attulissent, proletarios nominavit (Servius Tullius), ut ex iis quasi proles . . . exspectari videretur.* Gloss. Placid. V 7,7 (45,1) *qui nihil praeter prolem dare poterant, unde et proletarii dicti sunt. Proletarius* derives from *proles*, though not in the sense of those who

nihil praeter prolem dare poterant; *proletarii* are probably seventeen-year-old youngsters who are able to procreate. Plaut. Mil. 752 uses the word as does Gellius: *proletario sermone nunc quidem, hospes, utere*, as opposed to *oratio vetus atque antiqua*. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht III 237ff.; B. Kübler, Classici, RE III (1899); A. Rosenberg, Untersuchungen zur römischen Zenturienverfassung, 1911, 32ff.; G. Wesenberg, Proletarii, RE XXIII (1957); W. Sontheimer, Adsiduus, Kleine Pauly (1962); A. Richard, Classis, Kleine Pauly (1964); W. Kierdorf, Locuples, Kleine Pauly (1968). J.C. Rolfe in his edition of Gellius translates: 'any classical or authoritative writer, not one of the common herd'; Marache, La critique 208: 'un écrivain ayant droit de bourgeoisie, pignon sur rue, et non un vagabond'; Portalupi: 'qualche oratore classico e cittadino non proletario'.

263,32 Chronology: see at 260,6. Wissowa dates this conversation c. 147; Haines after 143; Cebeillac, Les Quaestores principis et Candidati aux Ier et IIième siècles de l'Empire, Paris 1972, 196ff., c. 150; R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire, Cambridge ²1977, 157, dates it 148–180 (but see at 159,12–14).

263,33 *Celsinum Iulium*: cognomen first, see at 108,14. H. Dessau, Iulius Celsinus 172, PIR II¹ p. 186, and A. Stein, Iulius Celsinus, RE X (1918), know him only from this passage; however, A. Stein, Iulius nos. 255 and 501, PIR ²IV; R. Hanslik, P. Iulius Proculus Celsinus, RE Suppl. XII (1970); Cebeillac l.l.; and Champlin, Fronto 14, identify him with the Cirtan P. Iulius Proculus Celsinus of S. Gsell's Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie II 638, where he is called *praetor kandidatus*, but see at 195,8 and 200,8. Apparently, he was a student of ancient writers, see 264,16, but whether he was a pupil of Fronto (so Champlin) is not certain. G. Camodeca, Atti d. Acad. di scienze mor. e pol. 85, 1974, 261 n. 56, does not believe that our Iulius Celsinus is the same as Iulius Proculus Celsinus because of what he supposes to be the late spelling *kandidatus*; he dates Iulius Proculus Celsinus c. 200. In the Lex Colon. Gen. Iuliae 135 (first century BC), however, we already read several times *petitor kandidatus*; see also CIL III 11180; VI 1337; XIV 3902. So we cannot say with Champlin: 'the spelling *kandidatus* is precisely what one would expect from a fervent archaist'.

263,33–34 *Frontonem Cornelium*: see at 108,14.

263,34 *pedes aegrum*: podagra, see Table of Matters s.v. Fronto.

Ire et visere is unusual for *ire visere* (Plaut. Bacch. 900; Cas. 856; Ter. Phorm. 102; Hec. 189; 345; Gell. 16,3,2). It is a colloquialism, see Hofmann-Szantyr 783f.

263,35 *scimpodio*: a σκιμπόδιον is a small couch, also called κράβ(β)ατος (*grabat(t)us* in Latin since Lucilius, Varro and Cicero). *Scimpodium* is found only here.

Graeciensis only here and Plin. Nat. 4,51 and 35,36, where it is the same as *Graecus*. CIL VI 6561 has *Graecensis*. Here in Gellius it is the same as *Graecanicus*, 'in Greek style' or 'of Greek workmanship', 'alla greca' (Portalupi). In Apul. Met. 3,9,1 and 11,17,3 we find *ritu Graeciensi*, 'typically Greek'.

Circumundique: Gellius uses this word several times: 4,5,3; 13,25,1; 14,2,9. Before him, only Stat. Theb. 2,228; 4,432; Silv. 5,1,155. Verg. Aen. 3,634

undique circum fundimur; Liv. 23,19,8 *circa undique* and 28,15,13; 29,36,1 and 42,56,8 *undique circa*.

263,37 *fabri*: for private buildings a contractor was not necessary: the architect chose his workmen: Plaut. Mil. 919 *architecto adsunt fabri*; Vitruv. 6,8,10 a building can only be a success *cum is* (sc. *architectus*) *et a fabris et ab idiotis patiatur accipere se consilia*; Colum. 1 praef. 4 *qui aedificare velint, fabros et architectos advocent. Faber aedium* does not occur elsewhere.

Balneis: a new private bath in Fronto's palazzo near the Porta Esquilina, see at 20,11. Duncan-Jones, The Economy 224 and 76, has misunderstood this passage.

263,38 *depictas*: Vitruv. 1,1,4 *graphidis scientiam habere (architectum oportet), quo facilius exemplaribus pictis quam velit operis speciem deformare valeat* etc.

Membranulis: 'pieces of parchment', not 'scrolls' (Haines). In Fronto's time, parchment was hardly used for literary works (see 56,1); because it could be reused several times (palimpsest), it was very suitable for plans and drafts: Hor. Sat. 2,3,2 *membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens*; Catull. 22,4f. *puto esse ego illi milia aut decem aut plura* (sc. *carmina*) *perscripta nec sic, ut fit, in palimpseston relata: cartae regiae, novi libri*; Mart. 14,7 *esse putas ceras, licet haec membrana vocetur: delebis, quotiens scripta novare voles*. The diminutive occurs first in Cic. Att. 4,4 b,1, where it is used for making indices, labels, of a book. Scaev. Dig. 32,1,102 pr. uses *menbranula* for a short chirography.

263,39 *formam speciemque*: 'ground-plan and sketch' of the exterior, but it may be a hendiadys. For the reasons why Fronto wanted a new bath see at 82,8, and probably such a new bath needed new water-pipes, see at 260,1–5.

263,40 *pecuniae sumptus*: Vitruv. 10 praef. 1 *architectus cum publicum opus curandum recipit, pollicetur, quanto sumptu id sit futurum*, and the same must be done for a *privatum opus*. Some architects were not happy with such an obligation: Colum. R.R. 5,1,3. On Fronto's financial status see at 111,1.

263,41 *sestertia trecenta*, 300,000 sesterces, a modest price compared with the fancy bath in Iuv. 7,178 which cost 600,000 sesterces. See at 95,7. For other sumptuous baths see Mart. 6,42 and Stat. Silv. 1,5,47ff., where no price is given. See Friedländer, Sittengeschichte II 335; Duncan-Jones o.c. 157.

264,1 and 28 *praeterpropter*, 'round about', 'approximately', 'there or thereabout' (Haines), is one of those words which occurred in old Latin and lived on only in the sermo plebeius of Fronto's time. The word is only found in the writers Gellius mentions. In the last lines of our fragment of Ennius' Iphigenia the chorus speaks of human life: things do not pass off as we should like them to, and 264,30f. indicates that, according to some philosophers, life has no sense at all. Both in Ennius and in Fronto *praeterpropter* is an adverb, not a preposition with accusative, as M. Hertz, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. 7, 1873–75, 85, assumes, and it is not the same as *praeterea* or *seorsum*, as Lucian Müller in his edition of Ennius 217 states. In line 28, I have kept *vitam*, though Salmasius' conjecture (Claude de Saumaise) has found several supporters. *Vitam vivitur*, 'one lives his life', has its equal in Plaut. Mil. 24, where we should perhaps read *epityra estur*, and in Lucr.

2,1129 *manus dandum est.* See Hofmann-Szantyr 39; 287. On *praeterpropter* see C. Hamp, Die zusammengesetzten Präpositionen im Lateinischen, Archiv 5, 1888, 331f.; Abbot, Preaterpropter; Krebs & Schmalz, Antibarbarus II 369; Hofmann-Szantyr 244.

264,7 *grammatici*: contemporary grammarians always come off badly in Gellius: 2,6; 2,21,6; 4,1; 5,4; 5,21; 6,17; 9,6; 10,29; 11,1,5; 13,3; 14,5; 15,9; 17,2; 18,4; 18,5; 18,6; 20,10. They are often called ignorant and arrogant: the circles of learned amateurs in which Gellius mixed looked down upon these poor professionals. See at 93,10. Marcus, Medit. 1,4 παρὰ τοῦ προπάππου τὸ μὴ εἰς δημοσίας διατριβὰς φοιτῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἀγαθοῖς διδασκάλοις κατ' οἶκον χρήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γνῶναι ὅτι εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖ ἐκτενῶς ἀναλίσκειν.

264,10 *obscuritate*: 'meanness' (Haines).

Nescioquid hoc: 'this wretched word', see at 95,5. *Nescioquid* is not an adverb 'somehow' (Haines).

264,11 *praenimis* occurs only here.

264,12 *quidquam* is Rebling's conjecture, which is as good or as bad as other conjectures. Not in our editions of Gellius are the conjectures <*usquam*> of C. Brakman, Gelliana, Miscella altera, Lugduni Batavorum 1913, 15, and <*nobilium*> of J.H. Schmalz, Berl. philol. Wochenschr. 35, 1915, 128.

264,13–14 *dehonestum (= inhonestum)* and *deculpatum (= culpabile)* are found only here. See at 97,12.

264,15 *pleraque aetas*: the singular *plerusque* also in Sall. Cat. 17,6 *iuventus pleraque*; Iug. 54,9 *exercitum plerumque*; 79,2 *pleraque Africa*; Gell. 17,21,12 *pleraque Graecia.*

Superior: Cic. Orat. 161 *iam subrusticum videtur, olim autem politius.*

Latino: 'good Latin' (Haines), cp. Naevius' epitaph in Gell. 1,24,2 *obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina.*

264,18 *contaminari*: 'be muffed', 'tangled' (Haines).

Enarrari is since Quint. Inst. 1,2,14 the technical term for the grammarian's explanation of texts. Gellius uses it several times: 2,23,11; 3,16,8; 13,10,2; 3,19,3 *nimis moleste atque odiose confabricatus commolitusque magis est originem vocabuli . . . quam enarravit.* Cp. Fronto 141,22; 150,12.

264,20 *inscriptos*: 'recorded'.

264,30 *Ennium tuum*: see at 259,8 p. 579.

264,32 *petimus dicas*: see at 37,11.

264,33 *motus*: so M. Hertz in his edition with the MSS. If this is correct, it should mean 'changed', cp. e.g. Ovid. Met. 8,729 *forma semel mota est*; Liv. 34,54,8 *nihil motum ex antiquo*, and we must assume that Ennius' use of *praeterpropter* deviates from the proper use of the word with numbers. Hosius, Marshall and Rolfe read *remotus*, 'unusual', 'not customary' (not 'hidden' [Rolfe]). Hertz has also suggested *ignotus*, and Haines reads with Gronov *notus*, 'what is held to be the meaning', but such use of *noscor* is suspect. Not correct is 'quale significato scaturisca da questo verso' (Portalupi). There is no reason to alter *quid* to *qui* or *quis*.

264,35 *id: ridere aliquid* and *aliquem* is used since Plautus.

265,1 *inscitiores*: 'the more ignorant listeners' (Haines).

265,3 Chronology: see at 260,6. Wissowa dates this conversation 155–160,

Haines after 143. Astarita, Note 424, dates it before 143 because Fronto is not called *consularis*, but see at 260,7 and 262,19. *Postumius Festus* was younger than Fronto, see at 265,4f.

265,4 *vestibulum*: the atrium, see Gell. 16,5.

Palatii: for the salutatio matutina see at 3,25f. Gell. 4,1,1 *in vestibulo aedium Palatinarum omnium fere ordinum multitudo opperientes salutationem Caesaris constiterant*; 20,1,2 *in area Palatina, cum salutationem Caesaris opperiremur.* It is of course Pius whom they are going to salute, not Marcus, as Astarita l.l. thinks; Marcus himself took part in such a salutation, see 61,9; 62,12.

265,4–5 *Fronto . . . Sulpicius*: cognomen first, see at 108,14; 262,21; 263,33. On M. Postumius Festus see at 199,15; 172,5. He was considerably younger than Fronto.

C. Sulpicius Apollinaris is often quoted by Gellius, who regarded him as an outstanding grammarian. He was much older than Gellius, whom he addresses 13,20,5 as *fili.* In the early 140s he was teacher of grammar to the future emperor Pertinax, Vita Pert. 1,4. We should not be led astray by the fact that Fronto addresses him as *magister*: this is the title of a grammarian and it does not mean that he was Fronto's teacher. Sulpicius was a native of Carthage, and Heurgon, Fronton 142, supposes that it was there, too, that Fronto received his education; erroneously, as we have seen at 17,8. Fronto and Sulpicius were of the same age. See on Sulpicius PIR III[1] p. 282 no. 707; Wessner, RE IV A 1 (1931); H. Gärtner, Kleine Pauly (1974); and at 272,10.

265,6 *litterarum disciplinis*: philology and grammar. The expression is found only here and 15,30,1.

265,8 *an*: 'if not', see at 138,3.

Supersederim: 'I have always abstained from' rather than 'in giving up' (Haines). It is what Kühner I 152f. calls the 'tempus antecedens iterativum'.

265,8–9 *nanos et pumiliones*: *nanus* from νᾶνος. In 19,13,3 Apollinaris states that if Fronto would use the word *nanus* it would be more acceptable *quam quae a Laberio ignobilia nimis et sordentia in usum linguae Latinae intromissa sunt*, and he refers to Lab. Com. 3 Ribbeck (from Gell. 16,7,10), where we learn that Laberius was the first to introduce *nanus* for *pumilio.* In 19,13,5 Helvius Cinna frg. 9 Morel is quoted, who uses *nani* for midget horses: *me . . . bigis raeda rapit citata nanis.* Later the word is found in Prop. 4,8,41; Iuv. 8,32; Suet. Tib. 61,6; Vita Alex. Sev. 34,2 *nanos et nanas et moriones*; Schol. Iuv. 1,35; Isid. Orig. 11,3,7. *Nanus* is also used for a small pitcher: Varro, L.L. 5,119 *nanus cum Graeco nomine*; Fest. p. 177. It lived on in Romanic languages, unlike the more dignified *pumilio.*

Pumilio: Lucr. 4,1162; Sen. Epist. 76,31; Mart. 1,43,10; 14,213,2; Plin. Nat. 11,260 *pumilionum genus in omnibus animalibus est, atque etiam inter volucres* (10,156; cp. Aristot. Part. anim. 4,10, 986 b)), of plants 12,13 and 17,176 (see Fronto's *chamaetorta* 143,11); CIL XIV 4110. The form *pumilus* Mart. 14,197 *mulae pumilae* (lemma); 14,212 (lemma); Stat. Silv. 1,6,57; 1,6,64 (?); Suet. Aug. 83.

265,10 *veterum*: see at 19,16.

Sordidum: see at 156,3.

265,12 *civitate donatum*: the Greek word *nanus* was, if not completely Roman, yet almost a Latin word by the *ius Latii*. See at 131,3.

In . . . deductum: 'naturalized as a Latin colonist' (Haines), a metaphor found nowhere else.

265,15 Though the opposite has been maintained, Lucian does not have in mind here our Fronto. In chapters 14–18 Lucian ridicules the abominable style and the uncritical contents of the works of some Greek writers who glorified Verus' exploits in the Parthian War, in 165 or shortly thereafter. In chapter 19 follows ἄλλος τις who fancies himself another Thucydides. One of his follies is to convert Latin names like *Saturninus*, *Fronto* and *Titianus* into Greek names. In his first edition (377 n. 1), Mai states that these three persons are historians, an incorrect conclusion because the historian in question is the ἄλλος τις ἀοίδιμος ἐπὶ λόγων δύναμει, who uses those names in his story of Verus' deeds. But no one has ever heard of historians in this period called *Saturninus* or *Titianus* (on lawyers called *Saturninus* see Schanz III 200; on *Titianus* see at 272,9). Though Lucian clearly speaks of Greek writers, several philologists think that he means our Fronto: Philibert-Soupé 75 n. 2; Passow, Lucian 13; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Brock, Studies 65; Schanz III 93; Révay, A Lost Work; K. Kilburn in his Loeb edition of Lucian; Baldwin, Studies 46. Haines I, XXIV n. 4, even goes so far as to identify the ἄλλος τις ἀοίδιμος with Fronto himself. But when Lucian in 165 or shortly after wrote his Quomodo, Fronto's Principia Historiae had not yet been published, and Fronto never wrote his proposed history of Verus' Parthian War, see Proleg. LIXf. and at 202,1f. In his second edition (312 n. 1) and his third (223 n. 1), Mai revised his opinion, seeing in the three persons mentioned not historians but commanders in Verus' army and identifying Lucian's Fronto with M. Claudius Fronto, commander under Verus and cos. suff. in 165; see at 108,14. This view is shared by Napp, De rebus 70; E. Groag, RE II 2722 (1899) and PIR II^2 no. 874 p. 203; H. Dessau in his note at 1097 of his Inscr. Lat. selectae; R. Hanslik, M. Claudius Fronto, Kleine Pauly (1964). That Lucian's Fronto could not be our Fronto had already been seen by Niebuhr 239; Berger, Fronton historien 458; P. von Rohden, RE II 1833 (1899); H. Homeyer, Lukian, Wie man Geschichte schreiben soll, München 1965, 220; Cova, I Principia 104; Della Corte, Frontone storiografo 269f. If Lucian's Fronto is M. Claudius Fronto, Saturninus and Titianus may have been junior officers, see at 202,1f. and 203,2.

265,19 ὡς = ὥστε.

265,22 Of all his teachers of rhetoric, Marcus praises only Fronto, not as a rhetor or a lawyer but as a sincere and truthful man. See at 28,7–16; 44,24; 111,17; and Medit. 8,30. Fronto had already died when Marcus wrote this memorial, see at 159,12.

265,23 τυραννικὴ βασσανία: 'the envy of tyrants'. Marcus uses τύραννος and τυραννικός always in malam partem.

Ποικιλία: 'incalculability', 'doppiezza' (Portalupi).

265,24 ὡς ἐπίπαν: 'as a rule'.

Εὐπατρίδαι: 'patricians'.

265,25 ἀστοργότεροί: see at 111,17; 28,7–16.

265,27 διδασκάλους: Medit. 1,13 Marcus says that he has learned from Cinna Catulus τὸ περὶ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐκθύμως εὔφημον, but here he probably refers to inferior teachers.

265,28 Artemidorus was a younger contemporary of Fronto. In the second century, particularly in Stoic circles, dream-reading was extremely popular, see at 43,5 and Galenus' Περὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐνυπνίων διαγνώσεως.

265,29 ἀρθριτικός: not a very flattering way to speak of of a man of whom Artemidorus must have heard when he was in Rome. There are dozens of passages, from 139 on, where Fronto complains of arthritis in feet, hands, arms and shoulders; see Table of Matters s.v. Fronto.

Αἰτήσας sc. the gods.

Ἔδοξεν: in his dreams.

Προαστείοις: Artemidorus gives several examples of dreams which speak in riddles without presenting a direct cure. In his dreams Fronto is walking in the suburbs of Rome (προάστεια); when he wakes up he realizes that προάστειον is the same as πρόπολις and that πρόπολις has two meanings: 'suburb' and 'bee-glue' (Latin *meligo*). Friedländer, Sittengeschichte III 173, has missed the point. See Varro, R.R. 3,16,23f.; Serv. auct. Georg. 4,39 *fucus est genus cerae, qua pro glutine abutuntur; Graeci* πρόπολιν *vocant.* Celsus repeatedly recommends propolis, but not against arthritis; Plin. Nat. 24,47 knows it as an unguent. On bees as an omen see at 112,20.

265,30 παρηγορήθη: 'he was comforted'. Ὡς = ὥστε, as 33,20; 265,19.

265,31 ἴσον: 'adequate'.

266,1–2 A slab of Pentelic marble found in 1937 and now in the Museo Correale in Sorrento. It was fixed into a wall of a house in Sorrento, in memory of Fronto's daughter Cornelia Cratia. The house itself dates back to the middle of the first century BC. Later, Fronto was the owner, see 60,17. He left it to his daughter. Sorrento was a healthy and agreeable seaside town (Hor. Epist. 1,17,52; Sil. 5,466) where several Romans had a country house (Suet. Aug. 65,1; Stat. Silv. 2,2,1). See at 76,4 and J.H. D'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples 1970, 210; Champlin, Fronto 23f. At 61,5 we have seen that Cratia junior was born c. 142 and that she married Aufidius Victorinus c. 157. See at 178,7. In 166–167 she was still alive, as we can see from 235,20; 237,26; 240,2. She died at the end of the second century or at the beginning of the third.

266,3 *Cratiae*: the inscription confirms that her name as well as her mother's was Cratia, not Gratia, see at 32,21 and 113,4, in spite of Anna Rocco, Iscrizione 349, and A. Stein, Gratia 219, PIR IV (1952). Mustilli, Iscrizione, shows a picture of the slab which clearly reads Cratiae; yet Mustilli still calls her Gratia.

266,4 This inscription had already been copied by Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli in the fifteenth century. It is to be found on a small sarcophagus now in the Museo Archeologico Oliveriano of Pesaro. See A. Garzetti, L'Impero da Tiberio agli Antonini, Bologna 1960, 529; Giuliano, Il sarcofago; A. Brancati, La biblioteca e i musei Oliveriani di Pesaro, Pesaro 1976, 238.

266,5 M. Aufidius Fronto, Fronto's great-grandson, died as a

as we can see from the size of the sarcophagus—in the same year his father (M. Aufidius) Fronto was consul: 199. 178,10 Fronto hopes for great-grandsons.

266,6 *magistri*: see at 86,26.

Nepotis is a mistake of the engraver.

On C. Aufidius Victorinus see at 86,16; 176,5; 178,7; 179,4; 179,10. He was praefectus urbis c. 179–183 and consul in 155 and 183, see Pflaum, La carrière. He died a few years after his second consulate.

266,7 *Fronto*: M. Aufidius (Victorinus) Fronto here calls himself Fronto, like his grandfather 178,14. He was Fronto's favourite grandchild since he spent several years with him in Rome when his parents stayed in Germany. He was born c. 158–159 and married Cassia Cornelia Prisca (L'Année, Épigr. 1971, no. 79 p. 34). See at 61,5; 86,16; 91,14; 178,7; 235,1; and E. Groag, Aufidius 1385, PIR I²; R. Hanslik, Aufidius 4, Kleine Pauly (1963). W. Eck, M. Aufidius Fronto, RE Suppl. XIV (1974).

266,9 J. Schwartz has in vain attempted to demonstrate that Cassius Dio had read Fronto's correspondence, see Proleg. LXII n. 4.

266,10–11 τὰ πρῶτα φερόμενος: 'who held the first place' (Haines).

Τότε: Dio dates this event in 136, and though it may have happened one or two years earlier there is no reason to date it with Champlin, Fronto 138, to the 120s rather than the 130s. Marcius Turbo became praefectus praetorio in 119, apparently for a long period, see H. Cüppers, Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus, Kleine Pauly (1969); Maria Cristofori, L'Oratio' 136 n. 33; Champlin, Fronto 176 n. 7; and at 162,19. The fact that in 136 Fronto was at the pinnacle of his career as a barrister helps us to establish the year of his birth, see at 25,3.

Ἑσπέρας βαθείας: 'very late in the evening' (Haines). The same expression Plut. Moral. 2, 179 c and Pausan. 4,18,3; cp. Lucian Asin. 34 νὺξ βαθεία. Ἤδη in line 13 means 'still', not 'già' (Portalupi). Lawsuits were supposed to end at sunset, but in actual practice they could last much longer, see at 231,2.

266,12 αὐτὸν is not Hadrian, as Haines II 251 and Millar, Emperors at Work 18, think, but the praetorian prefect Marcius Turbo. Lawyers used to address themselves to the emperor, but usually the emperor was not present at the session, see at 10,16. In front of Hadrian, Fronto would hardly have dared to make such a joke, see at 25,3–9; 238,11f. Moreover, in 136 Hadrian was ill and stayed in Tivoli. It seems that Marcius Turbo was regularly sitting in judgement, which is the oldest evidence of a praetorian prefect in his role of judge, see M. Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes 1938, 171; A. Passerini, Le coorte pretorie, Roma 1939, 235; M. Hammond, The Antonine Monarchy, Rome 1959, 442; Champlin, Fronto 61.

266,13 στολῇ δειπνίτιδι: the *vestis convivalis* or *cenatoria* (Vita Maxim. iun. 4); the Greek term occurs only here. It was a comfortable house-dress (*synthesis*) worn at dinner parties. Mart. 6,24 *Saturnalibus ambulat togatus* means that the man wore a *toga* instead of a *synthesis* (Mart. 2,46,4; 5,79,2; 14,1,1; Suet. Nero 51 *synthesinam indutus*). Since Petronius authors usually have *cenatorium*, mostly in the plural, e.g. Petron. 56,9 *cenatoria et forensia*. According

to the Acta arv. a. 218 A1; 219,7; and 241,12, these *cenatoria* were white. See Blümner, Privataltertümer 219; Marquardt-Mau, Privatleben 322; 570.

266,15 τό: cp. e.g. Plato, Meno 72 e τῇ αὐτῇ ἰσχύι ἰσχυρὰ ἔσται. τὸ γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦτο λέγω etc.

Χαῖρε, *salve*, *have*, 'good day', is the salutation formula when two persons meet; ὑγίαινε, *vale*, 'good night', when they say goodbye. Suet. Galba 4,4 *obstinatissime retinuit, ut liberti servique . . . mane salvere, vesperi valere sibi singuli dicerent*, because these terms had become confused. See Lucian. Laps. 1ff. and J. Preibisch, De sermonis cotidiani formulis quibusdam veterum Romanorum, diss., Erlangen, Halis Sax. 1908, 12ff.; 32ff.; Ziemann, De epistularum 293; 335; 345; Hug, Salutatio, RE 2. Reihe II (1920); Exler, The Form 32ff.; Roller, Das Formular 449 n. 267; W.H. Gross, Salutatio, Kleine Pauly (1972); C.D. Lanham, Salutatio Formulas in Latin Letters to 1200, München 1975, passim; H. Zilliacus, Grussformen, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1983). A similar joke we find in letters written to the megalomaniac Menecrates by Philippus of Macedonia and Agesilaus (Plut. Ages. 21; Reg. Apophth. 191 A and Apophth. Lac. 213 A; Aelian. V.H. 12,51; Athen. 289 E). Menecrates had begun his letters with Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς Φιλίππῳ ('Αγησιλάῳ) χαίρειν, and they were answered Φίλιππος ('Αγησίλαος) Μενεκράτει ὑγιαίνειν, which we could almost translate by 'wishes you a speedy recovery'. See O. Weinreich, Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus, Stuttgart 1933, 19ff. And there is the story of Augustus' friend Fulvius (or Flavius) in Plut. Garrul. 11: Fulvius had heard Augustus say that he lamented Postumus' lot; Fulvius told his wife, his wife told Livia and ἐλθόντος οὖν ἕωθεν . . . τοῦ Φουλβίου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος 'χαῖρε, Καῖσαρ' 'ὑγιαιν', εἶπε, 'Φούλβιε', 'goodbye'.

266,19 Φρόντωνα τὸν Κορνήλιον: see at 262,21.

Herodes Atticus: see at 13,14 and 36,1.

266,20 *Iunius Rusticus*: see at 88,3f.

Apollonius: see at 79,16.

266,21 ὑπὸ τῆς φύσως: see at 87,26.

266,23 Norden, Kunstprosa II^3 577, thinks that Solinus may have read 159,9 *monetam illam veterem sectator*, but it is a locus communis, see at 159,9. Moreover, when Solinus wrote his Collectanea, Fronto's letters had probably not yet been published, see Proleg. LXII n. 4.

266,26 Whether Ps. Eumenius has known Fronto's letters is highly questionable, see Proleg. LXII n. 4. Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Klotz, Studien 547; Schanz III^3 90; Ussani, Frontone 59; Della Corte in his edition of Fronto 58f.; Pepe, Marco Aurelio latino 80; Champlin, Chronology 157; and Portalupi, Retorica 272, believe that *Fronto, Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus* was taken by Eumenius from 27,21M *decus eloquentiae Romanae*; this is most unlikely, see at 27,21 and 258,3. However, Eumenius' testimony is interesting because he is the first after Minucius Felix to mention a speech by Fronto, see at 259,8 p. 574 and at 269,14.

266,27 *delicata*: 'exuberant', not 'indolent' (Galletier in his Budé edition 1952) or 'elegante' (Portalupi).

267,1–2 *secundum . . . alterum*: not 'the second' but 'a second'. The

lowing passages are different: Nepos, Pelop. 4,3 *haec fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda ita, ut proxima esset Epaminondae*; Plin. Nat. 5,73 *Engada oppidum fuit secundum ab Hierosolymis fertilitate . . ., nunc alterum bustum*; Pompon. Gramm. V 173,6 *secundus a Romulo, alter ab Sylla.*

267,2 *in Britannia*: Vita Pii 5,4 *per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro cespiticio summotis barbaris ducto*; see also Pausan. 8,43,4. On Q. Lollius Urbicus see at 191,6. His victory over the Brigantes took place in 142–143, not in 140 as Naber XXXIf. and Haines II 251 think. See H. Dessau, Lollius 240, PIR II 297; PIR V[2] Lollius 327; Münzer, Lollius Urbicus, RE XIII (1927); Hüttl, Antoninus Pius I 239; 254; 361; II 65f.; 87f.; A.R. Birley, The Duration of Provincial Commands under Antoninus Pius, Corolla E. Swoboda, Graz/Köln 1966, 47f., and The Roman Governors of Britain, Epigr. Stud. 4, 1967, 71f.; R. Keydell, Q. Lollius Urbicus, Kleine Pauly (1968). Fronto's *laus Antonini* was held in the senate; it has nothing to do with his speech of thanks for his consulate, as has been assumed by Niebuhr XXIX; P. von Rohden, RE II 2502 (1896); Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; Haines I, XVI; A. Stein, Cornelius 1364, PIR II[2] (1936). See at 17,16f.; 161,12.

267,4 *auspicium*: 'supreme command'.

267,4–5 *veluti . . . meruisse* seems to be a quotation from Fronto's speech; it bears some resemblance to Cic. Fam. 1,9,21, the only place before Fronto where the word *velificatio* occurs. See also Cic. Planc. 94 and Balb. 61. On the simile see at 88,20.

Praesidentem: 'to superintend', whereas Plin. Pan. 81,4 says of Trajan *non ille fluitantia vela aut oculis sequitur aut manibus, sed nunc gubernaculis adsidet.* Cp. the proverb in Ammian. 29,2,21 *velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam.*

267,8 Nazarius is the first writer who seems to have read Fronto's letters, in casu the Principia Historiae, see Proleg. LXII n. 4, for he and Fronto 212,2 (marg. a) are the only authors to mention the appearance of the *catafracti* in Verus' Parthian War. The remarkable *Antoninus imperator* instead of Verus imperator may be explained by the fact that the Principia Historiae are a letter addressed to *Antoninus Augutus* (202,3). But Nazarius has not only read the Principia: *in toga praestans* seems to refer to 80,6ff.; 87,17; and to the letters Ad Antonin. III 3–6 pp. 102f. The benevolence with which Verus is here judged makes all the difference compared with the judgement of the Vita Veri; it can only be explained if Fronto is Nazarius' source, though Fronto of course does not speak of fear on Verus' part: he calls it *consiliorum sollertia* (211,17). Where did Nazarius get his information on this point?

267,9 *in toga*: 'in political life', not 'pendant la paix' (Galletier and Portalupi).

267,10 *futilis*: Nazarius is the only writer to combine this adjective with an ablative. Cp. Cassius Dio 71,1,3 τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλληλότερος.

Experiretur: experior usually with accusative; with ablative only Tac. Ann. 12,14,3 *rem in casum dare proelioque experiri*; nowhere else with a preposition.

Catafractis: see at 212,2 (marg. a).

267,11–12 *ultro litteras daret*: 212,4 *litterae ultro dederat*. For these *litterae* see at 108,20 and 126,7.

Regem: Vologaesus III.

267,12 *immodicus* and *modicus* are used with genitive since Velleius and Columella.

267,14 Charisius: see Proleg. LXII n. 4. It is remarkable that Charisius repeatedly quotes from Fronto's letters and only once from a speech (Testim. 22), see at 259,1. I have given Testim. 21 the way our only MS presents it in order to show how bad its text is; cp. Fronto's text 229,15ff. See Proleg. LXII n. 5. I regret to see that Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 373, perseveres in what is wrong.

267,18 When Charisius is speaking of Fronto it is always our Fronto. Putsche in his edition of Charisius, Gramm. Lat. IV, Lipsiae 1840, 111, thinks that it is Ti. Catius Caesius Fronto (Plin. Epist. 2,11,3 and 18; 4,9,15; 6,13,3), and O. Froehde, De C. Iulio Romano Charisii auctore, Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. 18, 1891, 619, identifies him with the Stoic Fronto whom we know from Mart. 14,106. The misunderstanding arose from a false interpretation of line 23.

267,21 *parentum*: this is the more usual form and Cicero prefers it to *parentium*, see Neue-Wagener I³ 404ff. In Fronto's letters the gen. pluralis is not found; see at 11,17.

267,22 *pro Ptolemensibus: Ptolemenses* is the correct form, see Ulp. Dig. 50,15,1,3; Itala I Macc. 12,4,8; II Macc. 13,25; Marcell. Chron. II p. 65, 398,3. Ptolemais cannot be identified: there were several cities of that name in Egypt and one each in Ethiopia, Phoenicia and Pamphylia. Philibert-Soupé 24; Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto; and Champlin, Fronto 66, suppose that it is the one in Cyrenaica. It seems that we are here dealing with a speech held in the senate on behalf of a city which had been hit by some calamity. If, as Champlin thinks, *parentum tuorum* refers to the emperor (see at 10,16), it must be Pius, whose *parentes* were Trajan and Hadrian (when Fronto addressed Marcus or Verus when they were emperors the *parentes* were Hadrian and Pius: 3,21; 122,22). We know that Ptolemais in Cyrenaica was severely damaged by the Jewish revolt in 114, but it is unlikely that after 138 there was still reason for Fronto to call on the emperor for help. Perhaps the calamity was an earthquake, like 89,3 in Cyzicus, or in Asia Minor, see at 256,1–3. If so, Ptolemais in Pamphylia might be considered: Fronto had certain connections with Asia; his wife was Greek and according to Champlin she might have been a native of Ephesus (see at 113,4); Fronto appeared for the defence in a testamentary case in Asia (see at 10,14ff.); he promoted the interests of the Cilicians (167,9) and the Bithynians (180,8). Be that as it may, there is no reason to suppose that Ptolemais in Cyrenaica is concerned; an earthquake in the Pentapolis, the capital of which was Ptolemais, is not mentioned before c. 400 AD, see Synes. Epist. 58.

267,23 *ut . . . vicem*: put a semicolon after *tuorum*: 'as, for that matter, Pliny states on account of poets who' etc. Keil and Barwick punctuate

Plinius; alias poetarum etc. If we do that, Fronto cannot be our Cornelius Fronto, for Charisius refers to Pliny the Elder, of whose Dubii sermonis libri we have some fragments edited by J.W. Beck, Lipsiae 1894, and Pliny could not quote Fronto. *Alias* in the sense of 'for that matter' is a speciality of Pliny and it seems that *alias* ... *sopierunt* is a direct quotation. For *vicem* with genitive cp. e.g. Liv. 28,19,17 *sollicitis vicem imperatoris militibus.*

Regulam: viz. that the genitive should be *parentium.*

267,24 *sopierunt*: for this form cp. Ovid. Met. 7,213 *sopistis*; Claud. Cons. Stil. 1,4 *sopierat.* Metaphorically since Cic. Cael. 41 *quibus sopita virtus coniveret interdum*; cp. Plin. Nat. 2,195 *tempestates tunc sopiuntur.* It is not a question of negligence that poets use the form *parentum,* but metri causa; so we find *parentum* in Lucretius, Vergil, Catullus and Horace.

267,25 See at 68,18.

268,1 See at 96,15.

268,5 See at 16,4f.

268,8 See at 29,1.

268,13 Schanz III[3] 233 n. 5 supposes that Iulius Victor may have read Fronto 106,13 (marg. d); 215,10f.; 104,14; but this is impossible to prove, as is the thesis of L. Radermacher, Iulius Victor, RE X (1918), that Victor's statement goes back to Iulius Titianus, see at 272,9. Cp. Augustin. Catech. 6,10 *fictas poetarum fabulas* ... *grammatici ad aliquam utilitatem referre conantur.* For Fronto and the ancient comedy see at 29,3; 49,19; 57,2; 106,13 (marg. d); for Cicero's letters see at 104,12–14.

268,15 On the different forms of comedy and mime see Don. Ter. Ad. 7; Euanth. De com. 4,1; Schol. Hor. Ars 288; Lyd. Mag. 1,40; Schanz I 264ff. The word *mimofabulae* is found only here.

268,17 Iul. Vict. Ars rhet. p. 106,13–16 *Graece aliquid addere epistulis suave est, si id neque intempestive neque crebro facias, et proverbio uti* etc. Fronto does both things, but there is no proof that Iulius Victor is referring to Fronto 215,27. Cp. Demetr. Herm. 232 κάλλος μέντοι αὐτῆς αἵτε φιλικαὶ φιλοφρονήσεις καὶ πυκναὶ παροιμίαι ἐνοῦσαι καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον ἐνέστω αὐτῇ σόφον διότι δημοτικόν τί ἐστιν ἡ παροιμία καὶ κοινόν. Quint. Inst. 6,3,96 *adiuvant urbanitatem et versus commode positi*; 98 *et proverbia opportune aptata.*

268,20 Diomedes' source is Charisius, see 271,3, or vice versa, or they have used a common source, see Schanz IV 1,171. Naturally the name Fronto is fortuitous and does not necessarily point to our Fronto, see at 201,10ff.; 271,24; and Timpanaro, Alcuni citazioni 311. Norden, Kunstprosa I 367: 'bezeichnend ist, dass ... Fronto lange in Mode blieb: sein Name war im vierten Jahrh. so typisch, dass er für Musterverse verwendet wurde'— not very convincing, see at 259,1 and 8 p. 574. See also Norden I, Nachträge 20f. According to Portalupi's first edition 516 n. 19, it may be some author who was indeed discussing our Fronto, possibly a Christian who insinuated that Fronto was present at a pagan orgy. Portalupi[2] wisely drops this note.

268,22 The *Bacchiacum metrum* (- - ⏑) is not a poetical foot but a rhetorical clausula: Quint. Inst. 9,4,82 *duabus longis brevem sequentibus bacchius, eisdem longis brevem praecedentibus palimbacchius erit.* See F. Leo, Die beiden

metrischen Systeme des Alterthums, Hermes 24, 1889, 288ff.; Liddell & Scott s.v. Βακχειακός and Βάκχειος; TLL s.v. bacchiacus and bacchicus.

269,1 As to Fulgentius, everything is uncertain: his identity, his time and his quotations. Usually, he is dated to the second half of the fifth century. Not without hesitation I follow G. Pennisi, Fulgenzio e la Expositio sermonum antiquorum, Firenze 1963, who dates his work 364–373. See P. Langlois, Fulgentius, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1971). It is taken for granted that the place concerned is Nuceria in Campania, though there were other cities of that name in Umbria and Gaul. See at 269,4. Mai[2] XXVIII and Pennisi give credit to this statement, but H. Meyer, Orat. Rom. Fragm. 617; P. Lersch, Fabius Planciades Fulgentius De abstrusis sermonibus, Bonn 1844; and Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, regard it as a falsification. A non liquet seems appropriate here: Schanz III 96; U. Pizzani, Fulgentius, Expositio sermonum antiquorum, Roma 1968, 152. Lersch wrongly thinks that Fulgentius here quotes Apul. Met. 4,33,5.

269,3 *iustitium*: when a state of national emergency was proclaimed in republican times or at the death of a member of the imperial house, the administration of justice was suspended. *Iustitium indicere* is often used since Livy, e.g. 9,7,8 *tabernae circa forum clausae iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam indictum*; Suet. Cal. 24 *eadem defuncta iustitium indixit*; Galba 10. Especially in Tacitus *iustitium* is almost identical with *luctus publicus*: Ann. 1,50,1 *dum iustitio ob amissum Augustum . . . attinemur*; 2,82,4 *ut ante edictum magistratuum, ante senatus consultum sumpto iustitio desererentur fora*; 3,7,1 *exuto iustitio reditum ad munia*, and that is why some editors delete with Muret Ann. 1,16,2 *aut gaudium: fine Augusti et initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium aut gaudium intermiserat solita munia*, wrongly I think, for Tacitus does not mean to say that a iustitium could also be proclaimed in case of a happy event: *aut gaudium* is a sarcasm of Tacitus himself. Cp. also Suet. Tib. 52; Cal. 5. Apul. Met. 4,33,5 *luctuque publico confestim congruens edicitur iustitium*. See at 272,7.

269,4 *Nucerinis*: Fronto was a native of Cirta. In 46 BC Caesar made Cirta a *colonia Sittianorum* (Plin. Nat. 5,22; see the commentary of J. Desanges in his edition of Pliny, Paris 1980; Mela 1,30; *Nucerinorum colonia* Sen. Nat. 6,1,2). The Sittiani were partisans of P. Sittius, who was a native of Nuceria in Campania: 'quam ob rem merito Fronto pro metropoli Nuceria causam oravit' (Mai[2] XXVIIII), a far-fetched and dubious conclusion, already suggested by Niebuhr XX and regarded as plausible by Champlin, Fronto 67, but rejected by the Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817, 169, and by Philibert-Soupé 12.

269,5 The glossaria explain *iustitium* several times as *luctus publicus*, only here with Fronto's name, apparently taken from Fulgentius. See TLL s.v. and Pizzani o.c. 152.

269,7 and 11 Eutropius (his translator Paeanius edited by H. Droysen, Berlin 1879) presents only second-hand information, taken from some unknown chronicler. Testim. 71 and probably 37 and 38 are based on him.

269,12 Ἰταλῶν: Greek authors always distinguish between Ἰταλός and Ῥωμαῖος, but according to Hesychius they can also be identical. See also G. Radke, Kleine Pauly s.v. Italia.

269,14 Ausonius has much in common with Fronto: he was a rhetor, a teacher to an emperor's son and he attained the consulate. He appears to be well informed about Fronto's consulate, and we may assume that he has read Fronto's speech of thanks for his consulate, see at 24,16 and 259,1. It is, for that matter, very likely that panegyrists would take notice of earlier eulogies before writing their own: Ps. Eumenius (Testim. 19) may have done so too; for Fronto himself see at 210,9–211,2. For Nazarius see at 267,8.

269,15 *unica*: Ausonius had compared himself with other tutors of emperors, Seneca, Quintilian and Titianus.

Amplectenda: 'to accept readily'.

269,16 *praefectura*: after his praetorship Fronto did not hold any official post until he became, quite unexpectedly, consul in 143, see 3,22f. and at 36,1; 259,3. This was an exception to the rule and Ausonius was justly surprised, the more so as he himself had been praefectus in Gaul, Libya and Latium. In a letter written after his consulate Fronto asks 3,22f. *provinciam aliquam fideliter administravit? exercitum duxit? nihil eorum*, which does not prove, however, that Ausonius has read Fronto's letters.

Cingeret: 'without the burden of a prefecture weighing him down'. *Cingere* in malam partem e.g. Cod. Theod. 7,22,5 *ne... veterani filius inutilis sacramento cingatur*. Bannier, TLL s.v., subsumes our passage under 'translate: circumdare, complere, implere', just as Fronto 88,10 and 215,18, which is not correct, no more than the translation 'to invest with' by H.G. Evelyn-White and M. Jasinski in their editions of Ausonius.

269,17 *ordinario*: Herodes Atticus, see at 36,1.

Bimestri spatio interpositus: 'intercalé pour deux mois' (Jasinski) is better than 'made to fill up a gap' (Evelyn-White). That Fronto's consulate lasted two months, July and August 143, we know from 29,8f. *duos menses interfuisse* and 31,22, but again this does not imply that Ausonius had read Fronto's letters. In the second century it was quite normal that a consul suffectus was only two months in office. Yet Sen. De ira 3,31 says *nulli ad aliena respicienti sua placent... dedit duodecim fasces, sed non fecit ordinarium consulem.*

269,18 *reliquerit*: 'has left us to find out' (Evelyn-White).

269,19 *quibus consulibus*: the ordinarii of 143 were Herodes Atticus (see at 36,1–39,20) and C. Bellicius Torquatus (see R. Hanslik, Bellicius 6, Kleine Pauly [1962]).

269,20 *fastigium* is usually connected with genitives, such as *dignitatis, fortunae, virtutum*; Quint. Inst. 12,1,20 *in fastigio eloquentiae*. With the genitive of a person's name only here.

269,21 *me contendo* with dative: 'I measure myself against'.

269,23 Though Symmachus says Epist. 2,35 *in scribendo formam vetustatis amplector* and 3,44 ἀρχαισμόν *scribendi non invitus adfecto*, there are no signs that he has read Fronto. Epist. 3,11,2 is a locus communis, see at 159,9. K. Sittl, Archaismus, Commentationes Woelfflinianae, Lipsiae 1891, 406, has cited some expressions found in both authors, but Symmachus did not borrow them from Fronto; see at 34,8f.; 41,1; 49,17; 59,4; 110,4; 132,13; 139,7; 159,18ff. And we cannot say with W. Kroll, De Q. Aurelii Symmachi studiis 98, 'e prosaicis (attingit) Plinium minorem, Tacitum, Frontonem

que ut videtur Gellium'. The same misconception in Haines I, XVII, and H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature, London 1936, 524.

269,25 Hieronymus has not read Fronto's letters or speeches; see at 157,16; 235,1. His information about Fronto stems from Eutropius, see at 269,7. That he finds himself on slippery ground is shown by his name-giving *M. Antoninus Verus*. See at 30,12.

270,1 This testimony was taken from Euseb. H.E. 4,13,8, where Marcus is called Verus. Hieronymus inserts *qui Frontonis oratoris discipulus fuit* from his Chronicle. Such additions are not unusual in Jerome's De viris illustribus, and we should not link Fronto's so-called Oratio contra Christianos with Melito, as has been done by Brzoska, M. Cornelius Fronto, and Maria Cristofori, L'oratio 135 n. 27. See at 259,8.

270,3 *Vero*: see at 30,12.

270,5 Though Jerome had a vast library (Epist. 22,30), Fronto did not figure in it. Jerome must have heard of him from one of his teachers in a lecture on different styles. Cp. e.g. Cic. De orat. 2,128f. *tres sunt res...: una conciliandorum hominum, altera docendorum, tertia concitandorum. harum trium partium prima lenitatem orationis, secunda acumen, tertia vim desiderat*; 3,28 *suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit... gravitatem Africanus, lenitatem Laelius, asperitatem Galba, profluens quiddam habuit Carbo*; Quint. Inst. 12,10,11 *dignitatem Messalae, sanctitatem Calvi, gravitatem Bruti, acumen Sulpici, acerbitatem Cassi reperiemus*; 12,10,59 *ut... in docendo autem acumen, in conciliando lenitas, in movendo vis exigi videatur.* See also Testim. 50; 54; 59, 68. K. Sittl, Jahresb. ü. d. Fort. d. class. Alterthumswiss. 68. Bd., XIX Jahrg. 1891, 235, is wrong in stating that Jerome had studied Fronto as an example.

270,8 *fluvios*: since Cicero, writers often speak of *fluvius (flumen) orationis* or *eloquentiae*. Ammian. 30,4,7 *Cicero orationis imperiosae fluminibus saepe depressos... eripiens flammis*; Hieron. Epist. 36,14,1 *ex flumine Tulliano eloquentiae ducendus est rivulus*; 58,10,2 *Lactantius, quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiae Tullianae.*

Gravitatem: see at 272,4.

Alphabetum sc. *Hebraicum*. This word occurs for the first time in Jerome (and in Ps. Tert. Catal. haer. 5).

270,10 Servius' sources remain partly in the dark, see Teuffel 3,305f.; Schanz IV 1,174. His main source is Aelius Donatus, but Donatus does not figure in our testimonies on Fronto. In grammatical questions Servius often quotes Flavius Caper, who wrote at the end of the second century AD De verbis dubiis, De Latinitate and De dubiis generibus; to this last work Testim. 43 might possibly reach back, which means that *hoc galerum* should be attributed to one of Fronto's speeches, because his letters had not yet been edited when Caper was active as a writer (see Proleg. LIXff.). Servius' other quotations, too, seem to refer only to Fronto's speeches. See also at 159,18ff. Another of Servius' sources is Aemilius Asper, who, among other quotations, is cited Serv. Aen. 9,418 *per tempus utrumque:... Asper tamen dicit 'per tempus utrumque', hoc est inter tempus utrumque, ut econtra* (Aen. 7,30) *'hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno', id est per hunc.* For G. Lämmerhirt, De priscorum scriptorum locis a Servio allatis, Comment. philol. Jenenses 4, 1890, 403, this proves two things: firstly that Serv. Aen. 7,30 is also a quotation

from Asper, secondly that Asper wrote after Fronto, at the end of the second century, see Testim. 41, where *est autem* etc. may be an addition by Servius himself from a different source or the fruit of his own studies of Fronto's speeches. See Bardon, La littérature II 185, and at 159,18ff.

270,11 *reciprocae elocutiones* ('expressions', as 270,16; see at 151,4. The Anonymus, Jenaische Allg. Lit.-Zeitung 1817, 186, here reads in Servius *locutiones*) refers to Vergil's *veras audire et reddere voces.* Here it indicates a reciprocal action; cp. Cic. Divin. 1,10 on certain arguments: *ista sic reciprocantur, ut et, si divinatio sit, di sint et, si di sint, sit divinatio*; Gell. 20,1,18 *ut contraria actio mutuae talionis oriatur et adulescat infinita quaedam reciprocatio talionum*; Apul. Dogm. 2,13 *eiusmodi calamitates animarum amicitias idem* (sc. *Plato*) *appellari vetat, quod nec mutuae sint nec reciprocari queant, ut ament atque redamentur.* See J. Cazzaniga, Giorn. ital. di filol. 22, 1970, 36ff. Grammarians have *reciproca pronomina* for 'reflexive pronouns'.

270,11–12 *unius partis*: 'one-sided'.

Utrique sc. reciprocity.

270,13 *mutuis: tenemur amicitiis* does not occur in what we have of Fronto. See at 53,22 and 176,22. The plural *amicitiae* does not need a *mutuae*, but *mutua amicitia* is allowed: Plin. Epist. 10,87,2 *crevit*... *caritas ipsa mutuae vetustate amicitiae*; cp. Fronto 110,18 *mutua caritas nostra.*

Fronto: W. Heraeus, Zur Kritik und Erläuterung der Serviusscholien, Hermes 34, 1899, 163, comes to the rash conclusion that Servius must have read Fronto 59,4ff.

270,14 See at 270,10.

270,15 *hunc*: sc. *lucum*. Cp. Verg. Aen. 6,658 *inter nemus*; Apul. Met. 6,3,3 *inter*... *sublucidum lucum prospicit fanum*, 'across', 'à travers' (P. Valette, Paris 1940).

270,16 *inter vias*: 'on the way', a colloquial expression: Plaut. Aul. 379; Poen. 1162; Turpil. Com. 196; Ter. Eun. 629; Gell. 19,7,12 *inter viam.* In Fronto's letters we find no *inter vias* or *viam*, nor any other example of *inter* in the sense of *per.* Again we see that Servius quotes from a speech.

270,17 As Servius speaks three times of Fronto, it is inconceivable that *Cornelius* here is Fronto. Of all the Cornelii Servius mentions (Aen. 1,368; 3,399; 4,127; Ecl. 9,10) only Tacitus can be considered.

270,18 *ardeo illa re* is indeed quite common: *ardeo iracundia, amore* etc. Cp. Fronto 47,3.

270,19 *ardeo in rem* is found in Verg. Aen. 12,71; Manil. 4,220; Sen. O. 370; Quint. Decl. 344; Tac. Hist. 1,43,2 *in caedem eius ardentes*; and in a few late authors; cp. Cic. Att. 14,10,4 *ardentis in eum litteras ad me misit. Ardescere in rem* we find Ovid. Met. 5,41 and Tac. Ann. 11,25,8 *ut*... *ardesceret in nuptias incestas. Exardescere in aliquem* Tac. Ann. 11,12,2 *in C. Silium*... *exarserat (Messalina)*, and in a few later writers. So it is clear that here Cornelius is Cornelius Tacitus, as is correctly stated in the TLL s.v. elocutio 402,83. In antiquity Tacitus is not often cited and late authors always call him Cornelius: Oros. 1,10,5; Apoll. Sid. Epist. 4,14,2 (= Testim. 55); 4,22,2; Cassiod. Var. 5,2; Iord. Get. 2,13. That Cornelius must be Fronto is assumed by J.P. d'Orville (see Adriana della Casa, Arusianus Messius

15); by Mai[2] 335 n. 1; H.A. Lion in his edition of Servius 1826; F. Vollmer, TLL s.v. ardeo; and by Della Casa l.l., but she thinks that *et est specialis Cornelii elocutio* is an interpolation of someone who had read Arusianus' Exempla eloc. 2, where we read: *ardet in illam rem, Verg. ardet in excitam Ausoniam*, an incorrect quotation because all MSS of Aen. 7,623 have *ardet inexcita Ausonia.* There is no reason to see any connection between Servius and Arusianus, but they may have drawn their information from a common source.

270,21 *galerus* is usually masculine, and 260,28 Gellius has Fronto quoting Verg. Aen. 7,688 *fulvos galeros.* In Fronto's letters the word does not occur (see 60,10–13), so we must assume again that Servius quotes a speech of Fronto. The only passage where we find *galerum* is Apul. Apol. 22,7. (Varro, L.L. 5,116, and Gell. 10,15,32 do not prove that it is neuter, nor does Hieron. Epist. 64,13; in Fulg. Myth. 1,18 the text is uncertain. E. Brandt, TLL s.v., and Neue-Wagener I 797f. seem to misinterpret these passages.) On the meaning of *galerus* see Samter, Galerus, RE VII (1912).

270,23 *galeria*: we find *galerium* in some MSS of Suet. Nero 26,1 and in Isid. Orig. 19,30,5.

270,25 This letter of Augustinus is addressed to the Cirtenses; Mai—followed by Haines I, XVII, and Congusi, Evoluzione 264—supposes that Augustinus has read Fronto 20,7ff., where he mentions Polemo philosophus. However, it is only a locus communis; Augustinus also mentions Polemo C. Iul. Pel. 1,4; 12,7; 12,35. See at 20,7. For another hypothetical quotation by Augustinus see at 56,18.

270,26 *illis litteris*: the classical literature.

271,1 See at 201,10ff. and 268,20.

271,5 The Historia Augusta presents only that information about Fronto which was current in the fourth and fifth centuries, and we should not assume with Silvia Jannacone, Appunti 296, that Fronto himself was one of its sources. Some authors even go so far as to see in certain passages of the Historia a quotation from Fronto's letters: Mai (see at 209,10), Haines (see at 66,17), J. Schwartz (see at 73,13; 108,15f.; 210,1–211,6), Baldwin (see at 157,16; 180,5; 210,1–211,6), Champlin (see at 23,15f.), Steinmetz (see at 209,10) and Holtrop-Strevens (see at 209,10). They are evidently wrong.

271,6 *oratoribus*: since Colum. praef. 3, especially in Tacitus (Dial. 20,4; 34,1; 34,6), *orator* may mean 'rhetor', 'rhetoricae artis magister'.

Herode Attico: see at 13,14; 17,10–15; 36,1–39,20.

Frontone Cornelio: see at 262,21.

271,7 *detulit*: 'honoured'. Cp. e.g. Vita Marci 10,2 *neque quisquam principum amplius senatui detulit*; Ambros. Epist. 17,6 *deferendum meritis clarorum virorum*, and so often in Ambrosius. See 271,10.

Statuam: probably after his death, not during his lifetime, as Friedländer, Sittengeschichte III 75, thinks. Vita Marci 13,5 *multa quidem milia pestilentia consumpsit multosque ex proceribus, quorum amplissimis Antoninus statuas conlocavit* and Fronto may have been one of them. It is striking how many statues Marcus erected, see Testim. 48 and Vita Marci 3,4; 22,7; 29,8; Cass. Dio

71,3,5. Some decades ago the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire of Brussels bought in Paris the damaged head of a statue which Balty, Un nouveau portrait, assumes to be Fronto's; he dates it 170–180, supposing it to be a replica of a statue of 140–150. In that case the statue would have been made during Fronto's lifetime, possibly in 143 together with a statue of Herodes Atticus. There is no proof at all, however, that this statue represents Fronto, nor that it is of Italian origin.

271,8 *in senatu* belongs to *petit*, cp. Vita Marci 3,4 *cui (Iunio Rustico) post obitum a senatu statuas postulavit.*

271,10 *magistris*: perhaps Fronto was one of them.

Imagines: 'gold masks', as Suet. Vit. 2,5

271,11 *Larario*: not only the Lares had their place there, but also those to whom one was indebted, see Suet. l.l.; Vita Alex. Sev. 29,2; 31,4f. *eiusque (Vergilii) imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro in secundo Larario habuit. . ., Alexandrum vero Magnum inter optimos et divos in Larario maiore consecravit.*

Aditu: cp. Trag. inc. ap. Cic. Nat. deorum 1,119 *(mysteria quae) nocturno aditu occulta coluntur.*

271,17 We know that Martianus has used the works of Aquila Romanus and Fortunatianus, but this does not help us much. Unlike Eumenius and Ausonius, he ranks Fronto among orators of the second order, which does not mean, however, that he was actually acquainted with Fronto's works.

271,18 *emeriti*: 'meritorious'.

271,20 *togatis agminibus*: 'nelle schiere latine' (Portalupi); cp. Stat. Silv. 4,2,33 *trabeata . . . agmina*, 'knighthood'; Sulp. Sev. Epist. 3,19 *agebat nimirum ante se pastor* (sc. *Martinus*) *greges suos, sanctae illius multitudinis pallidas turbas, agmina palliata.*

Sosantios is corrupt; the best solution seems to be *Sempronios.*

271,21 *Regulum*: M. Aquilius Regulus, a notorious denunciator under Nero and Domitianus, often mentioned by Martialis, Pliny junior and Tacitus. See U.F. Kopp & C.F. Herrmann in their commentary on Martianus Capella, Frankfurt a.M. 1836, ad loc.

271,22–27 See at 201,10ff.

272,1 Mamertus and Fronto had much in common: Fronto was alarmed at the new style of Seneca, and Mamertus regarded the style of his time as decadent, but this testimony does not prove that Mamertus had read Fronto, see Norden, Kunstprosa II 580 n. 1, against K. Sittl, Jahresb. ü. d. Fort. d. class. Alterthumswiss. 68. Bd., XIX Jahrg. 1891, 235. For similar classifications of style see at 270,5. It does not mean, however, that Mamertus' judgement of Fronto's *pompa* is incorrect, see at 272,4.

272,2 Naevius in his comedies.

272,3 *Gracchus*: C. Gracchus.

Chrysippus: Migne's suggestion that we should read *Crispus* is very tempting; better perhaps is *C. Crispus*. In this case, *disciplina* would refer to military discipline, not to 'la science' (Marache, La critique 336). *Disciplina* must mean something which is different from *peritia*, hardly 'regolarità' (Portalupi). Schanz IV 2,549 adopts Migne's *Crispus.*

272,4 *pompam*: the display of the epideictic speech, referring to the panegyrics which Fronto held in the senate and elsewhere, see 277 III 3 and

at 50,1. Marcus 27,3ff. is highly enthusiastic over such a speech, and Fronto himself states 126,14f. *summa eloquentiae rectae alacrisque virtus est de sublimioribus magnifice... dicere. Pompa* is not 'la solennité que donnent au style les archaïsmes' (A. Loyen, Sidoine Apollinaire et l'esprit précieux en Gaulle aux derniers jours de l'Empire, Paris 1943, 177 n. 30). Posterity ascribed to Fronto not only *pompa* but also *gravitas* (270,8; 272,17; 274,24) and *siccitas* (273,6). *Gravitas* corresponds to τὸ ἁδρόν, the 'grand style', the *genus grandiloquum* or *grande* or *robustum* or *plenum*, see at 49,14f., and *pompa* is the extreme form of it. *Gravitas* avoids *suavitas* (Cic. Brut. 38), *tumor* (Rhet. Her, 4,10,15) and *iocus* (Cic. De orat. 2,250). J. Bähr, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur II 633 n. 7, is wrong in seeing here *pompa* as the opposite of *gravitas*, the simple style. When Macrobius (Testim. 59) ascribes to Fronto the *genus siccum*, he is not mistaken, as Hertz, Renaissance 27, thinks; he refers to a different type of speech, the *genus iudiciale*, Fronto's familiar ground. It indicates τὸ ἰσχνόν, the *genus tenue* or *subtile* or *gracile* or *humile*: Fronto 49,15 *nullus in epidicticis τῷ ἰσχνῷ locus, qui est in dicis multum necessarius*; 215,14f. *in orationibus iudiciariis, ubi sedulo curamus, ut pleraeque sententiae durius interdum et incomptius finiantur.* It is rather misleading to translate *siccus* (ξηρός) with 'dry': as a rhetorical term *siccus* is practically always used in neutram or even in bonam partem, the 'sober and terse' style as opposed to the grand style. Volkmann, Die Rhetorik 533f., is only partly right: 'Hier (in Macrobius) ist *siccum* nicht gleich *aridum*, ξηρόν, was ja eine fehlerhafte Parekbase wäre, sondern offenbar für *tenue*.' Cp. Macrob. 5,1,5 *tenuis quidam et siccus et sobrius amat quandam dicendi frugalitatem, alius pingui et luculenta et florida oratione lascivit*, and 5,1,11 he gives as an example of *siccum illud genus elocutionis* Verg. Aen. 9,47ff.; 5,1,19 *(eloquentia Maronis) nunc brevis, nunc copiosa, nunc sicca, nunc florida.* Cicero uses *siccus* often and several times when he is speaking of Atticism: Brut. 202 *nihil erat in eius* (sc. *Cottae*) *oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi siccum et sanum*; 285 *sin autem (quis) ieiunitatem et siccitatem et inopiam, dummodo sit polita, dum urbana, dum elegans, in Attico genere ponit, hoc recte dumtaxat*; 291 *sin autem acutum, prudens et idem sincerum et solidum et exsiccatum genus orationis probant nec illo graviore ornatu oratorio utuntur et hoc proprium esse Atticorum volunt, recte laudant*; Opt. gen. 8 *haec (vitia) vitaverunt fere omnes, qui aut Attici numerantur aut dicunt Attice; sed qui eatenus valuerunt, sani et sicci dumtaxat habeantur, sed ita ut palaestritae*; Nat. deor. 2,1 *neque enim flumine conturbor inanium verborum nec subtilitate sententiarum, si orationis est siccitas*; Quint. Inst. 2,4,6 *audeat haec aetas* (sc. *tenera*) *plura et inveniat et inventis gaudeat, sint licet illa non satis sicca interim ac severa*; 11,1,32 *in isdem (iuvenibus) siccum et sollicitum et contractum dicendi propositum plerumque adfectatione ipsa severitatis invisum est*; Hieron. Epist. 125,6,1 *(Graeci) Asianum tumorem Attico siccabant sale et luxuriantes flagellis vineas falcibus reprimebant.* Cp. Περὶ ὕψ. 3,3 φύσει γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφιέμενοι φεύγοντες ἀσθενείας καὶ ξηρότητος κατάγνωσιν κτλ. A few theorists, however, have *siccitas* in a pejorative sense: Demetr. Herm. 4,236 παράκειται δὲ καὶ τῷ ἰσχνῷ διημαρτήμενος χαρακρήρ, ὁ ξηρὸς καλούμενος. Fortun. Rhet. 3,9 ἰσχνῷ *quod est contrarium? aridum et siccum.* And so, too, Tac. Dial. 21,7 on Asinius Pollio: *durus et siccus est*, and Gell. 14,1,32 *haec nos sicca et incondita et propemodum ieiuna oratione adtingimus, sed Favorinus... latius ea et amoenius et splendidius et profluentius exsequebatur.*

That *pompa* refers to Fronto's panegyrics and *siccitas* to his speeches in court was justly seen by Mai[1] XXXVIIIf.; Mai[2] XXIIIIff.; A. Peyron, Biblioteca ital. 4, 1816, 386; Daunou, Journ. des Savans 1816, 29; Droz 19f. (though he is not inclined to believe Macrobius); Norden, Kunstprosa I 12 n. 2; Haines I 106 n. 1; Portalupi[2] 19 (in Un mimo 89 she sees *siccitas* in Fronto 47,3ff.). Since Mamertus and Macrobius have Fronto's speeches in mind, we should not look for the *genus siccum* in his letters (though e.g. his Arion is dry enough), as did Norden, Kunstprosa I 365 n. 3, who sees in the Principia Historiae the concise style of Sallust, in the Laudes fumi et pulveris the 'Stil der gezierten modernen Rhetorik' and in the Arion an affected ἀφέλεια. This later view of Norden is shared by Beltrami, Il numerus 549; Ussani, Frontone 59; Marache, La critique 121. Too limited is the view of Henderson, Cato's Pine Cones 265, who takes *siccus* as the opposite of *febriculosus*, Fronto's characterization of Seneca's style 153,12. All wrong is Loyen o.c. 5 n. 13, who ascribes *siccitas* to Fronto's letters and *pompa* to his speeches.

Nothing is left of Fronto's panegyrics of his Roman emperors; only 267,4f. we see that metaphors played an important role in them. But 18,4f. Fronto himself indicates how such a speech should be written: *auribus serviendum; plane non ubique nec omni modo, attamen nonnumquam et aliquando*; so some *pompa* is necessary. When Marcus was twenty-two years old he shared Fronto's opinion; hearing a declamation by Polemo, he rather considers it to be the work of an *agricola strenuus* with *fructus pulcherrimus* and *reditus uberrimus*, but without a rose of Tarentum or a shady plane-tree: *omnia ad usum magis quam ad voluptatem* (30,1ff.). The large fragment of Fronto's forensic speech De testamentis Asianis (10,14ff.) and his letter pro Volumnio (189,21ff.) which he calls a *causidicatio*, and his letter contra Marcum about Matidia's will (95,4ff.), give us an idea how Fronto proceeded in court. Especially the first two cases feature his method: the first part (10,14–11,23 and 189,21–190,24) has pointed, short cola, concise questions, exclamations, but none of the similes so dear to him. On the other hand, the second part of these texts is written in grand style; ornated *gravitas* becomes *pompa*, sober *gravitas* becomes *siccitas*. See at 133,12 and 241,1.

When Macrobius ascribes to Fronto the *genus siccum*, he is talking of Fronto's speeches, and so are other late authors, see at 259,1. But the word *adscribitur* (272,7) makes it clear that we are dealing with second-hand knowledge, which does not mean that the judgement of his interlocutor Eusebius is incorrect. Eusebius starts his exposition as follows: *oratorum autem non simplex nec una natura est, sed hic fluit et redundat, contra ille breviter et circumcise dicere adfectat, tenuis quidam et siccus et sobrius amat quandam dicendi frugalitatem, alius pingui et luculenta et florida oratione lascivit.* In Fronto both types are united.

272,5 *reventilandi*: 'to air anew' rather than 'devono essere risfogliati' (Portalupi); the word occurs only here.

272,7 Apollinaris Sidonius is generally supposed to have read Fronto's letters, see Proleg. LXXV n. 1, where we may add Brakman, Miscella altera 9; B. Baldwin, Klio 58, 1976, 103; Cugusi, Evoluzione 264. Yet there are only one or two passages in his letters which may have been borrowed from Fronto: Epist. 4,3,3 *nova ibi verba quia vetusta* and Fronto 136,9 (marg. b)

ut unum et id verbum vetustate noscatur et novitate delectet; Epist. 4,4,1 *inter maxima patriae iam mihi sibique communia ornamenta numerandus*; and Fronto 174,8f. *ut in tui ornamentis aeque ac nostri merito numerandus sit.* Other instances brought forward lack all conclusive force: *inlibatus* Fronto 2,16 and Apoll. Epist. 7,5,4; *deliramentum* 31,17M and Epist. 1,1,4; 95,19f., and Epist. 3,3,9 is a proverb; *consiliosus* 128,5 and 1,1,1; 7,9,18; *multiformis* 134,1 and 8,11,6; *fors fuat an* 139,7 and 2,2,17; *friguttire* 141,14 and 7,9,3; 9,2,2; *vetusculus* 145,2 and 8,16,2; 175,2f. and 4,21,6; *iustitium* 269,3 and 2,8,1.

272,8 *nec*: 'not even'.

272,8–12 This passage has caused some alarm among philologists because with the word *veternosus* Apollinaris seems to disparage the style of Cicero's letters (Fronto 104,14 *epistulis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius*). For this view, Mai[1] quotes Petrarca's preface to his Epistolae I 1 and C. Barthius, Adversaria, Francofurti 1624 and 1648, XLVII 9. In more recent times Niebuhr XXIII n. 5 and Haines I, XLI n. 1, agree with them. But Mai also quotes the Apollinaris editions of J. Savernon (Parisiis 1599 and 1609) and J. Sirmond (Parisiis 1614 and 1652), where such a view is contested: it is not Apollinaris who speaks of a *veternosum dicendi genus* but the *Frontoniani*. On the other hand, we know that Apollinaris' respect for Cicero was less than his respect for the younger Pliny and Symmachus. Apollinaris states three things: firstly that Titianus did not succeed in reaching Cicero's level; secondly that Titianus belonged to the school of Fronto; thirdly that other disciples of Fronto criticized him because of the style of his *epistulae inlustrium feminarum* (*propter quod* refers only to these letters, not to the fact that he did not reach Cicero's level). The Frontoniani reproached Titianus for not standing up for his faith, for being everybody's friend, an *oratorum simia* because he did not keep strictly to Fronto's example, which resulted in a nerveless, pithless style. The plural *oratorum* shows that Titianus made an olla podrida of his style, imitating all sorts of orators, cp. Vita Maximin. 27,5 *quod cuncta esset imitatus* (see below). It is not so that the Frontoniani upbraided Titianus with an imitation of Cicero's letters, as is usually believed (Niebuhr XXIII n. 5; Teuffel 3,94; Schanz III 136; Haines I, XLI n. 1; Anderson in his edition of Apollinaris: 'oratorum, if the reading is correct, probably means "Cicero and his tribe"'; Steinmetz, Untersuchungen 187). In the same way we must understand Vita Maximin. 27,5 *simia temporis sui.*

272,9 *Iulius Titianus*: Vita Maximin. 27,5 *(Maximinus iunior) usus est . . . oratore Titiano, filio Titiani senioris, qui provinciarum libros pulcherrime scripsit et qui dictus est simia temporis sui, quod cuncta esset imitatus.* Maximinus, son of the barbarian Maximinus Thrax, seems to have been born in 217 and Titianus iunior was his teacher in the early 230s; see H. Thraede, Zu Ausonius Ep. 16,2, Hermes 96, 1968, 608ff. H. Gartner, Titianus, Kleine Pauly (1975), and Steinmetz l.l. regard—without proof—Titianus iunior as an invention of the Historia Augusta. But the Vita Maximini is well informed about Titianus senior, whose birth may be dated c. 175; Thraede thinks that he was a contemporary of Fronto. The *provinciarum libri* are called *Chorographia* by Serv. Aen. 4,42 *hi (Barcaei) secundum Titianum in Chorographia Phoenicen navali quondam superavere certamine*, and the same work is quoted by Serv. Aen. 11,651 *omnia et arma Amazonum tradit, quas Titianus unimammas vocat* (Isid. Orig.

9,2,64 *has Titianus unimammas vocat*) and by Gregor. Tur. De cursu stell. 13 *meminit et huius montis* (sc. *Aetnae*) *et ille Titianus*. The *epistulae inlustrium feminarum* seem to be a work of Titianus senior in the style of (if not part of) his Apologi. Ausonius in his letter to Probus quotes the Apologi three times: 16,1 *Apologos Titiani et Nepotis Chronica quasi alios apologos (nam et ipsa instar sunt fabularum) ad nobilitatem tuam misi . . . glorians fore aliquid, quod ad institutionem tuorum . . . conferatur*; 16,74 *apologos en missit tibi . . . Ausonius . . ., Aesopiam trimetriam, quam vertit exili stilo pedestre concinnans opus fandi Titianus artifex*; 16,102 *Iulius* must be the same *Iulius Titianus*. Serv. Aen. 10,18 *et Titianus et Calvus, qui themata omnia de Vergilio elicuerunt et deformarunt ad dicendi usum, in exemplo controversiarum has duas posuerunt adlocutiones* (Venus' address to Iuppiter beginning *O pater, o hominum divumque aeterna potestas*). A. Loyen in his edition of Apollinaris, Paris 1970, notes ad Epist. 1,1,2 that Serv. Aen. 10,18 refers to Titianus iunior. Both the *epistulae inlustrium feminarum* and the Apologi were short stories in simple prose, meant for rhetorical instruction; they were taken from, among others, fabulists and Vergil and have nothing in common with Ovid's Heroides (against Peter, Der Brief 174; Schanz III 137; Loyen and Steinmetz ll.ll.). Teuffel 3,94 and 152; Schanz l.l.; A. Stein, Iulius Titianus, PIR IV[2] 605; and R. Keydell, Babrios, Kleine Pauly (1964) ascribe the Apologi to Titianus iunior. However, both Apollinaris and the author of the Vita Maximini use the nickname *simia* for the elder Titianus, so it seems probable that not only the *epistulae inlustrium feminarum* and the *Chorographia* but also the Fables should be ascribed to him. The elder Titianus is also meant in a peculiar passage of Isid. Orig. 2,2,1 *(ars rhetorica) translata in Latinum a Tullio videlicet et Quintiliano et Titiano, sed ita copiose, ita varie, ut eam lectori admirari in promptu sit, conprehendere inpossibile*. The words *et Titiano* were added by a later reader of Isidorus who knew that Titianus had written *ad dicendi usum* but forgot that he did not write *copiose*. Titianus iunior is meant by Ausonius, Grat. Act. 7,31 (a passage immediately preceding Testim. 35) *Quintilianus consularia . . . ornamenta sortitus honestamenta nominis potius videtur quam insignia potestatis habuisse; quomodo Titianus magister, sed gloriosus ille, municipalem scholam apud Visontionem Lugdunumque variando non aetate equidem, sed vilitate consenuit*. This abjection was of course due to the fact that he was a partisan of the Maximini, who were killed in 238. The editors of Ausonius assume as a matter of course that this Titianus is the same as the author of the Apologi, and Peter l.l. erroneously believes that Titianus iunior and senior are one and the same person. See Proleg. LXII n. 3 (where we should read *non ante Charisiae aetatem editae* instead of *Charisiae aetate editae*) and at 268,13.

272,10 *similitudine*: 'avec une suffisante ressemblance' (Loyen) rather than 'a satisfactory cope' (Anderson) and 'in a worthy image' (Haines). Mai[2] XXV wrongly assumes that it refers to 'imaginum usus'.

Expressit: exprimere aliquem is 'to reproduce', 'to imitate', cp. e.g. Cic. De orat. 2,90 *exercitatio, qua illum (oratorem) . . . imitando effingat atque exprimat*; Sen. Epist. 6,6 *Zenonem Cleanthes non expressisset, si* etc.; Tac. Dial. 21,7 *Pacuvium . . . et Accium non solum tragoediis, sed etiam in orationibus suis expressit (Asinius)*.

Ceteri quique is stronger than the usual *ceteri omnes*: 'man by man'.

Frontoniani: see at 87,21; 172,5; 199,15. Frontoniani were in the first place Fronto's contubernales, see at 172,5; further perhaps Gellius (see at 260,6) and Antonius Aquila 176,5; T. Castritius 187,7; Fabianus 188,8; Helvius Pertinax, Vita Pert. 1,4; Lollianus Avitus 172,1; Servilius Silanus 199,13; Sulpicius Apollinaris 265,4f.; Valerianus, Vita Pert. 12,7. See Teuffel 3,93ff. Westermann, Geschichte II 314 n. 18, has added a string of names which he regards as Frontoniani, but we know next to nothing about them: Ateius Sanctus, Vita Comm. 1,6; Baebius Macrianus, Vita Al. Sev. 3,3; Iulius Granianus, ibid.; Maecius Falconius Nicomachus, Vita Tac. 5f.; Manlius Statianus, Vita Probi 12; Messala, Vita Maximin. 29; Timisitheus, Vita Gord. 3f. We may safely say that in the middle of the third century there were no longer any Fontoniani. Apollinaris is obviously speaking of the past: *nuncupaverunt*. The Frontoniani tried to imitate Fronto's speeches, not his letters, for these had not yet been published in the first half of the third century, see Proleg. LIXf.

272,11 *consectaneum*: 'a member of the same school'. As a substantive it is first used by Augustin. Civ. 10,27 *consectaneus tuus Platonicus Apuleius*; C. Iul. 6,5,12. Apollinaris also in Epist. 3,6,2; 7,9,5; 14,9.

Aemulati with accusative: 'being envious of him', 'as rivals' (Haines I, XLI n. 1) rather than 'be hostile' or 'disparage" (Anderson).

Cur: 'because according to them', see at 46,14.

Veternosum: 'slack', 'spiritless', 'languid or senile' (Haines l.l.). It is not 'outworn' (Anderson) or 'suranné' (Loyen). Peter l.l. has again mixed things up, seeing in *veternosus* an equivalent of what Auson. Ad Probum 16,74 calls *exilis stilus*, see at 272,9.

272,12 *simiam*: to Greeks and Romans the ape was an ugly and worthless animal, see at 16,1f. But the Romans used the word also for 'aper': Plin. Epist. 1,5,2 *in quo (libro Aquilius Regulus) Rusticum insectatur atque etiam Stoicorum simiam appellat.* Sen. Contr. 9,3,12 *indignabatur Cestius detorqueri ab illo (Argentario) totiens et mutari sententias suas. quid putatis, aiebat, Argentarium esse? Cesti simius est. solebat et Graece dicere* ὁ πίθηκός μου. *fuerat enim Argentarius Cesti auditor et erat imitator.* In the Paroemiographi Graeci we only find πίθηκος ἐν πορφύρᾳ (I 303), 'a dressed-up ape', 'in borrowed plumage'. I have not seen W. Coffman McDermott, The Ape in Roman Literature, Transact. & Proceed. Amer. Philol. Ass. 67, 1936, 148–167, nor his The Ape in Antiquity, Baltimore 1938. For the Middle Ages see E.R. Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, Bern 1948, 524f.

272,12–13 *quibus . . . cesserim, cedere alicui aliqua re*: 'for all these men—I cannot emphasize it enough—I have always renounced my own judgement'. Loyen: 'je me suis toujours senti considérablement inférieur à tous ceux-là', but he omits *iudicio meo*, and it does not fit in with the next sentence. Incorrect, too, is Anderson's translation: 'I have always, in my own judgment, fallen terribly short of all the authors I have mentioned', as well as Portalupi's 'ai quali tutti quanto sempre io sia rimasto indietro, a mio giudizio, è cosa mostruosa a dirsi'. *Immane dictu est quantum* stands for the short adverbial phrase *immane quantum*, ἀμήχανον ὅσον, 'terribly'. So Ps. Sall. De rep. 1,2,7 *immane dictu est, quanti . . . ad Pompeium discesserint.* Flor. Epit.

1,10,6 *immane dictu* in brackets. *Immane quantum* we find Sall. Hist. frg. 2,44; Hor. Carm. 1,27,6; Tac. Hist. 3,62,1; 4,34,5; and elsewhere. Cp. the expressions *immensum quantum*, *incredibile quantum*, *mirum quantum*; see Kühner I 13f.; Hofmann-Szantyr 537.

272,14 *praerogativam*: 'the preference', 'le bénéfice' (Loyen), as 272,17; not 'the foremost place' (Anderson). What Apollinaris means to say here and in the following testimony is: so many times, so many customs. Portalupi translates *praerogativam* by 'la prerogativa' and in line 17 'la singolarità'.

272,16 *decursorum*: 'passed away', 'past'; cp. *decurso spatio temporis, aetatis, vitae* Plaut. Merc. 547; Stich. 81; Ter. Ad. 860; Cic. Quinct. 99; and elsewhere.

272,16–17 *ad hoc aevi*: see at 3,4.

Obruat: 'did not straiten me', 'ne pesait point sur mon jugement (Loyen and Portalupi), 'did not overawe me' (Anderson).

Gravitatis: see at 272,4.

272,18 *ponderis*: 'the stress', 'weighty words' (Anderson), 'autorità' (Portalupi); see at 135,11. Cic. De orat. 2,72 *omnium sententiarum gravitate, omnium verborum ponderibus est utendum.* Not correct Loyen o.c. 173 'gravitas vise la forme, pondus s'applique aux sources de l'érudition philosophique'.

Fulmen: it is a rather miserable passage, but *fulmen* is often used to indicate splendour and vigour in eloquence, e.g. Cic. Orat. 234 *cuius (Demosthenis) non tam vibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris contorta ferrentur*; Quint. Inst. 8,6,7 *eloquentiae fulmina*; Hieron. Epist. 49,13,5 *videntur quidem verba simplicia . . ., sed, quocumque respexeris, fulmina sunt.*

272,18–19 *cui . . . compositi*: 'compared with this lightning'.

Varrones . . . Plinii: mere would-be learning.

Secundus: wordplay, since their surname was *Secundus.*

272,20 *rusticabantur*: potential future, see Hofmann-Szantyr 311. *Rusticus*, ἄγροικος and their derivatives are often used to indicate clumsy and rude language. Apollinaris is the only one to use the verb and the adverb *rusticanter* (Epist. 9,3,6) in this way.

272,22 *Cornelios*: this letter is addressed to Polemius, one of whose ancestors was Cornelius Tacitus; in the preceding section Tacitus is only called Gaius Tacitus (Epist. 4,22,2 we find Gaius Cornelius). But there is only one poet Ausonius (his father was a physician, his uncle a rhetor), so we must conclude that *Cornelii oratores* means 'orators like Cornelius'; Anderson translates correctly 'prose writers like Tacitus, poets like Ausonius'. In his index, however, the same Anderson states s.v. Fronto that *Cornelii oratores* refers to Fronto. See at 270,19. For the meaning of *oratores* see at 155,23. Loyen's translation is less fortunate: 'les orateurs de la famille Cornelia, les poètes ausoniens', and he sees in Ausonios a studied ambiguity: not only the poet is meant, Ausonius is also the adjective of Ausonia: Italic, Gallic (?). We may safely assume that this passage does not refer to Fronto, as is rightly stated by the Onomasticon of the TLL II 632,39: the *Cornelii oratores* are not Tacitus and Fronto; cp. Tert. Nat. 2,12,26 *apud Cornelios Nepotem et Tacitum.*

272,24 This passage does not refer to Fronto either. Niebuhr XXIII n. 5 thinks that *quidam* is Fronto because the clausulae are not unlike those

of 17,21. We do not know who *quidam* is. M.C. Sutphen, Nachträge zu Otto 162, is wrong in seeing here a proverbial expression.

272,26 Cicero's son was also named M. Tullius Cicero, a son unworthy of his father.

Non agnoscebat is more than 'did not recognize', as Anderson and Loyen translate; it is 'the Roman people did not appreciate him when he spoke'.

272,29 Leo of Narbonne, a descendant of C. Aufidius Victorinus and Cornelia Cratia, Fronto's daughter, see at 174,23; 235,13. Apoll. Sid. Epist. 8,3,3 *sepone pauxillulum conclamatissimas declamationes, quas ori regii* (sc. *Eurici*) *vice conficis*; Ennod. Vita Epiph. 85 *erat ea tempestate consiliorum principis et moderator et arbiter Leo nomine, quem per eloquentiae meritum non una iam declamationum palma susceperat.* As a jurist (see Apoll. Carm. 23,446), he played an important part in accomplishing the Codex Urici, the Visigothic king 466–485. He was also a poet, as stated by Apollinaris in this same section and in Carm. 23,450. See Schanz IV 2,57f.

Perorandi . . . flumen: 'the flow of oratory' (Anderson). *Flumen orationis* and *flumen verborum* are quite common since Cic. De orat. 2,62 and Orat. 53.

272,30 *gentilicium . . . domesticum*: 'what not only runs in the family but also belongs to you personally'. As often, *domesticus* here means 'personal'. Less correctly, J.B. Hofmann, TLL s.v., enters our passage under 'consuetus, familiaris'. Not quite right either is Loyen's 'non seulement à ta famille mais à ta maison'. Wrong is Anderson's 'not only to your clan but to your family'.

272,31 *succiduas*: 'uninterrupted'. In this sense, the word is only used by Apollinaris: Epist. 7,6,9; 7,16,1.

Frontone: it is generally accepted that our Fronto is meant. Only Mai and Philibert-Soupé 12f. doubt it, referring to Apoll. Sidon. Epist. 4,21,4, where a different Fronto is mentioned.

273,2–3 The only Pelops in Fronto's time we know of is the physician, Galenus' teacher. All commentators since Niebuhr XXX have jumped to the conclusion that he must be the Pelops whom Fronto attacked in court. There is not a shred of evidence for such a supposition. For the curious theory of Champlin see at 259,8.

273,4 There is no reason to believe with B. Baldwin, Klio 58, 1976, 103, that Macrobius was familiar with Fronto's speeches; see Proleg. LXII n. 4 and at 259,1.

273,5 *quattuor*: Fronto distinguishes only three genera dicendi, see at 49,14f. and 133,11–134,6, and see A. Loyen, Sidoine Apollinaire et l'esprit précieux en Gaulle aux derniers jours de l'Empire, Paris 1943, XIIIff.; Marache, La critique 337f.

Copiosum: the same word is used by Fronto 57,13 of Cicero's speeches. Cic. Opt. gen. 2 calls the *genus copiosum* also *grande* and *grave*. See at 272,4.

273,6 *breve*: Sallust's *brevitas* was almost proverbial: Sen. Epist. 114,17; Quint. Inst. 4,2,45; 9,3,12; 10,1,32; Stat. Silv. 4,7,55; Gell. 3,1,6; Apul. Apol. 95,5; Macrob. 5,1,7.

Siccum: see at 272,4.

273,7 *pingue*: 'high-flown', 'pathetic', παχύς, but without being inflated

or bombastic (not 'ampolloso' [Portalupi]); cp. Cic. Arch. 26 *poetis pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum*; Gell. 17,10,8 *qui (Pindarus) nimis opima pinguique esse facundia existimatus est*; Macrob. 5,1,5 *alius pingui et luculenta et florida oratione lascivit*; 5,1,7 *(genus) pingue et floridum.*

Floridum: Cic. Brut. 285 is the first to use this word in respect of style, be it with some reserve: *(Demetrius Phalereus) est floridior, ut ita dicam, quam Hyperides.* Sen. Epist. 114,16 uses it in malam partem: *si (sententiae) floridae sunt et nimis dulces*, but Sen. Contr. 4 praef. 3 *(Asinius Pollio) floridior erat aliquanto in declamando quam in agendo.* In Quintilianus it becomes more or less a technical term: Inst. 2,5,18 *(primum legendum) floridius genus, ut ad alenda primarum aetatium ingenia magis accommodatum*; 8,3,74 *similitudinis genus . . . facit . . . (orationem) sublimen, floridam, iucundam, mirabilem*; 12,10,58 on the genera dicendi: *unum subtile, quod* ἰσχνόν *vocant, alterum grande atque robustum, quod* ἁδρόν *dicunt, constituunt, tertium alii medium ex duobus, alii floridum (namque id* ἀνθηρόν *appellant) addiderunt*; Fortun. Rhet. 3,9 ἰσχνόν *est aut severius aut floridius*; Macrob. 5,1,12; 5,1,19.

273,9 I have left out Boeth. Cons. 3 carm. 12,26–29, a passage on Orpheus of which Felicita Portalupi, Sull'interpretazione, believes that it was taken from Fronto, 53,10ff. Portalupi[2] suppresses this testimony.

273,10 The thesis of R. Beer and others that Cassiodorus had a copy of Fronto's letters in his library of Vivarium has no supporters any more; see Proleg. IXff. His note here was taken from Hieronymus' Chronicum, Testim. 37.

273,14 This testimony may be a later interpolation or an addition by Braulio, see Lindsay in his edition I, VI. Isidorus did not read Fronto's works, see at 179,6. If the quotation is authentic it comes from a speech in court. It has been supposed that these lines refer to the Christians who, even in prison, remained cheerful (cp. Min. Fel. 8,5; Iustin. Apol. 1,67,6), and that they originated from the so-called speech against the Christians by Fronto; but Fronto never wrote such a speech, see at 259,8 pp. 574f.

273,15 *pergraecari*: 'paint the town red', 'go the pace', 'leben wie der liebe Gott in Frankreich', 'far baldonia come i Greci' (Portalupi), on account of the proverbial *levitas Graecorum.* Cp. e.g. Plaut. Most. 22 and 64 *dies noctesque bibite, pergraecaminei*; Truc. 87 *ut cum solo pergraecetur milite*; Titin. Com. 175 *hominem improbum! nunc ruri pergraecatur*; Hor. Sat. 2,2,11 *si Romana fatigat militia assuetum graecari.* Misled by the passages of Plautus, Paul. Fest. p. 215 M. explains: *pergraecari est epulis et potationibus inservire*, and Maria Cristofori, L'oratio 131, sees in *pergraecari* something like 'feasting', and she compares Lucian. Peregr. 12, where δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο for the Christians in prison. But *graecari* is a word of a larger scope, as proved by Plaut. Bacch. 743, where *congraecare* means 'to dissipate': *quod (aurum) in lustris comedim et congraecem. Amoenis locis* and *ruri* in Titinius show that the word does not only refer to gastronomes and tipplers. *Pergraecari* is not an archaism (against Marache, Mots 32).

273,16 *coerceri carcere*, an etymological figure, as often in Fronto: Varro, L.L. 5,151 *carcer a coercendo, quod exire prohibentur*, 5,153 *carceres dicti, quod coercuntur equi, ne inde exeant.* The same (false) etymology in Serv. Aen. 1,54;

5,145; Caper, Gramm. Lat. VII 104,19; Charis. Gramm. I 32,16; and elsewhere; also Isidorus, Orig. 5,27,13.

273,17 Ps. Sophronius' De viris illustribus has been edited by O. von Gebhardt in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur, Leipzig 1896. It is a translation of Hieronymus' work of the same name. Nothing is known about the author, who is generally supposed to have lived in the seventh century or later. See at 270,1.

273,21 Georgius was σύγκελλος of the patriarch of Constantinople Tarasius, 784–806. He translated Hieronymus' Chronicle.

273,23 and 274,4 *Iulianus*: the famous jurist Salvius Iulianus (274,16) who codified Roman jurisprudence: Eutrop. 8,17 *Salvii Iuliani, qui sub divo Hadriano perpetuum conposuit edictum*; Hieron. Chron. ad ann. 2147 (131, not 164 as 274,14, nor 165 as 274,2); Iustinian. Constit. Δέδωκεν 18 Ἀδριανός... ὅτε τὰ παρὰ τῶν πραιτώρων κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον νομοθετούμενα ἐν βραχεῖ τινι συνῆγε βιβλίῳ, τὸν κράτιστον Ἰουλιανὸν πρὸ τοῦτο παραλαβών κτλ. See Teuffel 3,62f.; D. Medicus, Salvius 7, Kleine Pauly (1972); and at 54,13; 96,3.

274,2 See at 273,23.

274,6 Iuvenalis is disgusted with listening to poetical recitations and says: *Frontonis platani convolsaque marmora clamant semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae.* We do not know who this Fronto is; it has been suggested that he is the Fronto of Mart. 1,55,2, but that Fronto is a mystery too: is he Q. Pactumeius Fronto (cos. 80), S. Octavius Fronto (cos. 86) or T. Catius (Caesius) Fronto (cos. 96)? Or is it a fictitious name? Apparently, this Fronto had put his suburban villa at the disposal of his friends, but the first scholion says that the session took place *in Horatiana domo*: Horace's villa in the Sabine country or in Tibur? A. von Premerstein, Hermes 43, 1908, 321ff., assumes that Iuvenalis himself is thinking of the imperial villa in the Via Labicana, and Buttmann, in Niebuhr's edition 55 n. 4, supposes that the *domus Horatiana* is identical with Fronto's *Maecenatiani horti*, see at 20,11, because in the second and third scholia the *Horatiana domus* becomes *Frontonis domus*. Erroneously, the second and third scholiasts have our Fronto in mind, but *Traiani tempore* is correct for Iuvenalis, not for Fronto. See at 275,8; 275,19. *Orator nobilissimus* goes back to Eutropius, see 269,8. *In cuius domo* seems to have the same source as *domus Frontoniana* 275,19.

274,14 See at 273,23.

274,16 Aelius Aristides was in Rome in the 140s or 150s.

274,19 Hermann of Reichenau has used the Chronicles of Hieronymus and Cassiodorus.

274,23 John of Salisbury presents an amalgam of pseudo-learning. For Fronto's *gravitas* see 270,8; 272,17; and at 272,4. John never set eyes on Fronto's writings, and we should not believe E.R. Curtius, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, Bern 1948, 59, who says: 'besonders schätzte er Fronto und Apuleius'. John's remark on *gravitas* was taken from Hieronymus (Testim. 39), see C.C.J. Webb in his edition of Ioannes Sarisberiensis I, Oxonii 1919, XXXIV.

275,2–4 has been literally taken from Macrob. Sat. 7,3,24, but

bius does not have the words *cum Frontone.* Mai[1] LXIII holds the opinion that we should add *cum Frontone* in Macrobius as well, and that Fronto has written Quaestiones convivales. Apart from Leopardi, Opere I 102, no one has ever believed such improbability. Macrobius and John are referring to the Symposion of Aristotle and to the Quaestiones convivales of Plutarch. As to Apuleius, Apoll. Sid. Epist. 9,13,3 mentions his Convivales quaestiones, and Apuleius himself speaks of *e ludicris meis epistolium de dentrificio vorsibus scriptum ad quendam Calpurnianum* (Apol. 6,1) and of *ludicros et amatorios (versus)* (Apol. 9,5). Schanz III 128 sees in the Convivales quaestiones the Latin part of Apuleius' Quaestiones naturales (hardly convincing).

275,5 Again John of Salisbury mixes things up. As the scholiasts of Iuvenalis (Testim. 65) did a century before, John believes that Iuvenalis' Fronto is our Fronto, see at 274,6. Besides, he does not know that Fronto would not have anything to do with Seneca's style and philosophy, see at 153,12.

275,8 *nepos Plutarchi: nepos* cannot be 'grandson' (Plutarch was at least fifty years younger than Fronto) but must here mean 'nephew', as often in later Latin, and we know John's source: Eutrop. 8,12,1 *institutus est (Marcus)*... *ad scientiam litterarum Graecarum per Chaeronensem, Plutarchi nepotem.* E. Vinet inserted *Sextum* before *Chaeronensem*, but John shows that we should not do so. In the Vita Marci 3,2 we read *audivit et Sextum Chaeronensem, Plutarchi nepotem* (see on the relation between the Historia Augusta and Eutropius, Schanz IV 1 58). That here *nepos* is 'nephew' we see in the Suda s.v. Σέξτος· Χαιρωνεύς, ἀδελφιδοῦς Πλουτάρχου, γεγονὼς κατὰ Μάρκον Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν Καίσαρα, φιλόσοφος (in what follows the Suda mistakes this Sextus for Sextus Empiricus). See also Marcus, Medit. 1,9. Remarkably enough, there may be some truth in John's statement: we know that Fronto's Cratia was of Greek origin (see at 113,4), and Plutarch's father Autobolos may have married a sister of Cratia. Webb, Fronto and Plutarch, has not solved the problem; see also Portalupi, Il pensiero politico.

275,10–12 We do not know where this quotation comes from. Mart. 14,106 mentions a Stoic called Fronto: he might have praised Seneca, but then again John has made a mess of the chronology. A third Fronto is mentioned by Firm. Math. 2 praef. 2; he wrote Apotelesmata on the position of the stars and human destiny; a remark on the *aurea aetas* could very well fit in with such a work, but we do not know when this Fronto lived; it has been suggested that he might be the same Fronto as the one mentioned by Martialis. A fourth possibility is the rhetor Fronto of Nemesa; according to the Suda s.v., he lived c. 200. His sister Frontonis (!) was the mother of Cassius Longinus, so he might be Plutarch's grandson. Is he the same rhetor as the one mentioned by Aristid. Or. 10,125? See Leopardi, Opere I 86; 332f.; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Geschichte d. griech. Lit. II 2, München [6]1924, 771; 889; 937.

275,10 *exterminare errores*: cp. Quint. Inst. 10,1,129 on Seneca: *in philosophia parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum insectator fuit*; Gell. 12,2,1 *in vitiis morum obiurgandis severitatem gravitatemque non invenustam.*

Aurea secula: see A. Kurfess, Aetas aurea, Reallex. f. Antike u. Christentum (1950).

Reformare: 'create again'.

275,12 *contracta societate*: between the gods and mankind, not 'en une société bien établie' (P. Faider, Étude sur Sénèque, Gand 1921, 70).

275,14 *Cheronessem* must be *Ch(a)eronensem*. Marcus, Medit. 1,9 παρὰ Σέξτου τὸ εὐμενές. Cass. Dio 71,1,2 (Μάρκος) λέγεται ... ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σέξτῳ προσιέναι τῷ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν φιλοσόφῳ. Philostr. V.S. 2,9 p. 65,13f.K. ἐσπούδαζε μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος περὶ Σέξτον τὸν ἐκ Βοιωτίας φιλόσοφον, θαμίζων αὐτῷ καὶ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας. Vita Marci 3,2 *audivit et Sextum Chaeronensem, Plutarchi nepotem*; Zonar. Epit. 12,2 p. 81 D. (Μάρκος) Σέξτῳ συνεφιλοσόφει τῷ Βοιωτῷ. A mixture of fantasy and truth is found in Apul. Met. 1,2,1 *Thessaliam, nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo inclito ac mox Sexto philosopho nepote eius prodita gloriam nobis faciunt* (Apuleius must have known that Plutarch was a Boeotian); 2,3,2 *familia Plutarchi ambae prognatae sumus* (sc. Byrrhaena and her mother Salvia).

275,16 *Fronto nobilissimus orator* shows again that Eutropius is John's source, Testim. 33.

275,18 The booklet of Magister Gregorius, an Englishman of the late twelfth century, was discovered in 1917 and edited for the first time in 1919 by G. McN. Rushforth, with a detailed commentary. Gregory situates the bath and the two palazzi on the Esquiline, cp. chapter 18 *iuxta murum aqueductus, qui per portam Assinariam descendit, est balneum Bianei Apollinis. Bianeus Apollo* is corrupt; in De septem miraculis mundi a bath of *Apollonius Tyaneus* is mentioned, which does not ring very true either. Rushforth assumes that the *domus Frontoniana* is the *domus Maecenatiana*, see at 20,11. This is very unlikely: it seems that Gregory had been laid under tribute by a similar source as in the case of the second and third scholiasts of Testim. 65, where we find *in cuius domo*.

275,19 *domus Aquilea* seems to be the *domus Aquilii iurisconsulti* in C.L. Urlich's Codex urbis Romae topographicus, Würzburg 1871, 36. Rushforth suggests that we should read *domus Esquilina*.

275,21 In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries humanists turned their attention to the recently discovered pseudepigraphica De nominum verborumque differentiis, the Exempla elocutionum and the Elegantiae Latinae. Fronto's letters remained unnoticed until in 1815 Mai published his editio princeps. See at 106,13 (marg. d).

275,25ff. We have a great number of epistles and rescripts written by Marcus (and Verus) in the Corpus iuris civilis and the Fragmenta Vaticana. In addition, there is a considerable number of leters on stone and on papyrus, and the Historia Augusta presents some pseudographical letters of Marcus. All these texts have been collected and translated by G. Cortassa, Scritti di Marco Aurelio, Torini 1985, 508–767. See also C. Czwalina, De epistolarum actorumque quae a scriptoribus Historiae Augustae proferuntur fide atque auctoritate, Bonnae 1870; O. Karlowa, Über die in Briefform ergangenen Erlasse römischer Kaiser, Neue Heidelberger Jahrb. 6, 1896,

211ff., and his Römische Rechtsgeschichte I, Leipzig 1885, 654ff.; 953ff.; Peter, Der Brief 198ff.; L. Lafoscade, De epistulis aliisque titulis imperatorum magistratuumque Romanorum quas ab aetate Augusti usque ad Constantinum Graece scriptas lapides papyrive servaverunt, thèse, Paris 1902; Brassloff, Epistulae principis, RE VI (1909); M. Rostowzew, Ab epistulis, RE VI (1909); Haines, Miscellaneous Letters of Marcus Aurelius, in his edition of Fronto II 294–319; J. Sykutris, Epistolographie, RE Suppl. V (1931); L. Wenger, Die Quellen des römischen Rechts 1953, 234ff.; Cugusi, Evoluzione 116f. I have put together only those passages where Marcus' style is discussed, and the passages from the Vita Marci. We do not know to what extent Marcus had a hand in the authentical letters, but considering his character he will not have trusted his ab epistulis to write them without keeping an eye on it. In this respect it is interesting to read what Phrynuchus wrote to Cornelianus (probably Fronto's friend Sulpicius Cornelianus, who was Marcus' secretary, see at 170,15) in his Ecloga p. 379 Lobeck (356 Rutherford): σε τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιώσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἀνέθεσαν τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἅπαντα πράγματα διοικεῖν παριδρυσάμενοι φύλακα ἑαυτοῖς, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπιστολέα ἀποφήναντες, ἔργῳ δὲ συνεργὸν ἑλόμενοι τῆς βασιλείας. Cornelianus' main instruction was to ἀφελῶς γράφειν (275,28). See Millar, Emperors at Work 16. M. Williams has made a study of Marcus' letters and rescripts, Individuality in the Imperial Constitutions: Hadrian and the Antonines, Journ. of Roman Stud. 66, 1976, 78, and it is worthwhile to quote him: 'four main characteristics emerge from the considerable body of Latin texts preserved by the jurists and the four major epigraphic texts hitherto published: (1) a painstaking thoroughness and attention to detail; (2) an overcareful insistence on elaborating obvious and trivial points; (3) purism in both the Greek and Latin languages; (4) an earnestness which produces an attitude to the pretensions of the Greeks far more serious-minded than Pius.' And we could add: the complete absence of literary pretence. Fronto must have been scandalized when he read such letters! See 139,13f.; 150,7ff.; 151,2f.; 159,1ff.

275,28 ἐπιστόλια: the diminutive refers to short, personal letters, for Marcus continues: οἷον τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀπὸ Σινοέσσης τῇ μητρί μου γραφέν. So Rusticus' letter was quite the opposite of Fronto's letters to Domitia Lucilla (Ad M. Caes. II 4 and 15). But from 21,12–15 follows that in 143 Marcus was not at all set against such letters.

Ἀφελῶς: Cic. Att. 6,1,8 ἀφελῶς *scripsi*.

276,2 read ἐπιστολὰς τὰς πλείστας.

276,3 αὐτοχειρίᾳ: see at 38,4 and 63,14. Epist. Theodosii ad Ausonium p. 3 Peiper *amor meus* ... *fecit* ..., *ut morem principibus aliis solitum sequestrarem familiaremque sermonem autographum ad te transmitterem.* But there were exceptions: Augustus wrote: *litterae autographae* (Suet. Aug. 71; 87), Tiberius: *sua manu* (Sen. Epist. 83,15), Nero: *chirographo* (Suet. Nero 52), Commodus: *mea manu* (Vita Alb. 2,2), Gallienus: *mea manu* (Trig. Tyr. 9), Gratianus: *tua manu* (Ambros. Epist. 1,3). See 276,9f. and Roller, Das Formular 291ff.

276,5–6 Philostratus makes this remark on account of a letter which Marcus wrote to Herodes Atticus from Sirmium c. 173. In what follows

Philostratus quotes this letter (the authenticity of which is doubted by Cortassa) in order to give an impression of Marcus' ἦθος: it shows how kind Marcus was towards the rude and incalculable Herodes (see at 31,6 on the problems Fronto had with him and the reconciling role of Marcus). According to epistolary theory, the right expression of one's feelings characterizes a good letter: Demetr. Hermen. 8 πλεῖστον δὲ ἐχέτω τὸ ἠθικὸν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ διάλογος. σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰκόνα ἕκαστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν. καὶ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλου λόγου παντὸς ἰδεῖν τὸ ἦθος τοῦ γράφοντος, ἐξ οὐδενὸς δὲ οὕτως ὡς ἐπιστολῆς. Theon. Progymn. II 115 Spengel πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ἁπάντων ἐνθυμηθῆναι δεῖ τό τε τοῦ λέγοντος πρόσωπον ὁποῖόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ὃν ὁ λόγος.

276,9 Philostratus enumerates also Apollonius of Tyana, Dio of Prusa, M. Brutus and Herodes Atticus. On Marcus'autographs see at 138,6.

276,10–11 τὸ . . . ἐντετύπωτο: 'the firm personal note bore the stamp of his personality', not 'impresse ai suoi scritti anche la saldezza del suo carattere' (Portalupi).

276,13 λόγων ἀρχαιότητος has nothing to do with Fronto's archaism, see Norden, Kunstprosa 357. What Herodian means is that Marcus in his Greek texts was an Atticist. The terms ἀρχαΐζειν and ἀρχαισμός, first coined by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, indicate the return to the language of the ten Attic orators; in Latin the word *archaismus* is avoided and used only by Servius in the sense of 'archaism'. Phrynichus begins his Ecloga thus: ὅστις ἀρχαίως καὶ δοκίμως ἐθέλει διαλέγεσθαι, τάδ' αὐτῷ φυλακτέα, and Isidor. Pel. Epist. 4,91 states: οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀγαπῶσι τὸ παλαιῶς ἀττικίζειν, οἱ δὲ τὸ σαφῶς εἰπεῖν τοῦ ἀττικισμοῦ πρότερον ἄγουσι λέγοντες (Marcus belongs to the second category: Medit. 8,30 λαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν κοσμίως, μὴ περιτράνως· ὑγιεῖ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι). See also at 21,13 and 24,3. There are, of course, close connections between Greek atticism and Latin archaism, but that is not the point here: both Fronto and Marcus try to write Attic Greek. On Marcus' atticism see R. Schekira, De imperatoris M. Aurelii Antonini librorum sermone quaestiones philosophicae et grammaticae, diss., Greifswald 1919; H. Ziliacus, De elocutione M. Aurelii imperatoris quaestiones syntacticae, Helsingfors/Leipzig 1936. The speeches of Marcus quoted by Herodian are not authentic.

276,15 γραφέντα: we do not know when the Meditations were first published, so it is unclear whether or not Herodian is referring to them, see Birley, Mark Aurel 381. He certainly is not referring to the letters Marcus wrote to Fronto, see Proleg. LIXf.

276,17 See at 66,16.

276,19 *uxore*: Faustina. In the Historia Augusta she has a bad name. Early 147 she got pregnant with her first child, in 176 she died; in the meantime she had at least twelve children. If there were any sexual escapades they must have taken place between 168 and 176, when Marcus was absent from Rome for long intervals. More likely she was an insignificant, flippant woman, see at 73,10.

276,20 *purgavit*: 'to refute', 'to invalidate', not 'giustifico' (Portalupi).

276,25 See at 138,6.

TRANSLATIONS

A. *The complete works of Fronto*

In French: A. Cassan 1830, see Proleg. XLVI.
In English: C.R. Haines, 1919–1920, see Proleg. LXXII.
In Italian: F. della Corte 1957, see Proleg. LXIII. Felicita Portalupi 1974, see Proleg. LXXVI. A second edition appeared in 1997, and it is from this edition that I am quoting in this commentary. In a few cases, however, I refer to Portalupi[1] and Portalupi.[2]
In Spanish: Frontón, epistolario, introducción, traducción y notas de Ángela Palacios Martín, Madrid 1992 (based on Haines' edition!).

B. *Parts of the letters*

In Italian: the Milan part of the text by G. Leopardi 1816: Volgarizzamento delle opere di M. Cornelio Frontone, in Opere inedite pubbl. da G. Cignoni I, Halle 1878, 353–488. See S. Timpanaro, La filologia di Giacomo Leopardi, Firenze 1955; G. Pacella, I manoscritti Leopardiani della traduzione di Frontone, Riv. di cult. class. e medioev. 1, 1959, 411ff.
L. Pepe 1957, only the letters of Marcus, see Proleg. LXXIII.
G. Cortassa, Scritti di Marco Aurelio, Torino 1984 (reviewed by Gioanotti, Dialoghi di archeol. 3, 1985, 136–138; A. Barigazzi, Prometheus 12, 1986, 285f.; Pernot, Rev. d. Étud. grecques 99, 1986, 216f.; Maria L. Astarita, Orpheus 7, 1986, 417–419; A. Pennacini, Sileno 12, 1986, 216f.
In Spanish: the Vatican part of the letters by A. Freixas 1927, see Proleg. LXXII.

C. *Selections*

In English: J. McQuige, Selections from the Works of Fronto, Rome 1824; W.H. Thompson 1868, see Proleg. LXVIII; H. Crossley, The Fourth Book of the Meditations od Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, London 1882; P.B. Watson, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, London 1884; W. Pater, Marius the Epicurean, London 1885; W.H.D. Rouse in his edition of M. Casaubon's translation of the Meditations, London 1900; R. Ellis, The Correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius, London 1904; Dorothy Brock 1911, see Proleg. LXXIf.; H.D. Sedgwick, Marcus Aurelius. A Biography Told as Much as May Be by Letters, New Haven 1921; R.G.C. Levens 1930, see Proleg. LXXIIf.
In French: A. Pierron, Pensées de l'empereur Marc Aurèle Antonin, Paris 1843; A. Berger, Fronton historien, Revue des Cours littéraires de la

France et de l'Étranger 3, 1866, 457–465; idem, L'éducation de Marc-Aurèle, ibid. 585–590; G. Boissier, La jeunesse de Marc-Aurèle d'après les lettres de Fronton, Revue des Deux Mondes 74, 1868, 671–689; M. Leroy, La conception de l'histoire chez Fronton, Musée Belge 32, 1928, 241–252; idem, Fronton et la philosophie, ibid. 34, 1930–32, 291–310.

In German: Ernst Müller, M. Aurel in seinen Briefen an Fronto, Festschrift zur 100-jährigen Stiftungsfeier des königl. Gymnasium zu Ratibor 1869; A. Birley, Mark Aurel, München 1977. (I have not seen A. von Gleichen-Russwurm, Antikes Leben in Briefen. Ein Auswahl aus der römischen Briefliteratur, Berlin 1911.)

In Dutch: C. Brakman, Opstellen over onderwerpen uit de Latijnsche letterkunde, Leiden 1919, 52–70.

In Italian: I. Lana-Fellin, Antologia della letteratura latina III, Messina/Firenze 1967.

INDICES

Numbers followed by M, V or P indicate passages from Marcus, Verus or Pius.

The Grammatical and Stylistic Index presents only the more important passages; the sections Alliteration, Archaism, Colloquialism, Etymological Figures, Legal Terms, Post-classical Latin, Puns, Sacral Formulas and Synonyms aim at completeness. The Index Latinitatis and the Index Graecitatis are subject indices as well as indices of words interesting fom a lexical point of view. The Latin and Greek Rhetorical, Grammatical and Literary Terms are more or less complete.

The quotations usually refer to the Commentary; if not, see the text itself.

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The books and articles enumerated in Proleg. LXXXIff. are not repeated here; I have also left out most prosopographical articles by H. Dessau, E. Groag, R. Hanslik, E. Klebs, P. von Rohden, A. Stein and others in the Real-Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, the Prosopographia imperii Romani and the Kleine Pauly. Also omitted are the numerous lexicographical articles by Ed. Wölfflin in the Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik, but all these articles are mentioned in the commentary itself, as well as a great number of authors whose works do not directly deal with Fronto. Of the huge literature on Fronto and Minucius Felix, only the most important works are given here; the rest will be found in the commentary.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS IN THE PROLEGOMENA

VIII line 10:	legimus
IX paenultima:	scriptores
XVII line 22:	*for* sunt *read* est
XXVII line 20:	latae
XXXIII sub III:	*add* 27,5 advorti
XXXIV sub 1:	*add* audimus = audiimus 61,11M; *likewise* eximus 60,10M; redimus 62,19M. Nota 233,7 solis = soleis
XXXIV sub 4:	*add* 153,4 rusus m[1], rursus m[2]
XXXV line 6:	*add* viduo 71,19
XXXV line 9:	*add* ecum 34,9; oblicum 48,8; aecum 55,24; anticum 60,6
XXXV line 20:	*add* M pro N *see commentary at* 96,7
XXXV line 25:	*add* NC pro C devincxerat 53,4; quinctus 104,4
XL line 6 from the bottom:	*add* et 184,3 *after* 11,11
XLIX line 24:	*read* (p. 42,4)
LI line 14 from the bottom:	*read* (p. 117,13sqq.)
LII paenultima:	Felicita
LIX at the end of note 3:	*add* P. Cugusi, L'epistolografia. Modelli e tipologie di communicazione, Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica, ed. G. Cavallo II, Roma 1978, 416 Frontone prorvedeva personalmente a diffondere sue lettere e probabilmente publicò almeno parte del proprio epistolario
LXII note 3, line 8:	*for* iam Charisii aetate *read* non ante Charisisii aetatem
LXIII note 5:	Della Corte, too, regards Charisius' text as corrupt. Timpanaro, Il nuovo Frontone 373, and in Nuovi contributi 354f., perseveres in the false reading.
LXVI note 4:	*add* Hermes 4, 1824, 362ff. after 1019 sq.
LXVII line 2:	scriptorem
LXXIII line 21:	Pepe's edition was reviewed by Gioanotti, Dialoghi di archeologia 3, 1985, 136–138; Maria Astarita, Orpheus 7, 1986, 417–419; Barigazzi, Prometheus 12, 1986, 285f.; Pennacini, Sileno 12, 1986, 216f.; Pernot, Rev. d. Étud. grecques 99, 1986, 216f.
LXXV line 3:	*for* iam saeculo quinto *read* inde a saeculo tertio exeunte Eumenius, Ausonius, Consentius
LXXV line 12:	*for* 401 *read* 402
LXXV note 1, line 6:	*for* Sid. Ep. IX 16 *read* Sid. Ep. VIII 16,2, *and further see this commentary at* 272,7.

CORRECTIONS OF TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS, ADDITIONS TO THE CRITICAL APPARATUS AND NEW VIEWPOINTS ON THE TEXT OF THE EDITION OF 1988

2,13 mihi, Fronto
3,24f. est immo sectator vilis Marshall
5,11 etiamsi
5,17 decus meorum Timpanaro
8,5 see commentary at 5,21 and 8,5
8,19f. ac saviatum: ac quaesitum Marshall
9,14 pervigiles, | facultat<e>: here A 86 begins
9,15 according to Timpanaro, seria is corrupt
10,5 according to Timpanaro, tua should be deleted
13,4 laute auctus Timpanaro
14,7 namque in
15,1 scaena, see commentary
15,20 read Bonario, Romani mimi 121
20,8 ain, quid
25,18 Timpanaro deletes et
29,24 read p. 106,18
30,13 semper, anima
31,11 Lanuinum: see commentary
32,8 sedenim
34,21f. ex ipso furari Della Corte
37,28 Nachträge a): read 4 Nachträge
38,8f. quemadmodum medendum putas Marshall
38,22 mihi, Fronto
39,17f. see commentary
41,12 aequiperet: alteret or variet Schwierczina
41,17 read ἑπόμενα καὶ | παρακολουθοῦντα
42,10 concastigaras Haines
44,9 atenim
44,27 read 18 cp. 44,1
45,6 dicere <doceres>. satius Mariotti
47,24 read Ribbeck^{2}
47,25 read Sprichwörter s.v. facere 3
47,29 for V read V et Mai^{2}
48,33 add 48,11–12 Cic. De orat. 2,261sq.
49,6 ingeniom tuom Timpanaro
49,11 ὑποθέσε<ω>ν
50,25 mihi, Fronto
50,29 for 177 read 777
50,30 delete 19–20 cp. p. 3,19sqq.
52,13 aestima Timpanaro and Portalupi^{2}
55,1 delete comma after aut
55,15 te <precor>, ut Hauler
56,32 after labrum 1 add Cic. De orat. 1,87. 13 cf. Quint. Inst. 1,5,7
59,30 read Testimonium 40

60,10	exiimus E. Baehrens
62,19	exiimus Haines
64,3	ἀπεργάζεται: ἀπέπαντον Brakman, ἀπείργασται Cortassa
65,13	read sublevatus. dicas
66,11	somniis Haines
67,9	neve index appareas Marshall
68,10	histrionium Georges
68,27	delete 19 cottidie malim, nisi excidit substant
70,8	delete |^4
77,32	after ipsus m^1 add ipsusque m^{2}b
81,2	recuperavi Haines
82,10	inguen Klussmann
89,1	imperatorum <superioribus> imperatoribus Hofer
90,4	read fovendi, see commentary
90,38	read bona liberos <servos> Castiglioni
91,35	delete fort. locuplicius scribendum
92,35	for Pearce read Pease
93,32	after Sblendorio add V 3 e Chassignet, and delete Naevius Com. 33 Ribbeck^3
95,4	see commentary. Thensuris should be kept
97,21	after 34 add || 12–13 Cic. pro Caelio 13 || 16 cp. Sall. Cat. 14
97	crit. app. 14–15 delete full stop between 1 anto|n
98,21	read honesti.' | ne
102	crit. app. delete note 22 – p. 103,8
103,22	pergere Haines
105,24	for 5 read 14
108,31	after homo 3 add || 4–5 cf. Plaut. Merc. 319
109,12	read videre me, see commentary
109,21	medici istis diebus Schwierczina
109,30	read Verus enim in Italia est
111,15	read tenuitate, quantum
113,20	read acerbitatis sit, see commentary
113,26	read convertar
114,13	delete comma after vale
115,10	libens is the reading of ma, libens or sciens h, see commentary
116,10	read peregre
120,16	read Sall. Cat. 2,6
120	crit. app. 16 volucres must be 121,10 volucres. For 16–17 per we must read 121,11–12 per; for 17 hinnitum, 121,12 hinnitum; for 17–18 pe: 121,12 pe; for 18 repuriaplanea: 121,13 repuriaplanea
121,13	read re puria planeap
123,22	read dicere^c) interest
124,5	eloquentiae illius
124,22	read Thucyd. VII 11–15
125,10	read Titii Aristonis, see commentary
125,11	for <voces> read <notas>, see commentary; in the crit. app. delete vel de Titinii Capitonis
126,10	read explicare
126	crit. app. 5 delete nolui acta] de noluisti cogitavi
126	crit. app. 12 after operam gestantes ma add Bischoff. For scribtae ma scriptae Bischoff read . . . scribtae ma . . . scriptae Bischoff
128,4	read disciplinae
128,28	delete 17 fr.—Morel
128,29	after Iug. 43-45 add || 18 cf. Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. frux

129,29	after aucastra V add fort. au<tumno> legendum, see commentary
129,30	(crit. app.) after Haines add <tria milia passum ab Emporiis posui> Traenkle
132,10	for quam read quae
133,9	Protogenen b h Protogenem s
133,11	according to Hauler, m^2 has saevitia satura
134,29	in line 10, add cf. Nachträge zu Otto 23 s.v. Heraclitus
137,18	commune: comminutis or comminutum Rosati
138,15–16	in both lines the + must be deleted
140,25	delete 17 cf. Plaut. Miles 787
142,2	for <προυπ>εργάζεσθαι read ἐξεργάζεσθαι, see commentary at 141,23
144,15	delete comma after alliciendi
146,10	σώζεό
147,18	delete I 1366sqq.
150,8f.	volvas illud tecum et diversis Schwierczina
151,20	philosophum Haines. interpretante Haines
153,6	<e>t
153,13	Plautino ter apto Solverini, see commentary
153,19	for 708 read 706–708
154,1	dictobolaria Gercke, see commentary
154,25	add 12–13 cf. Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. lutum 6
155,7	read nunc hoc, see commentary; add colon after sententiis
156,18	add full stop after perfectam
157,13–14	see commentary
158,5	ovilia
158,10	at line 4 add Cf. Verg. Aen. 8,77
158	in the crit. app. delete at line 3 num . . . scribendum?
159,12–14	see commentary
159,17	accommodatius: commodatius Holford-Strevens
159,22	at line 9 add Cf. Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. plumeus; 13–14, for Otto read Nachträge zu Otto
162,32	at lines 9–10 add Cf. Nachträge zu Otto 43
162	crit. app. 22 for scio Haines read scio Heindorf
166,4	for . . e . . . read . . c . . .
171,14	read ἄριστα, see commentary
172,9	consiliari<o> Mai
172,24	postulavit, see commentary
173,13	delete comma after fili, see commentary
174,17	artem eius
175,7	militiae muneribus
175,26	Plautinus de
176,7	read declamitantem
176,15	commendarei Schwierczina
178,25	after 384sq. add 516
179,23	after ignis 2 add et s.v. tempus 5
179,30	for Haupt read Reifferscheid
179,36	delete Vananis v. Mess
180,27	for Sulla 69–79 read Sulla 21–29. See at 180,9
181,1	read Phalaridi, see commentary
181,37	for venetus n venetis ma read 22 veneti n venetis ma
182,7	read possim, quid, see commentary
182,8	quom humana: quicum omnia Holford-Strevens
182,14	see commentary
182	crit. app. 11–14 read cf. Proleg. LVI adn.1

183,2–3	see commentary
183,14	Stratonabian: see commentary
188,37	for p. 165,9 read p. 165,8
189,7	delete comma after volebat
189,15	read commemorarunt, see commentary
191,11	read pari, simul
191,12	sementare, see commentary
191,30	after Jordan add Gaius, Inst. 4,11; 3,210–219
192,10	crescit, quom
192,14	errare, deinde
192,16	portento; sin
193,12	delete colon
194,2	read nisi quod iura sunt lenissimum
194,5	omnium vacatio
194,9	senem: read sine, see commentary
194,10	read 'abstine'
194,16	read soli credo recenti verbum, see commentary
194,23	after forum 2–3 add ‖ 3 Cf. Cic. Phil. 13,43 ‖
195,1	'confestim'. vellem sicut
195,9	gratuando, see commentary
195,13	see commentary
196,6	<ex sent>entia tua Haines
197,1	read quoad
198,11	perhaps usurarum <solution>i, see commentary. adiungatur? est
199,19	for quia read qui; add semicolon after familiae
199,20	see commentary; keep noluerunt
200,1	see commentary
200,4	. . . .: see commentary
201	between lines 14 and 15 add 11 Proverbium deest apud Otto, Sprichwörter
202	HISTORIAE
203,7	florilegio: see commentary
203,17	for oratoribus read orationibus
203	between lines 33 and 34 add 2 Cp. Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. Achilles
203,24	for Cat. 8,2–4 read Cat. 8,3–4
204,5	(marg. c) see commentary
204,14	read deputat. catus
204,16	origines
204,17	after Origines I–III add deest in Caton, Les Origines, ed. Martine Chassignet, Paris 1986
205,11	read mihi–[d]) –
205,16	see commentary
205,18	for [c]) read [h])
205,28	in opere subigendi Schwierczina
206,41	for (apus read apus
208,2	see commentary
208,7	Parthis <obviam ituro> aut Timpanaro, see commentary
208,7–8	see commentary
209,7–8	see commentary
209,9	Aurelius Antoninus, see commentary
209,13	quisset: quies or quiescit Holford-Strevens
210,2	procul stativis praesidiis vagi or destitutis praesidiis vagi Timpanaro
211,8	delete semicolon
212,26	cernuantis, <in>

213,1	trosciusl.: perhaps utriusque or . . . .eis est
213,16	see commentary
215,4	NEGLEGENTIAE
215,13	delete comma
216,3	delete comma after Phaedro
216,14	read <operae; bene dicere
216,24	for habunde read h<ilari>ter. See at 216,11
217,26	line 10 read cf. e.g. Hom. Il. V 186; Verg. Georg. 4,424; Aen. 2,606; 10,636; 12,52; Horat. Carm. I 2,31
219,3	read appingere? <vide>licet, see commentary
219,40	read 20 addere n b abdere ma
222,7	see commentary
222,10	probably <i>nvi<diam>
222,13	lapidem, smaragdo
222,15	ex profundo, see commentary
223,22	after 234 add ‖ 11 Verba fort. nescio cuius poetae; cf. Plaut. Poen. 749
224,2	praequam: peraeque or perquam Gatti
227,1	magiras: magidas Mai^{2}
229,7	intenditus: intentus Neue-Wagener
229,27	for 5 read 7; for 7–9 read 10–11
230,26	delete 12 cf. Cato—132,2
231,43	read 18 amixisse Rasi
232,28	after IV 483 add Aen. VI 417sq.; Ovid. Met. IV 451sq.
233,24	crit. app. 4 read fu/si *h primo, postea* profusi, see commentary
235,29	after proem. 4sqq. add ‖ 26sqq. Cf. fragm. Cic. Libri consolationis ap. Lact. Inst. 1,5; 3,14; 3,18–19
235,34	read 21 meorum luctum h et cumulum luctuum meorum ma n
236,28	read 9 cf. e.g. Hom. Od. 7,197; Verg. Aen. X 815 etc.
236,29	for senect. 84–85 read senect. 84
238,30	after Ann. 431 add ‖ cf. Cic. De orat. 3,117; Top. 85
241,31	for qui Mai^{1} read qui Mai^{1} et Drechsler
241,42	(crit. app.) after Eussner add <se> reciperet Marshall
243,2	προσ<τί>θεν<τ>αι. ταῦτα] ταὐτὰ Dübner. καὶ] καθ' ἃ Dübner
243,5	for τοῦτ'] read ταῦτ'
243,6	ἑαυτῶν Dübner
243,38	for Ellis read Mai^{1}
245,4	ὃ
245,30	read ἐν αἷς ὁ
246,7	τὰ ψαυστὰ πόπανα or τὰ ψαυστὰ, τὰ πόπανα Schwierczina
246,15	παρέχοντος: παρ' ἑκόντος Naber
246	between lines 19 and 20 add 5–6 cf. Paroem. Graeci II 740; Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. proximus
248,2	delete question mark
248,13	for 235sq. read 234sq.
248,28	after ma^{23} add δικαιότατον ἃ πέμπεται n s
249,18	read dogmam, see commentary
249	between lines 18 and 19 add 5–6 cf. Plato, Phaedr. 227 c; 235 e
250,4	Diona, see commentary
250,6	mihi, maxima
250,12	δὴ om. Sheppard
250,21	τουτογὶ
251,1	read μὲν
251,8	δὲ] δὴ Haines
251,15	read αὐτῷ πονηρῷ δ' ἐτεκτήνω

251,26	δὲ] δὲ <δὴ> Haines
251,27	after 234c add ‖ 16 cf. Paroemiogr. Graeci I 85
252,4	τὰ om. Haines
252,10	δὲ τοὺς
252,12	πιστεύσαι ἐπαινοῦντι
252,14	αὐτοῖς Niebuhr, αὑτοῖς Mai[1]
252,15	for νλύτταν] read λύτταν
252,16	read ἀνάγκην
252,17	ἔρωτος], see commentary
252,19–20	I now read ἀρετῇ δὲ . . . κέρδος. κόσμος θαλάττῃ κτλ., see commentary
252,22	οὐχὶ, see commentary
253,19	for <σ>αυτὸν read αὑτὸν
253,20	for περιμεῖναι read περιμείνας
254,15–16	read with Mai περιτρεπόμενον instead of καταστρεφόμενον and καταστρεφόμενον instead of περιτρεπόμενον, see commentary
255,8	after 229 a add 230 d
256,36	read 11 uberrim
256,37	after contub<ernalis> add or contub<ernium>
257,2	read manibus . . . . . . hostis
259,4	for 138 read 135
259,6	read provinc(iae)
259,16–17	see commentary
259,26	for habes read habent
259,28	see Testim. 10; 18; 28; 29; 30; 36; 42; 45; 55; 56
259,29	for 11 read 12
260,29	read 'aëre fulvo', see commentary
261,34	for autem read quidem
265,12	read deductum
265,32	for 1162 read 1154
267,23	read tuorum'; ut, see commentary
267,28	after 27,21 add 115 cf. Otto, Sprichwörter s.v. velificatio. For Plinius p. 24,32 read Plin. Dub. serm. p. 24,32 Beck
268,11	for 106,19 read 106,18
268,17	see commentary
269,6	for his read hic
269,28	for 24 read 14
271,20	Sosantios, see commentary
272,16	tuarum (sc. Claudiani)
272,34	for Schanz read Migne
274,23	for 54 read 39 et 54
276,2	read ἐπιστολάς τὰς πλείστας
276,20	read epistulas suas purgavit

SUPPLEMENTS TO MNEMOSYNE

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